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LIVES
OF
CHURCH LEADERS;
OR,
HEROES OF THE CROSS

FROM THE DAYS OF THE SUCCESSORS OF THE
APOSTLES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

THE LIVES BY EUROPEAN WRITERS FROM THE GERMAN.

AS EDITED BY

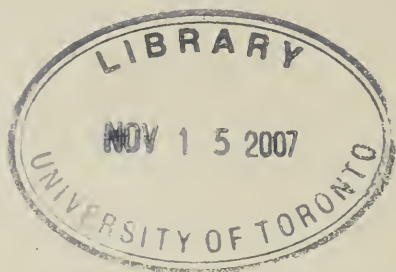
DR. FERDINAND PIPER,
PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

NOW TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, AND EDITED WITH
ADDED LIVES BY AMERICAN WRITERS,

BY

HENRY MITCHELL MACCRACKEN, D. D.

F. M. BARTON:	
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PREFACE.

SOME three years since, while I was seeking in New York city material for a volume asked of me by a Western publisher, I was met by the suggestion that I should undertake the translation 'nto English and the editing of the lives of Christian leaders for all the days of the year, recently published in Germany under the editorship of Dr. Ferdinand Piper, of the University of Berlin.

The fact that the suggestion was made by Dr. Charles A. Briggs, of Union Seminary, to whom the work had been transmitted by Dr. Piper, with a view to its publication in America, and that both he and Dr. Philip Schaff, in repeated conversations, recommended it to me as deserving a place in every Christian family, inclined me to take up the task suggested. After letters had been exchanged with the German editor, and his consent obtained to my bringing the work out in the English language, with such changes as might seem advantageous, I began to apply myself, as my other engagements permitted, to the labor of presenting these popular yet scholarly life-stories of Christian witnesses to English readers.

The task thus entered upon presented two parts. First, the translating and editing of the lives published in Germany. Second, the adding of the life-stories of leaders in the church in America, and in certain pagan lands, passed over by Dr. Piper. To make plain what I have done under the first head, I will state briefly the origin, scope, and form of the work in the German.

In the year 1850, Dr. Ferdinand Piper offered, in a church-diet at Stuttgart, the following thesis: "The whole evangelical church in German lands is interested in forming a common roll of lives for all the days of the year, to be settled on the foundation of our common history, and thus to be made a bond of union of the churches in all the countries."

In relation to the thesis, let it be noted that the Christians of Germany

did not, at the Reformation, cast away as many of the old usages as did reformers in other countries. They did not cast away organs; nor, although they utterly put aside prayers to saints, did they abolish the connection of the names of Christian worthies of past ages with the days of the year, but preserved it even as Americans maintain the association of the name of Washington with February 22d. The forming of the roll of Christian worthies was left, however, very largely to accident. Every little German land made its own calendar. There arose great diversity, and often names were inserted upon local or political grounds. Martin Luther's was the only name universally adopted in addition to the men of the early centuries. Thus, it may be seen, there was an opportunity and also a call for such a movement as that suggested in Dr. Piper's thesis, which should present German Christians a new roll of names for their almanacs, and also a new book of lives for their Christian households, thus stimulating them to fulfill the precept, "Remember them who have spoken unto you the Word of God."

A powerful argument for giving to Germany such a roll of lives was the necessity of meeting Romanist assertions that the honored fathers and leaders of early days were papists, in the present sense of the term papist, and not rather, with all their mistakes and superstitions, evangelical or Bible Christians.

The chief argument for the book, however, was that next to God's Word, Christians, for their own edification, ought to know (to use the words of Dr. Piper) "the doings of God in the history of his Church," and "the manifestations of his Spirit in the witnesses commissioned and enlightened by Him ever since the day of Pentecost."

These and like considerations impelled Dr. Piper and other scholars to give to the German church the "improved" roll of names, and the new book of lives of church leaders. Their medium for this was at first a periodical established for this special end in 1850. This "Year Book," as it was called, presented new and correct lives of the leaders from the pens of able and eloquent writers. Dr. Neander, who died that same year, left several lives for the book, as will be seen by the present volume. The array of authors, as the table of contents will show, includes many of the most celebrated Christian scholars of Germany as well as some of France, Britain, Holland, Switzerland, and Scandinavia. For twenty-one successive years the "Year Book" continued the presentation of the lives. Finally, the roll was ended. Dr. Piper then edited the

completed biographies, which were published by Tauchnitz (1875). The work has been met with great favor by the church. The roll of names contained in it has been officially published and commended by the German government.

The considerations which weigh with German Christians are, perhaps, to be equally regarded by men of English tongue. The call for combating a false definition of the Church comes to us also. Bewildered souls seeking a house of God on earth are too often guided to an edifice whose keys are kept in Rome by the chief of an ancient, self-perpetuated corporation. Knowing as we do that the true Church has been seen ever, where any body of men has risen, "a pillar and a stay of the truth" (1 Timothy iii. 15, marginal reading), ought we not to keep this visible form of all the centuries before men's eyes, and pointing to it say, Here is the Church, the true succession of "John and Cephas, who seemed to be pillars" in every circle of faithful upholders of essential Christianity?

Do we omit from the roll of church pillars since the Reformation the Roman Catholic, the Greek, the Copt, and the Nestorian? It is not that we would deny such a place in the Church Universal. Like the Ephesian wonder of the world (which, perhaps, rose before the mind of him who, in writing to his friend in Ephesus, gave us the simile just quoted), and like its forest of shafts, each a pillar and a stay of the sheltering roof of rock, this edifice, the Church of God, incloses uncounted varieties of pillars, and all of them are truly parts of it if so be they uphold the truth of the living God. Yet Greeks, Romanists, and the rest are hardly "leading" supports of truth, nowadays, contrasted with evangelical Christians. Nor will they become so till they are cleansed of the moss and decay of the centuries. The safe rule for all who will find the Church in any age is, Find men who uphold the truth as it is in Jesus, and who gather clustering groups of columnar Christians around them, supporting the same. Here is the Church, beyond controversy.

But the main object of our German brethren, namely, to familiarize Christians "with God's doings in the history of his Church," is the chief end for us also. It may be safely affirmed that by far the larger half of Christian families have in their libraries not a word as to their church or its leaders from the end of the Acts to the annals of the Reformation, unless perhaps in some such caricature of Christianity as the volumes of Dr. Gibbon. This ignorance respecting fifteen Christian centuries is not altogether a contented ignorance. This I have proven by the following

experiment. Setting up a third church service at an unusual hour upon the Sabbath afternoon, in which besides the usual devotions was offered a brief discourse presenting "God's doings in the history of his church," I have for forty successive Sabbaths in a year seen assembled out of a new and busily occupied city population more hearers than attend upon the average service of Sabbath evening. Moreover the themes presented were received with marked expressions of interest from Christians of various names, and even from those not Christians. I have thus been led fully into Dr. Piper's view that the edifying of the Church may be promoted by ministers speaking from time to time to their people of "the manifestations of God's Spirit in witnesses commissioned and enlightened by Him all the way from Pentecost." Whatever commendations of our Divine cause may be found in the notable lives of each century the wise believer will not neglect to offer, especially in days when if the foundations be not destroyed it will not be because they are not assailed in every mode and from every quarter.

The editor does not present in his English work all the lives included in the German. He wished to keep the book of a popular size. He considered, too, that as we are better acquainted with the Church in the Acts of the Apostles from our introduction to but a few of its leaders, so it might be here. There have been omitted, therefore, first, all lives of leaders in Bible times, a large company; second, all those peculiarly local or German; third, other lives which, hardly less interesting or important than those now offered, have been left out to make room for lives in America, Asia, Africa, and Oceanica. These last it is hoped may one day be called for by readers, and along with them others, especially of English, Welsh, and Scotch leaders, in recent centuries, which many will be surprised to miss. They are not here because not in the German. Should the call arise, the editor will strive, with help from writers in Great Britain and Ireland, to present the Lives of the Leaders in a second series.

The life-stories offered are in every instance given entire. The following changes have, however, been made to render the book more attractive. (1.) For the numerous divisions of time in the German, five periods have been substituted by the editor, of his own choosing. (2.) Portions of the lives which seemed parenthetical or of secondary importance have been placed in footnotes. (3.) At the head of each life have been set the date of the birth and of the death of the person commemorated, and also a

word indicating his position in the church, clerical or lay, or his denomination.

The title of the book I have translated very freely, preferring the second word by which Isaiah describes the servant of God to the first word in the same verse (Isaiah lv. 5, "A witness a leader to the people"), and so calling the work the *Lives of the Leaders* rather than the *Lives of the Witnesses*, the last word being somewhat worn in English literature.

For the cut-in notes, which are not in the German, I alone am responsible. They promise aid to the reader as well as add attractiveness to the page.

It remains to say something concerning the second part of my task, the adding of life-stories of leaders in America, and of pioneers in other great regions passed by in the German, namely, Africa, China, and Burmah.

The suggestion that in adding American lives I should regard denominations was given me by Dr. Schaff, and was at once accepted. To establish a fair and good rule I laid down the following: (1.) In every denomination in the United States with five hundred parishes to find one "leader." In every denomination with over three thousand parishes to find "three mighty men," and if such denomination prevailed in colonial times, to add to the three, one, two, or three others. (2.) To take no account of the division of denominations into northern and southern, and yet when taking three mighty men, to apportion them between the East, and the West and South. These rules have been followed strictly, save that the Lutheran body is given but one leader on the ground that it is so largely represented in the German.¹ The Episcopal Church is given but one, because it did not reach three thousand parishes in the statistics

¹ At the time of sending the last manuscript to the press, I found myself disappointed in reference to an expected life-story of a United Presbyterian leader. To supply its place I prepared the story of Isabella Graham. After this had been stereotyped came unexpectedly, through the courtesy of the United Presbyterian Publication House, the life of John Taylor Presly, by his long-time associate, Rev. Dr. David R. Kerr, a theologian whose labors in church history have received a recent recognition in his election to preside over the Historical Section of the First General Presbyterian Council in Edinburgh, 1877.

This life I gladly added, as supplying what was lacking. Further, it was proposed by the secretary of the house named, that Isabella Graham be inserted as a representative of the Associate Reformed body, now merged in the United Presbyterian. At risk of seeming to transgress my rule, I therefore retain this story, moved to its retention in part by a desire to recognize woman leadership in the Church in America, as the present work recognizes it in the other hemisphere.

of 1877, though now it reports more than that number. Four denominations are each given three or more leaders, while ten have each one leader. These fourteen bodies include, as will be seen by the Table of Statistics (Appendix III.), forty-nine fiftieths of the evangelical church in the United States.

In choosing American leaders I have followed less my own judgment than that of eminent men in the respective denominations. having had correspondence upon the subject with, perhaps, fifty distinguished scholars, exclusive of the many who appear as writers.

In choosing a leader in China and other lands I have in like manner sought competent tribunals of opinion. To the many eminent men who have lent me aid in this, I here express my very great obligations.

And now in closing what has been these three years a labor of love and a recreation from other toils, I find an especial source of pleasure in the thought that this book may prove a new bond of love in the church in America, the more from the fact that it will go out bearing the imprints, each on a distinct edition, of a large portion of the denominational publication houses of this continent. In agreeing to take a part in its simultaneous issue, each of these houses courteously introduces to its own communion the leaders of other churches not as "strangers and foreigners," but as dear brethren. "Such a work" (I quote the words of the venerable Dr. Whedon, in his letter to the Methodist house approving of the plan of this book) "will be a symbol of the Church's true spiritual unity."

H M. M.

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THE CHURCH'S SPREAD IN THE SOUTH.

FIRST PERIOD OF THE CHURCH SINCE BIBLE DAYS; CENTURIES I.-V. (OR FROM THE IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS OF THE APOSTLES TO THE LAST OF THE GREAT GREEK AND LATIN LEADERS AND TEACHERS.) DIVISIONS OF THIS PERIOD: ERA OF IMPERIAL PERSECUTION, CENTURIES I.-III.; OF IMPERIAL SUPPORT, CENTURIES IV., V.

LIFE I. SYMEON OF JERUSALEM.

A. D. ?-A. D. 109. IN THE EAST, — PALESTINE.

THE leadership in the mother church of Christianity was given first to James, the Lord's brother. A confessor and martyr of Jesus Christ, he died at Jerusalem a valiant death. No doubt exists that this was before that siege of the city in which the Jewish state, capital, and Temple were all of them brought to an end. There is only doubt whether it was very shortly before the catastrophe (in the year 69), or some six or seven years earlier, in the eighth year of the reign of Nero (62-63). The earlier date seems the more likely.

Then Symeon, in place of James, by the unanimous voice of those interested, became the leader of the Christian community at Jerusalem. A report which we find in the Church History of Eusebius (iii. 11) makes the event a very solemn one. The Apostles and immediate disciples of Jesus, as many as were still living, Chosen pastor gathered from all quarters to Jerusalem. In company with the relatives of Jesus, of whom several were still alive, they consulted who best deserved to be the successor of James. With one will they recognized Symeon, son of Cleopas, as deserving of the overseership in that place, since he was a cousin of the Saviour. This evidently is a picture out of a later age, not agreeing with the accounts which this chronicler (338 A. D.) inserts elsewhere from Hegesippus, his predecessor by at least one hundred and fifty years. The latter certifies thus much: that Symeon, the son of Cleopas the uncle of Jesus, and blood cousin of the

Lord, was unanimously chosen successor of James, the Lord's brother. The man's character, no doubt, and the confidence he excited, contributed to this distinction. But the historical evidence makes it clear that blood kinship with the Lord was added as a great weight to the scale. This plainly marks the Judaizing tendency which prevailed in the primitive church in Jerusalem, before the destruction of the city.

Since Symeon was advanced to the leadership of the Christian Church of Jerusalem, and had become its pastor before the outbreak of the Roman and Jewish war, it may be safely accepted that he, like the whole Christian society there, at the end of the year 66, or in the beginning of the following year, before Vespasian commenced his campaign, left the city, and went to the village of Pella, east of the Jordan. There they found, during the tempest of war, a place of quiet rest, under the divine protection.

After the fulfillment of the divine judgments upon the Jewish people, the Christian congregation established itself anew in Jerusalem, where, among the few unharmed edifices left, was the Christian Church (to use the name given it at a later date) standing upon the Hill of Zion. Symeon, with the Christian society, seems, after the return, to have enjoyed a long period of quiet. The church of Christ was not yet obliged to war with Gnostic sects. As Hegesippus expresses it, she was yet a pure virgin; corruption of doctrine intruded itself at first slowly and in secret.

It may be believed, from our knowledge of the conditions then existing, that the vindictiveness and envy of the unbelieving Jews were showing themselves in an increased hatred of the Christians. Their hatred led, in the reign of the emperor Trajan (98-117), to a formal accusation, on the side of the Jewish party, of Symeon, as a descendant of David and as a Christian. The charge thus appears, like the process against Jesus, to have been twofold, proceeding partly from the political point of view, partly from the religious. Descent from the royal line of David had already, under the earlier reign of Domitian (81-96), been made a pretext, upon which several Christians, grandchildren of Judas, who was brother of Jesus, were carried on suspicion to Rome, and brought before the emperor in person, who, however, recognized them as poor, harmless people, and liberated them. On this ground a charge was now based. It succeeded so far that Symeon was denounced before the Roman provincial authority in Palestine, from his blood kinship with Jesus and his descent from the royal line of David, as one who went about meditating insurrection, usurpation, and the seizure of the government. The other ground of accusation, closely connected with the former, was Symeon's confession of Jesus as the Messiah.

His examination was ordered. He was interrogated throughout several days under the tortures of the rack. He made confession of Jesus

Christ so steadfastly that the Roman governor and consul, Atticus, himself, and all those present, wondered beyond measure how an old man of one hundred and twenty years could so endure everything. Finally, by order of the governor, he was cruci-^{Tried and crucified.} fied. This occurred, Eusebius informs us, in the year 109 of our Lord. Symeon, accordingly, since he was reputed to be one hundred and twenty years old, must have been born earlier than Jesus. So this loyal spirit, after he had led the church in Jerusalem full forty years, and had, to the end, in presence of Jews and Pagans, confessed the Saviour, was made like to Jesus Christ, his kinsman in the flesh and his Redeemer, in the horrible death, also, which he suffered. — G. L.

LIFE II. IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH.

A. D. 30 ?—A. D. 107. IN THE EAST, — SYRIA.

AMONG the martyrs greatly deserving of our admiration and love, whose blood, absorbed by pagan soil, was the earliest seed of the church and helped mightily its triumph, Ignatius, leader at Antioch, the contemporary and disciple of the Apostles, holds a front place. Report says he was brought to the knowledge of Christ through the Apostle Peter or John, and was ordained by Paul or Peter as the latter's successor in the city of Antioch. History associates him certainly with these Apostles in his rejection of Judaism and hearty ac-^{With the Apostles.} ceptance of the gospel; in his magnifying the names of Christ and Christianity; and in his joining the deep mystic feeling of a John with the justifying faith of a Paul.

Ignatius was early made a sainted model in the church of Syria. When music grew to be a fine art in Antioch, his name was used in order to recommend the dramatic display which, it was said, was a copy by him of the hallelujahs of the cherubim. Still earlier they gave this champion of the faith the name of Theophoros, or bearer of God. A sensible interpretation, in harmony with the tone of his letters, would have made this mean that Ignatius bore Christ lovingly in his bosom. But the Middle Ages, after their manner, imparting coarseness to the most spiritual things, spread the fable that Ignatius had the name of Christ literally in gold characters on his heart. In all the round of traditions only this is certain: that Ignatius, not long after the beginning of the second century, suffered a martyr's death, and as a martyr became the light of the Syrian church.

We reject the ancient legend which makes the emperor Trajan guilty of his death, when in his campaign against the Parthians he wintered in Antioch. It is incredible, from its inherent difficulties, and from the

silence of the Church Fathers till the sixth century. We will confine ourselves to the Fathers, or, what is still weightier, to the text of the letters universally attributed, in ancient times, to Ignatius. We thus find that for his Christian confession, and as a highly esteemed bishop of the Syrian church, he was, on the occasion of a persecution breaking out at Antioch, condemned to be put to death. The sentence was that he should be torn to pieces by wild animals at Rome. Already (in

Sentenced to death.

A. D. 100) this horrible mode of execution was in favor with Christian-hating and ambitious governors. They would ingratiate themselves with the populace by offering a new sensation in their public shows.¹ Ignatius was conveyed to Rome, partly by water, partly by land, in a kind of triumphal procession. From Smyrna to Troy, he traversed Asia Minor; from Neapolis to Dyrrhachium he went on the military road over Macedonia and Illyria. In Smyrna he was met by deputies from Christian cities, some of them accompanying him over the peninsula as a guard of honor. This expression of hearty sympathy, in which Christians joined as sharers of like salvation and like hopes, grew into an affecting emulation, as it strove to sweeten the martyr's last moments. Ignatius uttered his thanks in five letters from Smyrna and Troas, sent to the churches of Asia Minor, and in one to Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna. In them, as in his letter to the Romans, he gives us an insight into his courage in the face of death, and into the mighty thoughts, cares, and hopes that were stirring his breast. They are songs of praise and victory, by a departing spirit.

Letters on the way.

He is assured that leaving the world is ascending to God. He will leave as a legacy to the hearts of believers what his soul feels and what he knows will be most precious in the time to come. The incidents of arriving and departing well-wishers, and of letter-writing, employed by some as arguments for our distrusting the story of his journey, were entirely in accord with Roman usages in cases of arrest (Acts xxiv. 23, etc.). Sometimes opportunities for them were secured through gifts to the guards, such taking of bribes being only too common in the history of the early martyrdoms. The parody on Christianity made in the middle of the second century, by that clever scoffer Lucianus, may easily have got its points from the suffering of Ignatius. He tells that the philosopher and adventurer Peregrinus was for a long

¹ What governor sentenced Ignatius is not told; but the truth of this account of his death is marked by the absence of any mention of Trajan in all the Fathers that speak of the martyr or his letters. The appointed authority of the region, the governor of Syria, no doubt pronounced this sentence. An evidence how very common it was for condemned persons to be sent to Rome, or to other provinces, for food to the beasts of the amphitheatre, is a law of the third century, making such transportation require the approval of the emperor. A letter of Ignatius to the Romans is thus explained, which adjures the Christian community in Rome not to oppose by untimely intervention the execution of the death sentence pronounced against him. He feared their appealing to the emperor which according to Roman law had been legal, even though without the consent of the condemned, or against his express desire.

time with the Christians, and when a prisoner in Palestine received deputies from the Christian churches in Asia to comfort and enliven him, and sent letters to nearly all the noted cities. The historical truth of the travels of Ignatius and the existing corruption are further indicated in his letter to the Romans (5th chap.): "From Syria to Rome," he says, "I have fought with beasts by land and by sea, day and night bound to ten leopards, whom gifts only made more fierce." The unanimous tradition of the ancient church declares that Ignatius obtained the martyrdom he ardently desired. About the year 107, he was torn to pieces by wild beasts in the Colosseum at Rome.

The seven letters left are the chief memorial of the work of Ignatius, as well as of his closing days. They present the picture not of a perfectly educated Christian, but of a thoroughly religious person, well rooted in love of divine things, and full of character and originality.¹ They afford us, indeed, few glimpses into the doctrine that was taking shape in that formative period. For Ignatius was far less a man of thought than of action; he had more talent for church organization than for scholarly research. Whatever he says on the foundation truths of Christianity is more a song of praise than a dogma; more the utterance of exalted feeling than a logical, well-weighed, exact confession of faith. When he attempts speculation upon God's essence, even with happy, uplifted heart, he either verges on mistake in his doctrine of Christ and the Trinity, or else approaches Gnosticism, which on

Death in the
Colosseum.

Doctrinal
views.

¹ This true picture has suffered martyrdom even till now. For Ignatius had the misfortune to have his name connected with a mass of apocryphal writing. Besides, he was the enthusiastic panegyrist of a hierarchical constitution, which by Protestants is readily counted unchristian. Hence, the prejudiced critic looks on all his letters as corrupted or forged, and on the man as a myth. Yet both points on which doubts are based, namely, the Judaistic-Docetic heresy denounced in the letters, and the episcopal dignity honored in them, are not at all at variance with the peculiarities of the culture of the times. On the contrary, their rise and their growing form assigned them in these letters belong to no other date, so probably, as the one described in these writings. It was a misfortune that before the seven letters were known in the shorter Greek text, which alone bears the stamp of authenticity, there was a counterfeit, which transformed the nervous original into the common style of later orthodoxy; also that a few centuries ago a greatly abridged text of three of the letters in the Syrian language was brought to light. These, careful investigation has shown, are only dry, religious maxims. Thus was strengthened the mistrust of writings which, riddles as they were, appeared at best only the work of some hierarchical propagandist. Yet, if we look at these letters as a whole, or at their features in minutest detail,—the style of their Christianity, which, with no trace of apostolic freshness and unconstrainedness, yet shows great simplicity of doctrine and life; which, joyfully building its trust on Christ's divinity and his true humanity, yet shows nowhere marks of scholastic formulas or restrictions; the assured faith which needs no vindication through texts out of the Testament; the crude style of heresy, with the institution of the episcopate, both which are evidently half-way between their germs in apostolic times and their development about the middle of the second century; their marked originality of feeling, imagination, fire, power, not only when they breathe love to the Saviour's image and long for the martyr's crown, with even eccentric expressions of emotion, but also when their pure flame mingles with selfishness and bears the stamp of nature, and especially when they do not maintain their great heat, but are hotter or cooler, according to circumstances, and reflect the inward tumult in the sharp, incisive, vague, variable turn of the style,—when we look at the external guarantees, also, prevailing from his contemporary, Polycarp, to the Father of Church History, Eusebius, giving warrant of his genuineness, there can be no doubt with any one who is not prejudiced, nor utterly wanting in historical penetration, that in these seven letters of Ignatius there has been preserved an authentic and uncorrupted memorial of the early Christian literature.

other occasions is stoutly opposed by him. He yet rests his life on the Saviour as God, as his God. He knows Him as the Logos, from eternity with the Father, far above all sight or comprehension; sprung not from the thought of man, but the silence of God. He bears marked witness to the great mystery of the incarnation, and the work of redemption bound up therein; how the Most High reveals Himself in Christ; how Christ, as the son of a virgin of David's race, ate and drank like others, under Pontius Pilate truly suffered and truly died upon the cross, and by God's power rose again. In the certainty of this story of God's salvation, and especially of Christ's dying, he finds the strong anchorhold, the purpose and desire of his life. "Why am I in bonds," he exclaims to the Docetes, "if all this is a false pretense? Why yield I myself to death, to fire, to sword, to the jaws of wild beasts?"

Yet, though as a rock in the sea he abides in the Apostles' Creed, he has no hesitation in speaking of God's blood and God's sufferings. He has no thought that he strikes at the root of Christ's divinity when he admits him to be God's son by the mere will of the Father. He threatens to turn the world-transfiguring work of Christ into a natural process, or into wizard's work, when he describes the three sublime mysteries which God in his counsel and foreknowledge wrought out, to wit, the choice of the Virgin Mary, her motherhood, the death of Christ and his saving power, as a sudden star transcending all the constellations, flashing upon the skies.

On the other hand, Ignatius with eloquent lips pours forth precious words, as, letting go speculation, he dwells on the substance of the gospel. He portrays it the perfect means of saving and perfecting the soul. His words grow often majestic, solemn, and most touching. They have the ringing notes of bell-chimes. The concise, sententious language, almost oracular in its rhythmical tone, well suits the grandeur of the theme. The impressiveness increases, when, as if from out the gray morning dawn of the upper world, he bids a final adieu to all that is earthly, or praises the vision of God's love in Christ, overcome by its heavenly beauty. Christianity is to him the one only thing. With grand historic vision he finds every good and beautiful deed before Christ, not only culminating in Him, but proceeding from Him, a Christianity before Christ's birth. He likens Pagans and Jews, that never speak Christ's name, to sepulchres, on which the word Man is an empty title. He ascribes small insight into Christianity and its glory to those who make it a thing of appearance or a form of speech. It is downright thorough work. It is noble achievement, especially when persecuted by men's hatred. It is not profession so much as strong believing to the end. Better be silent and be, than speak and not be. Everything should be done in the thought. Christ dwells in us; we are his temple: He is in us, our God. And what are the doors through

which the wealth of gospel grace is poured into the life of the redeemed? Ignatius shows by his answers that, stimulated as he is by both Paul and John, he likes best to walk with Paul, whose character, energetic and imposing, whether in deed or suffering, is more akin to his own disposition than that of the contemplative John, who loses himself in God. "Faith and love," he affirms, are everything. In them begin all the Christian virtues; towards them do they tend. First, faith lays hold of Christ's salvation. When, as the beginning of the new life, it has supplied force and direction, love steps in and reveals and completes the union of man with God. Whoever has faith sins not; love casts out hate. There are two mints, God's and the world's; each has its distinct impress. Believers in the love implanted by Christ have God's stamp put upon them. Ignatius opposes the inaction of the Quietist, who revels in feeling; and also the presumption of the Pharisee, trusting in self-righteousness.

But the most characteristic features in the portrait of Ignatius are not these rules of salvation, however evangelic and fruitful. The greatest attraction in his life purpose is his ardent love of Christ, as it meets us, fresh and plastic, in his letters. In the fullest sense it is a personal love, throbbing in each pulse. It is the best part of life. It includes in it everything that gives life, comfort, strength, exaltation, peace, and blessedness. He seeks Christ, who died for him; he will possess Christ, who for his sake rose again. In Christ he finds not only all the riches of redemption, of knowledge, and of love, but he finds God there. In his overflow of feeling, Ignatius reveals a peculiar turn of mind, due to his fervid temperament and the burning sun of Syria. Seldom symmetrical, he yields to a passionate excitability and exaltation, of which he is himself well aware. He says: "Passion in me is not visible to many, yet it presses upon me the more. I am without the calmness by which the prince of this world is overcome." Hence, the impatient chafings against the barriers of life, the looking on the martyr's death as the highest goal; hence the high-wrought self-consciousness. Knowing he possesses the loftiest treasure, the life of God, although in an earthly tabernacle, he is tempted, when he thinks of this possession, to glory in his knowledge, his courage, and in himself. Hence the exaggerated humility as, reminding himself that this tabernacle is yet neither pure nor perfect, he passes judgment upon himself in severest terms. Ignatius relentlessly names himself, as if copying Paul, "one born out of due time," and "a castaway."

A character thus strong, yet from its changing and contradictory disposition and impulses needing to be moulded into symmetry, is sure to be misunderstood. It is hardly strange, then, that a certain Protestantism, which would rectify history after its own doctrinal conceptions or prosaic standard of merit, finds that the piety of Ignatius was affectation.

his humility a cloak to disguise hierarchical pride,¹ his wish for martyrdom a superstitious overestimate of the act itself. A healthy Christian feeling that estimates its fragmentary knowledge by the wisdom of God's Word certainly opposes Ignatius when he speaks as follows (to the Trallians): "In God, I know much," he says, "but I set bounds to my knowledge, that I may not fall through boasting and vainglory. I could write to you about heavenly things, but I fear it might do harm to you who are under age. Nor can I, because a captive, understand the things of heaven. the orders and employments of angels, the seen and the unseen. In all these I am only a learner." His religion is thus tainted with an egotism that goes with him even to God's altar; or it turns to a gloomy avoidance of the world, and, forgetting the divine love shown to earth, thrusts from itself earthly things as degraded. They are not worth care, or are abominable, as nests of temptation and barriers to soaring upwards to God. Hence his martyrvehemence which calls out eagerly for death, as the lot assigned him by God, which seems to regard death in itself as the victory over the world and entrance to heaven. Such feeling, that to be in fetters for Christ is the beginning of real submission, and to have the sword near the heart is to have God near, urges Ignatius to entreat the Romans not to deprive him of the fate marked out for him, the martyr's death, nor compel him to resume his pilgrimage, so near its end. "God's grain of wheat am I, to be ground by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be

Approach to
egotism.

¹ Ignatius has especial note in history as a champion of an episcopate, giving the first strong impetus to monarchical church government. He was led to this by no selfish interest to be promoted by a hierarchy; nor does he recognize a special priesthood, by whose help, as by a ladder, believers must attain ascent to the treasure of heavenly grace, or obtain the descent of grace, as if they were not themselves God's people, with direct access to Christ through faith. He builds the pyramid of church offices on the apostolic ground of the equal rights of all. He gives to its head the leadership, not because of any right or commission to rule, but because thus the church beholds the embodiment of its conception of Christianity, — one spiritual light illumining our life. No trace is shown of a complex organization which brings all disciples into an outward society ruled in subordination to a chief.

Yet Ignatius is eminently a man of unity. As he knows he is himself a unit, so he only follows the law of his being in insisting on unity; he beholds in unity the life and soul of Christianity, the foundation of the church's structure. "We have one Christ, whose glory none can approach unto. The Lord gathers you all into one temple, to one altar, to one Jesus Christ, who from one Father came forth, and returning, dwells ever with one."

He does not find this unity perfect, in that Christianity is one in doctrine, in belief, and in love. Ignatius wishes this principle of oneness also wrought out in the church constitution. That community alone praises Christ that with one voice sings to the Father in Christ, is one in harmonious hearts and loyal to their bishop, and the presbyters inseparably joined unto him as strings to a lyre.

Invitation to hearty adherence to the bishop is the chief theme of the seven letters; not that upholding the bishop is the chief end, but it is the most effectual and indeed the only way to defend the congregation against the seductions of heresy. The churches are still generally free from errors and schism. There are isolated heresies, active enough and developing, yet sneaking in secret places. They touch, however, the very heart of Christianity, whether they hold the old stand-point of Jewish literalism, or bring the truth of salvation into question by denying the chief facts of Christ's life, his incarnation, his death and resurrection. These sectaries let alone the existing church authority, but joined themselves in separate worship, and in a spiritualized supper, by which they hoped to obtain closer communion with a certain ethereal Christ. Against such heresies, which, overthrowing everything, gave Christians no certain faith, nothing to fight for, no scientific attain-

turned into the pure bread of God! Oh, that at once, without delay, I may find these fierce monsters who are awaiting me. I will flatter and caress them, to make them swallow me up quickly; if they refuse I will compel them. . . . What is to my profit I ^{His mad courage.} know. . . . Fire and cross, wild herds of fierce beasts, sundering and scattering of my bones, lacerating of my limbs, bruising of my whole body, the most awful torments of Satan to rack me, — only let me force a passage through them, and reach Jesus Christ." What heroic, but what presumptuous language! It is not his voice who, knowing his hour was come, prayed that the cup might pass from Him. It is a longing more emotional than spiritual, and a great way from Christianity. Yet Ignatius is just as far from the belief that the martyr's death in itself is the blossom of Christian piety. When one in spirit feels the jaws of beasts closing on him, and yet prays fervently that it be for Christ's name, he surely makes martyrdom nothing, a work of no merit, apart from a godly life. His joy at martyrdom is certainly exaggerated, morbid, and easily misunderstood. But the full and undivided communion with the Lord which Ignatius sought before everything in his martyrdom was a right thing to desire. "My love is crucified," he cries in ecstasy, "and in me no earthly thing kindles the slightest flame. The new birth is at hand; forbid me not to live; let me receive pure light. Attaining it, I shall be God's child. I want God's bread, bread of heaven, bread of life, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, God's son. I want God's wine, his blood, which is love unperishing, which is life forever flowing."

ments, Ignatius had no better weapon than the establishment of an institution which, as he believes, would carry them back to the Apostles and Christ, and so to God. With a vehemence as if salvation itself depended upon it, he impressed upon the congregation that the church, if she discarded her bishop, with no head, with no hand, firmly guiding the whole, as also the individuals, would fall into all error and schism. Thus the episcopate is placed on a dizzy height, since the bishoprics, as the expressions of church oneness, are no other than visible representatives of Christ. At first, however, this bishop is an officer in but one community, with no reference to the entire church. He stands, to the presbyters who surround his seat in a sacred wreath, as Christ to the Apostles. He takes the first place in God's stead, the presbyters are the Apostles' company, the deacons have in trust the deacon's office of Jesus Christ. To all these the congregation owes reverence and obedience. To the bishop they should look as to Christ himself. Thus rises the structure, yet confined to its own borders, up to the world unseen above.

If we grant that in the bishop, as Christ's representative, the glory of Christ is shown, then must follow what Ignatius claims for the office: namely, that all Christian communion, and all participation in salvation, is conditioned on connection with the bishop; that no sacred service has efficacy without his coöperation or authorization. One prayer, one request, one mind, one hope, should, when believers meet together, unite them in love and perfect joy. "Whoever is within the altar, — that is, whoever through the bishop has visible communion with the church, — he is pure." "Whoever is not within the altar, deprives himself of the bread of God."

The beginnings are here of an ecclesiastical structure, which, gradually spinning many forms and ceremonies around religion, at last drew Christianity back to the Old Testament position of a theocracy dominating the world. The episcopacy of Ignatius was not, strictly speaking, hierarchic. It had no special priestly castes. Obedience to the bishop was voluntary submission to authority, which was recognized by Christians as the reflection of their own united will, and a bulwark against worldliness and heresy. The bishop stood at the head of the congregation as a father above his children. Yet the germ was here of the whole after hierarchy. The universal papacy was but the last link of the chain which was hung on the neck of the churches when Ignatius derived the power of the episcopacy from its relation to Christ. The mistake of Ignatius was in not calculating the chances of abuse, and in overlooking, in his joy at his ideal, the reverse side of this ecclesiastical institution.

Such an impulsive spirit, concentrating its whole force on the point that occupied it, is likely to seem one-sided. Its complete
 His full portrait. portrait must be obtained by combining its lineaments and expressions in their due proportions. Ignatius is known to us in but one hour of his life. It is an extraordinary time, suited to agitate every fibre of his being, physical and mental. Special trials, of which he says nothing; the daily annoyances from his guards, and the constantly shifting scenes on his march through Asia Minor; the martyr crown drawing ever nearer, with the inborn love of life resisting; the inconsiderate demonstrations of the citizens, such as arose from the early Christian overestimate of martyrdom, — these circumstances combined to expose the severe traits of his character more than would have been the case in the ordinary course of life. Judging his last moments carefully, we have in the portrait of Ignatius certainly no saint, nor even the likeness of superior spiritual greatness, but a man, true, noble, sound at heart, who, with all his eccentricities, calls forth our sympathy, because of the fervor with which he clings to this one thought, Christ, — the All in All. — K. S.

LIFE III. JUSTIN THE MARTYR.

A. D. 96 ?—A. D. 166. IN THE EAST, — PALESTINE.

JUSTIN the Martyr was born in Palestine, in Flavia-Neapolis, the ancient Sychem. He began life probably in the century of the Apostles. Of his parents we know this only, that they were of Greek descent. He himself tells us that he was educated in the heathen beliefs. His culture was influenced by his various surroundings. He could derive little satisfaction from the Roman paganism, in that period of its utter decay. For, since the original simplicity of manners was gone, the watch-word of the many was only To Win and To Enjoy. Manners were grown so corrupt that the better men of the time could not find colors black enough to portray the midnight darkness. Like description is given also in the Epistle of Paul to the Romans (i. 21). The fabulousness of the old mythology was long since no secret to the dullest. Even the priests smiled in meeting one another. Earnest spirits sought "comfort in multiplied services, ceremonies, and mortifications. Some sought truth in the blending of various religions and philosophies. Others, in eager thirst, traveled over land and sea to find peace and assurance concerning things divine." To this company of seekers belonged Justin. The thirst for knowledge early possessed him. The need of his heart was to have revealed to him the hidden nature of God. With this design he turned to the famed philosophers of his day. After many illusions, he seemed near his aim. For he was promised by the disciples of

Pursuit of truth.

Plato, the old Greek philosopher, a full revelation of God. About that time he was first led by the Lord's hand. His attention was aroused by the steadfastness and cheerfulness with which he saw the Christians go, for their faith, to the martyr's doom. He felt that sensualists and cannibals (as the Christians were represented by pagan hatred) would never face death thus fearlessly. As he saw their enthusiasm for an invisible, spiritual God, he was led by his own struggling desire to anticipate something divine in the religion of the cross. But whether it was that this impression was still too transient, or his trust in human teachers was yet too powerful, this earliest contact with the Christians had now no further result. Yet his heart was made ready for a second gracious manifestation of saving love. That he might give himself uninterruptedly to the contemplation of divine things, Justin often resorted to an uninhabited spot. He was met there by a man of gray hairs, and gentle, venerable aspect. The sudden encounter led to a conversation. The old man was a Christian. He took oc- ^{His nameless} ^{instructor.} casion, seeing from Justin's philosopher's cloak that he was a disciple of philosophy, to place before him the unsatisfying nature of all worldly wisdom. When Justin manifested pain at his disclosures, the old man directed him to the true teachers of wisdom, the prophets of the Old Testament, whom God's Spirit inspired. From them he could obtain full explanations on everything worth knowing for salvation. Finally, he dismissed him with the admonition: "Above all else, pray that the doors of light may be opened to you; for no one can understand these truths without enlightenment by the Spirit of God and of Christ." While the old man thus spoke, it happened to Justin as once to the disciples on the way to Emmaus: his heart burned within him when he saw the Lord; yet he knew not it was the Lord. A deeper penetration into the Old Testament Scriptures, and an acquaintance with the "Friends of Christ," completed his conversion. Everywhere in the Old Scriptures he found sublimity of spirit, simplicity, harmony, and foresight of things future. In his intercourse with Christians he was captivated by the words of Christ, full of majesty and blessing. His inquiry, earnestly prosecuted, ended with the conviction that Christianity is the only true and saving philosophy.

In this conviction, he at once discovered a heavenly voice to decide him in his future calling. With the maxim that "whoso can proclaim the truth, and does not, incurs God's judgment," he took the pious resolve to help the building up of God's kingdom by going thenceforth as a traveling evangelist. With this purpose ^{Becomes an} ^{evangelist.} he journeyed, traversing the chief countries of the Roman Empire unweariedly till death. The widest and most inviting field was in Rome itself. Here, therefore, he stayed longest, establishing a mission school for Greek youths. On all his travels he still wore his philosopher's man-

tle, as that dress gave him easier opportunity for entering upon religious conversation. The success attending his many-sided activity can hardly be determined, because of the few records of that period. But if it be true that a good word commonly finds a good lodgment, and if the remarkable reverence in which Justin was held by the later church be taken as evidence, then Justin was one of the most important instruments the church possessed. He did not have the gift, it is true, like a Paul, of speaking with tongues. His speech had never that flow which, overwhelming as the mountain torrent from its secret cliffs, sweeps all before it. His eloquence yet welled forth continually from a heart full of enthusiasm for the gospel. What it lacked in motion it made up in clearness and warmth.

Justin's writings left us are wholly of the order of Christian apologetics and polemics. For, at the opening of the second century, the first thing was to introduce Christianity to mankind. A thousand circumstances, misconceptions, and passions opposed its reception. Simply to announce the new doctrine, and proclaim the harmlessness of Christians, would not suffice. The untenableness of existing religions and worships must be proven. Besides, then, first, educated pagans in great numbers were inclining to the gospel, and learned opponents were assailing its doctrines and promises. A further task, therefore, was to prove the truth of Christianity. In such condition of affairs Justin rightly went forth as preëminently an advocate of the gospel, and conducted his advocacy by scientific methods. He put in the foreground the prophetic testimonies and types of Christ from the Old Testament. In the relation between prophecy and its fulfillment, the finger of God was to him plainly visible. "Who could believe," he once even asks, "that a crucified man is the first-born son of God, and will one day judge mankind, if evi-

His evidences of
Christianity.

dences of this were not given from the time before his incarnation?" This proof from prophecy received strength from the whole ancient drift of thought. The church named it, by way of eminence, the demonstration of the Spirit. The cultured pagan made the difference between God and man consist chiefly in this, that God alone has insight into the future. But Justin had an eye as well for the moral splendor of the gospel. Indeed, as often as his discourse takes a higher flight, it is as he portrays the effects seen in the regeneration of men. "God's power, and not human eloquence, achieves this," he exclaims on such an occasion. He delights in comparing the pure morality of Christians with the depravity of heathendom. "We who once rejoiced in sensuality," he boasts in this connection, "now live in chastity; we who practiced intrigues, live now to God; we who esteemed money and property above all else, sacrifice our means to the common welfare; we, who pursued each other with hatred and murder, live at one table, and pray for our enemies. For not in words merely, but in

works, does our piety consist. Or he collects sayings of the Lord, in order to show on what a lofty elevation God has placed Christianity. In this appears what diligent use Justin makes of God's Word. The Scripture is the heart-blood on which his spiritual life is nourished. He knows no higher proof of a truth than that it is asserted in the Bible. "None," he says, "can rightly find a fault in what the prophets have said or done, if he thoroughly understands them. For, filled with the Holy Spirit, they have spoken only what they have seen or heard." Justin's use of the term Holy Scriptures for the New Testament Evangels is of especial weight; for it gives us the assurance that at so early a date (Justin wrote several of his works before the year 140 A. D.) the Gospels were recognized as works of the Apostles and their disciples, and on this ground used in all the principal churches for Scripture readings in public worship.

Among the bitterest enemies of the Christians, in the days of Justin, were the Cynic philosophers. For the world-despising superiority to earthly needs which these philosophers put on, often with vulgar coarseness, merely for a hypocritical pretense, shone forth in the Christians in unaffected splendor. These mock saints made it their especial business, wherever they went, to drag high and holy things in the dust. Religion had value to them chiefly as a means to their selfish ends. Hence they opposed the followers of the Crucified who were offensive through their piety, counting in this on the concurrence of the heathen populace. A worldly-wise man of this kind was the Cynic ^{His foe, Cres-} Crescens, at Rome. As he was once, after his manner, caricaturing the Christians there as atheists, to divert the crowd, Justin, with frank speech, revealed to the people the source whence the hateful accusation sprang. He had had occasion before to tear the masks from the faces of these hypocritical deceivers of the people. He called this calumniator, without reserve, an ambitious agitator, to whom popular applause was everything, the truth nothing. The answer of the philosopher, thus put to shame, does not appear. But at his instigation Justin was publicly accused as a despiser of the Roman gods, and with him six of his companions. The account given us of the last hours of Justin shows the same nobility of spirit and courageous faith that elsewhere make the forms of the church fathers so venerable and beloved. The heathen prefect asked the accused in regard to the doctrine of Christians. Justin replied, "We believe in one God, as the maker of all things created, who, invisible and exalted above space as He is, fills heaven and earth; and in Jesus Christ, as God's Son and the teacher of truth, as the prophets have before predicted." On the further mocking question of the prefect whether he also truly believed in his own ascent to heaven, after that he were beheaded, he gave the modest, magnanimous answer, "I believe that if I endure this, I shall receive Christ's gift of grace; yes, I know

this so surely that there is no room for doubt." The prefect, in order to intimidate the martyrs, then ordered that the accused be sacrificed to the gods. To this Justin replied with the confession, "We wish nothing more than to suffer for our Lord Jesus Christ; for that gives us joy in prospect of his fearful judgment, before which the whole world must appear." With this the patience of the judge was exhausted. According to the law against contumacy, he pronounced the penalty of death; and Justin, with his associates, suffered the martyr's death, beheaded by the sword (166 A. D.). Thus did Justin, also, by his blood, sow the seed of the church. He had once given the assurance, "If they kill us, we will joy." His death, worthy of a Christian philosopher, made his pledge good. If, like a church father of that day, we say the church is a tower, builded from the living members of its communion, then is Justin surely one of the white foundation stones with which the spiritual building begins. — K. S.

Beheaded. Last words.

LIFE IV. POLYCARP OF SMYRNA.

A. D. 81—A. D. 167. IN THE EAST, — ASIA MINOR.

POLYCARP is one of the holiest visions of antiquity. He takes a marked place among its eminent men, first because of the time and place of his advent. He immediately succeeded the Apostles. He was privileged to sit at the feet of John. He is the only one, of all who were so favored, the account of whose personal intercourse with the Apostle has been handed down to us. He lived in Asia Minor, in that age the most stirring scene of Christian life and the home of many great teachers of the church. There, too, great errors arose, and contending spirits, in opposing which Polycarp took part. To this first cause of eminence is added Polycarp's own character and martyr death. Of this we have a precious record, unequalled in the literature of the century. Besides this, other notices of him exist, fragmentary, indeed, but which still help, when put together, to complete the picture.

Polycarp, it appears, was born at the close of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth decade of the first century. His youth fell among the last of those who had seen the Lord. He was acquainted with many such, according to Irenæus, and was a disciple of the Apostles. In particular he was a pupil of the Apostle John, whom he may have seen first in his native town, wherever that was, on some journey of the Apostle thither, or afterwards in John's city of Ephesus.

Not only was his Christian instruction from Apostles, but by them, says the history, was he ordained as overseer of the church at Smyrna.

John certainly was present, for to him is his installation expressly ascribed. As for the rest, the name "apostles" may be understood in its general sense of "eye-witnesses and servants of the Lord." They were immediate disciples of the Lord, like Aristion or the presbyter John, but not of necessity apostles in the limited sense. For the installation of Polycarp as pastor of Smyrna must, at the earliest, have been just before the death of the last Apostle.

The church of Smyrna was, of those in John's circle, the most noted, next to that of Ephesus. Its beginning is in obscurity. It must be placed after Paul's time, for when the Apostle wrote to the Philippians (about A. D. 62), there was, as Polycarp indicates, no church in the city. Yet it was earlier than the writing of the Apocalypse. It must have been founded by Paul or John about the year 65. Its early state is portrayed in the Revelation. Beset by poverty and distress, it was rich in good deeds and in hope. Upon it had ^{His church.} been heaped revilings by the so-called chosen people. Fresh persecutions and threatenings were in prospect. But the time of trial should be short. Faithfulness in the conflict would insure the crown of life. Thus to the seer the church was spotless, neither her daily walk nor her faith eliciting censure, but praise and admonition only. Some have thought that the "angel" of the Smyrna church to whom this letter was addressed was Polycarp, but as the Apocalypse was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, there can be no reference to him.

Of the earlier part of Polycarp's pastorate no account has come down. A story quite noted in old times, and well authenticated, describes John's rescuing a youth and consigning him to the care and oversight of the bishop of a neighboring town. This, some have thought, was Polycarp. Clement, who tells the story, does not name the town: the addition of Smyrna is later. Its nearness to Ephesus is in its favor. Still Polycarp may not have been the unnamed bishop; more likely it was one of his predecessors.

A fact handed down to us is Polycarp's sending letters to churches far and near to confirm their faith; also to individuals to warn or encourage them. One such early letter of his exists, sent to the church of Philippi, which had called it forth. In it Polycarp quotes the words of the Evangelists and of Paul, Peter, and John. He ^{His letter.} unfolds, too, his individual convictions. Beginning with faith as root and fruit, he joins with it love going before and hope following after. He exalts hope's eternal character. He speaks of the resurrection, the judgment, and heaven. "If we please the Lord in this world," he says, "we shall attain to the world beyond; if we live worthy of Him here, we shall reign with Him hereafter." There runs a grave, earnest tone through the letter. He exhorts to serving the Lord with fear, to the imitation of his patience, and to a correct life before the heathen. He then addresses

individuals in every position, whether in household or in church. Opposing the prevailing error, the denying of Christ's real incarnation, of the judgment and the resurrection, he repeats the doctrine taught them from the beginning. Against the prevailing vice, that of covetousness, he gives his earnest warnings. He bewails the fall of a deacon and his wife (guilty, it seems, of embezzling church money), bids them repent, and exhorts the congregation to receive again the erring ones. A mark of the great antiquity of the letter is found in its dividing the clergy into only presbyters and deacons. A further indication of its date is the mention of Ignatius, of whose patience Polycarp was an eye-witness, and of whose happy arrival at home he was assured. He transmits the letters of Iguatius, and asks further of him and his comrades, — a natural course for him to pursue. This indicates a date soon after the death of Ignatius, which the older reckoning places in 106, the newer in 115.¹

The dim outlines of Polycarp's relations to his church² may be made a more vivid picture by taking into our view persons who were in close relations with him. For out of the obscurity in which so much is lost, some few forms arise with distinctness. Smyrna was a station in the last journey of Ignatius, as he went through Asia Minor to Rome. Polycarp, who was not known to him before, here met him, and was greatly loved and trusted by Ignatius. This is evinced in one of the latter's writings sent from Smyrna. Again, in a writing sent back to this city from Troas, Polycarp is called a blessed man and God-approved bishop. Thanks are given for acquaintance with so guileless a person. Polycarp is also asked to send a messenger to the orphaned congregation in Syria. He should carry from Smyrna sympathy, love, and consolation. The incident honors alike the one imparting his desire, and him to whom it was confided.³

Polycarp's spirit and doctrine are shown in certain disciples of his,⁴

¹ The doubt that attends the letters and journey of Ignatius enters also here. Some have pronounced, if not the entire letter, at least the part relating to Ignatius, spurious. There are suspicions of other passages, whose omission would give the letter greater unity and clearness. There are some exaggerations and interruptions evident. But the letter has the stamp of genuineness, and is supported in the main by the most ancient authorities. The exhortation (chap. v.) to be under subjection to the presbyters and deacons as to God and Christ is to me suspicious, savoring much of Ignatius, but very little of Polycarp.

² An apostle-like spirit finds a most effective weapon in the living word. Polycarp ruled by this in his congregation. He went before them in the right way, with his presbyters, as the first among equals. Church government then did not make any class subject, nor had Polycarp any hierarchical spirit. His efficiency is reflected in the attachment felt to him by his church. He received love and reverence from all its members. They made a beautiful memorial of him in their circular letter respecting his martyrdom. Nor was it only his friends who bore witness to this godly man in his living and dying. The wrath of his enemies, that is, of the enemies of Jesus, involuntarily testified, as we shall see, of his great usefulness to the close of his earthly career.

³ All this has the impress of reality. This letter, less than others of Ignatius, has been subjected to doubts as to genuineness. This testimony and the genuineness of the letters must stand or fall together.

⁴ Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, was, as Irenæus notes, a friend of Polycarp, but when and how is not said. It is likely that their friendship dated from their receiving instruction together from John. The report that Papias suffered martyrdom at the same time with John appears unfounded. The nearness of the friendship of these apostle-like men may be gath-

and not when they agree with him only, but when they differ. Examples of this are found in Florinus and Irenæus, the former a statesman, the latter a celebrated teacher of the West. The two, though unlike in years, were both Polycarp's disciples. Of Florinus the records are few and obscure, yet these outlines make him a notable person. He had an important place in the imperial court. In a residence in West Asia, he sought an interview with Polycarp. It seems to have proven the turning-point of his life. He began to think less of his position in the state than of his call in the church. He is found, after some years (in the reign of Commodus), a presbyter in the church of Rome. There, falling into a heretical way, and leading many after him, he was deprived of his office. His mistake is opposed in a letter by Irenæus, his fellow-pupil, who grieves over his fall.¹ Unlike Florinus, Irenæus remained true to his master. He was born, it seems, near Smyrna, and in early youth came to know Polycarp, who already (about 150) was an old man. Through him he shared the apostolic spirit which was spreading far and wide. He was penetrated by the love of the apostle-like man for living and pure Christianity. Irenæus became afterwards distinguished, over a wide field, for his purity and zeal in doctrine, and also for Christian wisdom and moderation. He carried ever the living remembrance of his teacher, which grew only more vivid as the years went on. He sketches the picture of the loved man in his letter to Florinus, just named, and so renders a beautiful evidence of his profound attachment. "What happened at that time," he says, "I have more deeply fixed in my memory than the events of yesterday. It must be that what occurs in childhood grows with our soul's growth, and becomes a part of ourselves. I could describe the place where the blessed Polycarp sat and spoke, his going out and coming in, his manner of life, his face and form, his exhortations to the people, and what he related of his intercourse with John, or with others who had seen the Lord; how he repeated their words, and what he had heard them tell of the Lord, his miracles and his discourses. For as he had received from men who had seen the Word of Life, so he taught, in strict agreement with the Holy Scripture. Through God's mercy to me, I heard this eagerly, and noted it down, not on paper, but in my heart; and whenever I will, I am enabled, by God's grace, to recall it to mind in all clearness and purity."

His portrait by
Irenæus.

ered from their closely related conditions of mind. They valued, in religion, the living truth above the dead letter. They held to the precious work and real life which was shown in the gospel, and which one day should again be made manifest.

¹ Irenæus dwells on the truth that since God is one, He cannot be the author of evil. Florinus, it seems, held the opposite, perhaps maintaining absolute predetermination, when opposing Gnostic dualism. Irenæus shows him the blasphemy of this doctrine, and reminds him of the apostolic teaching given him by Polycarp, striving to move him by remembrance of their common instructor. He succeeded so far as to induce Florinus to forsake his false belief. But as the latter had gone to one extreme in the enigma of the universe, so now he became an adherent of Valentinus, who held to dualism. Thereupon Irenæus wrote his work on the "Eight Eons" of Valentinus, and again induced Florinus to recant.

Thus, what Polycarp received he imparted. God's true servant tills as his field not the single congregation, but the world at large. Polycarp toiled for his flock; he labored, too, for the entire church, both directly and indirectly, near and far away.¹ He went to Rome, and there strove in person against errors. This conflict, so consistent with his life, points to schism then in the church. Already many errors, arising from ignorance or perversion of the truth, had been opposed by the Apostles. Though confined to few, these were the beginnings of more serious errors. Polycarp saw heresies that had smouldered beneath the ashes burst out into open flame. Such offenses, which must needs come, are heavy trials for those upon whom they come first.² So far as we know, the only Gnostic with whom Polycarp had been personally in contact was Marcion. Their intercourse had been friendly. Marcion was a man of strict moral principles, and full of love to God in Christ, which made a bond between them. Afterwards their paths diverged. Marcion had been excluded from church fellowship by his father, the bishop of Sinope. Coming to Rome, and remaining excommunicated, he could no longer be recognized by Polycarp. He had left the common faith, joining the school of Cerdon, a Gnostic. Not only did he, in contempt of the church-tradition, reject the Old Testament and most of the New, espe-

¹ Gaul received of the seed sown broadcast by Polycarp. Lyons was connected with Asia Minor by many business interests, and as trade came thither by the sea, so did the gospel. Many from Polycarp's field found their way there. Among them was Irenæus, who from the year 177 was bishop of Lyons, filling his place in the spirit of his master.

² In that day, when the old religions of Judaism and paganism were alongside Christianity, and when Christian doctrine was not yet developed, a chief danger was the mixing of the three. Especially was it threatened by pagan speculation, raising a hydra-head of enticing doctrines. The church needed to resist pagan intrusions the more, because in the midst of pagans she was beset on every hand by pagan manners, morals, and governmental influences. There were two ways of resistance possible: either mere negation, and rejection of what was anti-Christian, or such opposing of the same as should win the other side by showing that whatever of truth they held was in the Christian religion also. Both ways had been indicated by the Apostles, especially by Paul. They are extensively used against the Gnosticism of the second century, by the great fathers of the church. Polycarp could invoke the example of his teacher, the Apostle John, whichever kind of defense he desired to use. John had said, "If there come any unto you and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God-speed. For he that biddeth him God-speed is partaker of his evil deeds." He had enforced his word by his deed. Once, it is said, when John met Cerinthus at Ephesus, in the baths, he hastily left the place without having taken his bath, saying, "Let us flee, lest the baths fall down, for Cerinthus is within, the foe of the truth!" This we have direct from the lips of Polycarp. It was heard by many, and by Irenæus, who tells it, among the rest. Polycarp acted in the same way, as we know from Irenæus as an eye-witness. Irenæus tells Florinus, once the disciple of Polycarp, but then in deadly error, that if Polycarp had heard such doctrine as his, he would have cried out, stopping his ears, and said, after his fashion, "Good God, to what times hast Thou preserved me, that I must endure this!" He would have fled the spot where he was sitting or standing, on hearing such an utterance. Polycarp, with such habit, must have had many an occasion to be so tried. Such discourse was frequent enough, especially in his later years, when Irenæus knew him. The tree of Gnostic wisdom was in full blossom in the middle of the second century. Without direct evidence, it is easy to believe that the false doctrines that had arisen in Antioch and Alexandria, those great centres of commercial life, were known in Polycarp's district, and were become rooted there. A witness of how greatly Asia Minor was affected by these influences is found in Melito, bishop of Sardis, a noted church father, younger than Polycarp, while a contemporary and near neighbor. Of his numerous writings, a great part is against the Gnostics. He opposes Marcion, defending against him, in one letter in particular, the real incarnation of our Lord.

cially John's writings, but he built up a system opposing the God of the Old Testament to the God of the gospel. He declared Christ's incarnation a mere appearance, and denied his suffering and dying. Polycarp by all this was filled with horror. This is evidenced by an incident that probably occurred at Rome. Polycarp was met by Marcion, who asked, "Do you recognize me?" an address Course with heretics. which pointed to a former relation, showing also a doubt respecting its continuance. Polycarp replied, "Yes, I recognize the first-born of Satan!" No new expression was this, for Polycarp had written in his letter (already named), "Whosoever does not accept the testimony of the cross is of the devil; whoever perverts the Lord's words after his own lusts, and says there is neither resurrection nor judgment, is the first-born of Satan." The description fits Marcion. Polycarp only copied the example of John (1 John iv. 3), of Paul, and of Jesus (Acts xiii. 10; John viii. 44). In his somewhat harsh utterance, he showed how he valued church fellowship. Christians in that day of first love deeply prized their communion, and thus guarded the doctrine of the Apostles, and won back the erring. Polycarp, if he rejected a heretic "after the first and second admonition," was not remiss as to admonition. He succeeded thus in winning many back. While he was in Rome, he led back into the church, says an express record, many heretics, Valentinians and Marcionites. He probably did not attempt to refute their systems, a task foreign to his taste. Like the old man who had freed Justin from Platonism, Polycarp pointed from the unreal to the real. He told, in simple words, of the one faith, the one communion of the church in love.

The influence of Polycarp thus extended beyond his own district. His visit to Rome, just named, assisted this. Polycarp went there in 158, when Anicet was the bishop. He was urged, certainly, by weighty reasons to undertake so long a pilgrimage, when far advanced in age. He would perhaps discuss with the most conspicuous of western bishops his church's situation. He would especially come to an understanding on points of difference. One question lay near their hearts, that of Easter, then for the first time debated.

This church festival has a long story. Occasioning earnest disputes and even schisms in those early days, it agitated men's minds for centuries. Recently it has been treated anew in able volumes. It not only touches the question of church worship, but has a bearing on important passages in the New Testament history. It can only be named here in its connection with Polycarp. He observed Easter on the 14th of the Jewish month Nisan. Anicet of Rome differed Debate at Rome with Anicet. from him respecting the time and also the manner of observance.¹

¹ The rule prevailing in Asia Minor maintained, first, that the 14th of Nisan (the full moon of the spring month, and the day upon which, according to the Gospel of John, Christ was crucified) commemorated Christ's death; also, that Easter was not necessarily

The two were thus opposed. Each wished to win the other to his usage. But Anicet could not prevail on Polycarp to give up the celebration which he had kept in company with John and the other Apostles with whom he had lived; neither could Polycarp persuade Anicet to adopt a day contrary to the usage of his predecessors. Each appealed to the precedent of his church, not urging, it seems, any other argument (not certainly taking into the question the relation of the Asiatic reckoning to the chronology of the gospel history). But, though differing, they remained in harmony, sealing their oneness in the Lord's Supper. Especial honor was shown by Anicet to his guest in leaving to him the administration of the ordinance. Thus the stay of Polycarp in Rome was of consequence, both by his resisting heresy, and by this rare example, set by him, of a peaceful settlement of a church dispute. His journey is of interest to the church universal. Before this, lively intercourse and warm sympathy had existed among the Christian churches in different parts of the world. Here, however, is the first example of a discussion of a church question between East and West, in the person of two bishops, representing opposite customs and opinions. Here first is a communing of the whole church. It is voluntary on either side, indicating that the men held their positions in entire independence one of the other.

Polycarp was a representative of the church universal. He bore her Habits in
prayer. ever prayerfully upon his heart. Withdrawing, after this, from the persecution threatening, he spent night and day in praying for all Christians and all churches on the earth, "as was his wont." After his arrest, which we now approach, he begged an hour for prayer, which became two hours. He included in his petition all with whom he had come in contact, and the church everywhere through the earth. This is witnessed by his church in the circular letter concerning his death.

The crown of the life of Polycarp was its close. The glory encircling him illumines all the dark background. The actors are the representatives of great parties and ages in fearful conflict. The catastrophe, therefore, is world-wide in its significance. We see, first, the heathen raging. Smyrna becomes the scene of a fearful persecution. The Christians are the victims of tortures never before heard of. The steadfastness of a youth named Germanicus so excites the mob that they started the shout, "Away with the atheists!" "Let Polycarp, too, be taken!" The treachery of a slave who was put under torture disclosed the retreat of

Friday but any day of the week on which the 14th fell; consequently, the anniversary of his resurrection, reckoning it the third day, the 16th of Nisan, might fall on any of the days of the week. The other churches put aside the Jewish reckoning of months, and made the anniversary of the resurrection come on the same day of the week, Sunday, on which it was celebrated each week by Christendom. There were differences also as to the manner of celebrating. One made the death, the other the resurrection, prominent. One, making the observance of the 14th, on which the Jews ate the paschal lamb, have reference to Christ, the true paschal lamb, and to the Lord's Supper, ended their fast on that day; while the other, who kept the Sunday, fasted until that day.

the latter. He had kept calm after the news of the outcry against him, and had refused to leave the city. Finally he had yielded to the entreaties of many Christians, and retired to a barn not far away. There, in prayer, he had seen in a vision his pillow on fire, and had uttered the prediction that he would be burned alive. He had put a greater distance between himself and his pursuers. Found at last, he tried to fly no more, saying, "God's will be done." The officers were astonished at the firmness of the aged person who addressed them; some repented, upon hearing his prayers, of having hunted down such a God-like old man.

He was brought into the city next day, and led to the race-course. When he had spurned every threat and enticing argument used to secure his apostasy, the proconsul caused it to be thrice pro- Valiant martyr-claimed, "Polycarp has confessed himself a Christian." dom. Immediately the multitude of angry heathen shouted, "He is the teacher of godlessness, the destroyer of our gods, teaching everywhere neither to pray to them nor to sacrifice!" They demanded that he should be thrown to the wild beasts, or, if this could not be, that he should be burned alive. They began preparing the funeral pile. The people carried to the spot wood and kindlings from the shops and public baths. The Jews joined the cry, proving among the foremost in the enterprise, according to their custom, adds the church record. Nor would they even promise the Christians the martyr's body.

It was made a point by pagan magistrates to compel Christians to apostatize. They held those who refused to be guilty of treason. The irenarch who conveyed Polycarp to the race-course in his carriage, failing to persuade him, heaped revilings on him, putting him out of the chariot. The proconsul, wishing, it would seem, to save him, made further attempts. But he feared the people and at last yielded to their importunity. Polycarp all the while maintained such quiet composure and joyful confidence as impressed even his persecutors. In the race-course the proconsul exhorted him to abjure and to cry, "Perish the godless!" meaning the Christians. Polycarp with grave mien, looking upon the mass of pagans, sighing, and looking upwards, said, "Perish the godless!" The proconsul then urged him to blaspheme Christ, and he would set him free. Polycarp uttered the memorable saying, "Eighty and six years have I served Him, and He has done me no evil; how can I blaspheme my King, my Redeemer!" The proconsul threatened him with the wild beasts; when that was of no avail, with the fire. Polycarp replied, "You threaten me with fire, which burns for an hour, and dies out. Thou knowest not the fire of the judgment to come, and the everlasting torment reserved for the wicked. But why do you hesitate? Inflict what you will." At the stake he prayed once more, thanking God that He deemed him worthy of this day and this hour, to drink of Christ's cup and to be numbered among the witnesses of the resurrection

of the soul and body to everlasting life. Into their company he would be welcomed, this day, an offering well-pleasing to the Lord. When the fire was kindled, it flamed around him, without touching his body. The executioner had to pierce him through with his sword. Thereupon so much blood flowed that it put the fire out. With this death the persecution for that time came to an end.

Through the whole dreadful but sublime spectacle the Christians looked on unterrified, though in danger of their lives. To these eye-witnesses the account that was drawn up by the Smyrna church makes its appeal. The letter reverently names Polycarp an apostolic and prophetic teacher, a marvelous witness of the truth. This epistle was sent to a church in Phrygia, and through it to distant brethren, that they might praise the Lord, who from among his servants had chosen such a witness. In commemorating this martyrdom there have been different opinions as to its date, owing to doubtful manuscripts. The Alexandrian chronicle names March 26, 163; the Greeks fix upon February 23d; the Latins, January 26th. The year 169 has had advocates, and lately the year 167. The time was near that when, as has been seen, Justin also received the martyr's crown. — F. P.

LIFE V. ORIGEN.

A. D. 185—A. D. 251. IN THE EAST, — EGYPT.

WHO shall enter the ranks of the saintly, the chosen in the church of God? He who is imbued with the love of Christ; he whose heart is pure, his zeal untiring, his talents consecrated, his renunciation of self and the world complete; he who proves by deed that he counts not life dear to himself, who works and wars for God's kingdom, who spends himself in the service of truth and love; he who has the testimony of the noblest and loftiest church teachers, such as have learned him well, and have shared in his treasures. This man, with right, shall enter.

Such an one is Origen, the greatest of the church teachers of the third century. His equal in comprehensive learning, depth of judgment, and keenness of intellect has scarcely existed before or after him. At the same time, he is noted for a fervid temperament, an exalted enthusiasm, deep piety, and a blameless life from his youth up. With all his noble gifts and his far-spread fame of wisdom and piety, he is crowned with the most beauteous grace of a genuine humility. Origen was born, in all probability, in Alexandria, the town where East and West blended, in peculiar fashion, their sciences and their religions; where, also, the truth of the Bible made its notable alliance with Greek philosophy, by which the form of Christian theology was so much influenced. The year 185 A. D. may be accepted as the

Time of birth;
training.

time. His parents were Christians. From his very childhood the Word of God was his portion. His father, Leonidas, a pious and highly educated man, himself undertook the training of this his first-born son, whose great endowments were early perceived by him. He imparted to him the rudiments of general knowledge, and the elements of Greek learning. At the same time he laid the foundation of his religious training, by reading with him daily the Scriptures, and causing him to learn and repeat entire portions by heart. As a boy Origen showed an inquiring spirit, a living desire for thorough understanding of the Bible. He would not be content with the simple surface meaning. He often embarrassed his father with his questions about the meaning and object of what he read or recited. At times his father rebuked such questioning, and bade him keep to the simple reading of the text; but in his heart he rejoiced greatly, thanking God for permitting him to be the father of such a son. Often, it is told, would he uncover the breast of his sleeping boy, and reverently kiss it, as the sanctuary of the Holy Ghost. To his father's instruction and guidance were added the efforts of pious and intelligent masters, — first of Pantænus, whose influence Origen found most wholesome; then of Clement, on whose catechetical classes he must have attended when quite a youth.

To this period of careful training and undisturbed progress in religion and culture succeeded times of heavy trial. Then he proved that what he had learned he cherished as his life, as his highest good, for which he was ready to give up everything beside. The Christian community of Alexandria felt, above others, the fearful rage of the persecution by Septimius Severus. A multitude of Christians suffered martyrdom. Origen, then but seventeen, was filled with an exceeding longing ^{Boyle's martyr-} for such a fate. He was with difficulty restrained by his ^{spirit.} mother from making himself a sacrifice. After his father had been thrown into prison, he was the more possessed by this desire. He was kept back only by his mother's hiding his clothes. As he could not go to his father, he addressed him a written exhortation, of which these words have been preserved: "Take care not to change, for our sake, thy mind." Leonidas died the death of a martyr. All his property having been confiscated, he left his wife and his seven children poor and helpless. A Christian matron took pity on these forsaken ones. Distinguished for other deeds, this woman had also taken into her home and adopted as her son Paul of Antioch, a noted leader of heretics in Alexandria. To hear this man, thus esteemed by her, there came a crowd, not only of his own partisans, but of believing Christians. Origen, however, could not be induced even to take part with him in prayers. By exceeding diligence, the youth was soon so far along in grammatic studies that he could give lessons, and so earn his own living. His spiritual talent was also turned to account by this zealous young Christian. There came to him

pagans to be taught the Scriptures, especially Plutarch, who, after leading a godly life, obtained the crown of martyrdom, and his brother

Herakles, a stern ascetic, who was afterwards bishop of Alexandria. New opportunity was given Origen, by a persecution under the prefect Aquila, to prove the strength of his faith.

With admirable fearlessness he ranged himself on the side of the persecuted brethren, and of those doomed to die. Whether personally known to him or not, he openly acknowledged them, visited them in prison, was near them when they were tried, accompanied them to the place of execution, exhorted them there, and with a brother's kiss bade them farewell. The pagan mob grew enraged at him and greeted him with stones, but he continued unhurt, a divine arm wonderfully protecting him. His zeal and courage in proclaiming Christ caused many plots against him. A conspiracy was made by the pagans, and his house surrounded by soldiers. He stole out, obedient in this also to his Lord's command (Matt. x. 23). In this way he had to flee from house to house. He could nowhere remain hid, for learners crowded round a teacher who thus fulfilled his words in his actions. By the success of his teaching he attracted the attention of Demetrius, his bishop. The youth of eighteen was appointed by him a catechist. The catechetical school was at that time closed through Clement's departure at the outbreak of the persecution. Origen, that he might devote himself wholly to this work, gave up his grammar school, and with it his means of subsistence. The care of his family was undertaken by the church. For his own support he provided by the sale of a fine collection of copies of old works for a daily income of four oboli [about ten cents]. His way of life was such as to deaden within him all fleshly lusts. After a day of hard work and fasting, he scarcely allowed himself sleep at night, but devoted most of its hours to the study of the Scriptures. He denied himself every comfort to fulfill literally Christ's precepts. He slept on the bare ground, discarded shoes, and owned but one coat. He refrained from the use of wine and meat. He learned to endure cold and nakedness. He carried his self-denial to an extreme. Rich friends who, from gratitude for what he had done for them, would have gladly shared with him, he grieved by positively refusing every gift. This example of strict temperance was copied by many of his pupils. In this manner he lived for years wholly devoted to his work; and multitudes, both men and women, were through him led to the truth, some of them testifying it even to death. His classes constantly increasing, in order to obtain leisure for the contemplation of divine truth, and for the study and exposition of the Scriptures, he entrusted the beginners to his friend Herakles, a man of culture and Christian zeal, while he devoted himself to the more advanced. He counted two acquirements still necessary to perfectly equip him for his calling. Inasmuch as he had many learned men, heathen and

Teacher theol-
ogy.

heretics, seeking through him an introduction to the higher walks of Christian science, he felt bound to study thoroughly that Grecian philosophy in which more or less their errors and heresies were rooted. Hence he not only read the works of the philosophers, old and new, but attended the lectures of the most noted philosopher of the time, Ammonius Sakkas, who put together in a lively fashion all the achievements of that and of former ages in the way of philosophy. Origen found here much that was congenial, but in principles of great moment had to place himself in direct opposition. He was now better able, however, to meet the demands upon him. He could conduct his pupils through the various systems of philosophy, teach them to distinguish the true and the false in them, and at last to recognize in the doctrine of revelation that whole and perfect truth of which the others had caught only single rays. This was his first achievement. Out of it came his first great book, his volume on the foundation doctrines of our faith. In this he sought, on the basis of the unanimous teaching of the church, to build a complete system of Christian doctrine. By proving the apostolic doctrine so far as necessary, by defining it, clearing up this or that point, or by presenting its inner coherence, he made that doctrine avail to the conviction of the thoughtful and inquiring. He aimed to show that Christianity solved the problems of life on which philosophies and heresies had spent themselves to no purpose. The work closes with a chapter on the Holy Scriptures and their deeper meanings.

The chief task that Origen set himself in life, and on which he toiled unwearied to the close, was truly and thoroughly to understand the Holy Scriptures, and to assist others to understand them. He, who when a boy thoughtfully searched into their secrets, was engaged all his life in finding their profounder meaning. The heathen longed to find in their legends of gods and heroes a hidden sense. How much more should they who know the true God feel justified in seeking, from the divinely inspired book of his revealed will, something beyond what the reading of the literal text may offer. Already the Alexandrian Jews had done the like with the Old Testament. Among Christian teachers Clement had followed in their footsteps. Origen, however, went further, both in the laying down of principles and rules, and in their application. As man consists of body, soul, and spirit, so Holy Scripture has a ^{Scripture expositions.} threefold sense, literal, moral, and spiritual. That lying on the surface answers to the body. The second corresponds to the soul. This includes, in histories and the like, general moral laws, precepts, and warnings. It is a moral mirror of the race. Beyond lies the third sense, corresponding to the spirit, according to which the Bible histories and the like indicate supernatural events and relationships, conditions and events of the spirit world. The beings there, far above earth, and older than its creation, are in closest relations with our race. Their un-

restrained activity and free will alone make intelligible the otherwise inexplicable diversities of this earthly life. This secret of the deeper sense can be unfolded only by the Spirit who has given the sacred Scriptures. Its perception is the result of superior enlightenment, proceeding from following Christ in the denying and renouncing of self. Thought and conduct, teaching and life, depend, with Origen, one upon another. His study of Scripture extends over all portions of sacred thought. In practical expositions or homilies for the congregation, comprehending almost every book of the Bible, he unfolds its moral worth and applies it to every-day life. Again he applies himself to unlock the deepest secrets of Holy Writ. All the while he was toiling after that upon which everything depended, the finding and fixing of the literal meaning. The better to succeed in this he learned Hebrew, the language of the Old Testament, when he had reached man's estate. Throughout many years he toiled on a work which was to establish a correct Greek text of the Old Testament for permanent use in the churches, by the comparison of the original text and the different Greek translations (called Hexapla and Tetrapla). He found a faithful assistant in his friend Ambrosius. This man had been attracted to Origen's lectures by his learning and ability, and been cured by him of heresy. From that moment his only thought was to make Origen's great gifts more effective for blessing the world. He removed his religious scruples in regard to publishing his Scripture expositions and his system of doctrine. He aided Origen with his handsome fortune, employing seven short-hand writers for him to dictate to by turns, and expert young girls to copy his productions. Origen thus continued for many years without hindrance actively engaged in teaching orally and by his pen. Meanwhile he made a journey to Rome to acquaint himself further with that very ancient community. Later he visited Arabia, upon the invitation of the Roman governor there to a conference, and won great and lasting esteem. In the year 216 A. D., when Origen was thirty-one, Caracalla, the emperor, instituted a fearful massacre in Alexandria, designing it especially against the learned. Origen betook himself to friends of his in Palestine, to Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, his fellow-pupil under Clement, and Theocritus, bishop of Cesarea, who held him in highest honor. Both insisted upon his giving lectures in their congregations. In that country a layman was allowed such privilege. In Alexandria it had been a thing unheard of for a layman to lecture in presence of bishops. The Palestine bishops were severely reproached by Demetrius of Alexandria. Origen was sharply summoned home, first by letters from the bishop, then through the deacons. He obeyed, and resumed his former occupations, with but a short interruption caused by a journey to Antioch. He was summoned thither by the emperor, Alexander Severus, who favored the Christians. He there bore witness to the faith before

Escape to Palestine.

the pious mother of the emperor, Julia Mammæa, who had desired to hear the celebrated teacher of Christianity.

Origen was next called to Greece, by a matter of pressing moment, the unsettling of the churches there, through heresies. Furnished with letters of introduction by his bishop, he traveled by way of Palestine. Here his two bishop friends, in conjunction with other neighboring bishops, consecrated him as presbyter, in the city of Cesarea. The event was to him the beginning of sorrows. He became involved in disputes at Athens. A great uproar was raised. False reports of what took place were circulated. Returning home, he found a changed atmosphere. He felt that a storm was brewing, and retired from the scene. In a synod composed of Egyptian bishops and a portion of the Alexandrian presbyters, he was declared, on the motion of Demetrius, to be unworthy of the teacher's office, and excluded from the church of Alexandria. In a second assembly, composed only of bishops, he was deprived of his office as presbyter. The motive to this act, whether jealousy of the high distinction won by his lectures, or doubt as to his orthodoxy, or merely the belief that he had transgressed church rules, cannot be determined. A circular letter was sent by the synod into all parts of Christendom, making known the decision. The churches in Palestine and Phenicia, Arabia and Achaia, alone would not acquiesce in it. Origen felt this wound deeply, but submitted to the painful trial with Christian spirit. He believed it his duty to pity and pray for his enemies, and not to hate them. He sought to prove, especially to his friends in Alexandria, his orthodox belief. He thenceforth made his home in Palestine, the primitive abode of Christianity. He found in that central point of the known world a centre of operations. Thence the learning of Alexandria was scattered far and wide. The church of Cesarea, founded by Peter, and next in age to that of Jerusalem, was then at the head of the church in Palestine and vied with Alexandria in her culture. After reposing a while in Jerusalem, Origen gave himself to his work of preparing Scripture expositions for Christendom, and to public lecturing in the church, where he had bishops for his pupils. He took nothing from other sages, but presented the Christian system as the perfect science. His school of theology greatly prospered. There gathered to him here many eager pupils, even from far countries, among the rest His school in Cesarea. the afterwards famous Gregory, called also Thaumaturgus (wonder-worker), a Cappadocian, who, as bishop of New Cesarea, finished a career full of blessed activities. He had come to Cesarea with very different intentions, but was so impressed by the powerful speech and whole character of Origen, the repose and enthusiasm, the power and purity of his life, that he gave up every former plan, and, with his brother Athenodorus, remained near Origen. After five years of intercourse he was called to go away. In a farewell speech he portrayed the great teacher's influence over him, in glowing language.

Origen's time of quiet work and productiveness ended when Maximin, the murderer of Alexander Severus, turned his wrath against the Christians, whom his victim had favored, and especially against their leaders and instructors. Origen escaped, going first to his friend and well-wisher, bishop Firmilianus, in Cappadocian Cesarea. He could be safe, even here, only by remaining strictly concealed in the house of a Christian lady, one Juliana. He there obtained excellent opportunities for his learned studies. He interested himself also in the sufferings and perils of his friends. He addressed a letter to his comrade, Ambrosius, also to the presbyter Protoktetus, in Cesarea, both of them in prison with reason to apprehend the very worst. With the deepest sympathy, he sets before them the strong supports of God's Word. He mounts to exalted contemplations, to lead them to estimate slightly the earthly and to surrender life joyfully. He praises the preciousness of a steadfast confession, and the blessedness of a martyr death, not only to the sufferer, but to all who will be affected by it. He had some time before this, at the earnest desire of Ambrosius, composed an article on prayer, in which he had joined the profoundest reflections upon the character of the exercise with the heartiest exhortations. He had set forth with care everything, internal or external, pertaining to prayer, and had given an excellent exposition of the Lord's Prayer. Through all of it were displayed the marked characteristics of Origen, his contemplativeness and his practicalness, one in living harmony with the other.

When, at Maximin's death, the persecution ceased, Origen returned to Cesarea, and continued writing his commentaries on the Scriptures, as before. In a long sojourn which he made in Athens, he continued this work. He began there his exposition of the Song of Songs, in which, according to Jerome's opinion, he surpassed himself. Origen finds in this dialogue between Christ and his Bride the picture of true love in all its degrees, up to immediate intercourse with God. He finished this work after he had returned to Cesarea. Repeated invitations came to him to go to Arabia; there his loving insight won again many erring ones, and restored peace to the church. In this quiet period Origen finished his chief commentaries on the Scriptures. He also undertook, at the suggestion of Ambrose, a work which may be regarded as the second-best production of his that has come down to us, his pamphlet against Celsus, a defense of the Christian faith suited to the needs of the times. He rebuts in this the keen but frivolous attacks of that Platonizing philosopher (who was then recently deceased). It is Origen's most mature and solid production. In it he displays a wealth of learning, and with marked penetration sets forth the truth and divinity of Christianity in its brightest light.

He was not to end his life in quiet. The emperor Philip the Arabian, who had favored the Christians, and who, with his empress, had

been addressed by Origen in letters, was now dethroned by Decius, a zealous worshiper of the heathen gods. This man, resolving to annihilate the "state-endangering" religion of the Christians, decreed a persecution unparalleled in its simultaneous outburst in all portions of the empire, and in its systematic cruelty. Every exertion was made to bring the people back to the ancient worship. Admonitions, threats, ill-treatment, extremest tortures, — these were the successive means that were employed; they made many Christians give way. Origen had foreseen that the pagan belief in the increase of Christians as the source of the numerous revolts in the Roman Empire would bring on this conflict. When the shock came, he met it with the courage of a believer. He passed through terrible tortures and kept his steadfastness un-^{Tortures and death.}broken. Though death was not directly induced by these sufferings, it was undoubtedly hastened. Sustained himself in days of trial, and quickened by divine strength, he addressed to others, in need of help, many consoling letters in the closing days of his life. This pilgrim to God then finished his course when near seventy years of age (A. D. 254), at Tyre, where long afterwards his grave was shown. Christ was his life. To sing the praises of Christ, and to acknowledge Him in every revelation of Himself while on earth till the hour of his exaltation, to imprint Christ's likeness of love and wisdom upon himself, and to help others to like confession of Christ, to holy living and to happy dying, this was the effort of Origen, never ceasing and richly successful. To him to die was also gain. While he continues, in spite of the slander heaped on him by malice and ignorance, a bright-shining light in the church on earth, he is also verifying the word of the Lord, "Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father." — C. F. K.

LIFE VI. CLEMENT OF ROME.

A. D. 30 ? — A. D. 101. IN THE WEST, — ITALY.

PROVIDENCE, in differing ways, has guarded the memories of the holy men and women who have deserved well (humanly speaking) of the Christian church. Of some, it has preserved the outer life, the story of their deeds and sufferings; of others, the writings. The latter is the case with the man we now contemplate. He stands in the rank of "Apostolic Fathers," or men next the Apostles' times, whose writings are, in age, nearest to the New Testament canon. His outer life is little known to us, but in his writings, especially the one affirmed positively to be his, his Christian mind leaves us its testimony. This we dare call an "Act" as much as any other deed of faith and love ever done to benefit the church.

Clement of Rome (Clemens Romanus), always thus designated to distinguish him from Clement of Alexandria (Clemens Alexandrinus), who lived a century later, is by many thought to be the same Clement whom Paul (Phil. iv. 3) calls his true yoke-fellow, whose name with those of others, his fellow-laborers, is in the Book of Life. A testimony such as this far outweighs the most elaborately written biography of many a celebrated man.

Our Clement we find pastor of Rome at the end of the first century, succeeding Anacletus (Kletus), the successor of Linus. At least so Eusebius tells us (iii. 13). Some say he came immediately after Linus, others, again, after Peter. He died (see Eusebius, iii. 34) in the third year of the emperor Trajan (A. D. 101), after he had for nine years been eminent in preaching the Word of God, and in leading the church. Later Catholic writers have called him a martyr. According to their legends, Trajan banished him to the Chersonesus, then, on account of great public calamities, had him drowned in the sea: but of all this, history knows nothing. Clement, we believe, died a natural death. Yet he may none the less be reckoned one of the church's faithful witnesses, for amid great suffering and persecutions he preserved that frame of mind which befits a martyr.

This frame of mind is especially evident in the letters which Clement wrote to the church at Corinth. This community was even in Paul's time troubled by dissensions. Now the schism, in wider and more aggravated form, it seems, breaks out anew, setting itself against the authority of the church. Clement, upon hearing of it, addresses the church a letter (about A. D. 99, though some say earlier, even before the destruction of Jerusalem). He exhorts to unity, to humility, to

Letter on unity.

obedience and patience. He dwells on the judgment and the resurrection, of which Nature, with her changes of day and night, seed-time and harvest, is a striking symbol; as is also the Phoenix of Arabia. He employs the visible creation as his first argument to bring their stubborn wills to harmony. He finds in it God's voice to man, entreating him to obey the divine commands. Do not the constellations move after an eternal law, and, day and night, march along the path marked out for them, without disturbing one another? Sun, moon, and starry choirs, all in their course obey the Creator's will, without once transgressing. The fruitful earth at his word produces food in abundance for men and beasts and all created things, without wavering or tarrying. The inaccessible depths of the abyss are by these same laws preserved; the vast gulf of the sea is by the Creator's power kept that it burst not its bounds; for so the Lord saith: "Hitherto shalt thou come, and no further: and here shall thy proud waves be stayed." The ocean, impassable by man, and the worlds beyond obey the same law of God; spring, summer, autumn, and winter succeed one another in joyous turn. The winds.

with full freedom, perform their service, in the appointed place and time. The never exhausted fountains, which Providence has made for our health and enjoyment, offer their bosoms unceasingly for the preservation of human life. The smallest animals exist in peace and harmony side by side. All these the great Creator and Lord of all has ordained, that they may be preserved in concord and unity for the good of all, especially for our good, who fly for safety to his mercy, through our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and honor, forever and ever.

In the same way as to nature's eternal laws, Clement leads his hearers to history. He places before them the example of Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Lot, Moses, Job, David, and others; also of the Christian martyrs, especially of Peter and Paul. But above all he points them to Christ, whom he presents to them as the sublimest example of humility and obedience. "See," he exclaims, "dear people, what an example is given us here. If the Lord so humbles Himself, what shall we do, who through Him have come beneath the gentle yoke of his grace?" As earnestly and unweariedly as Clement exhorts to Christian virtue does he avoid carefully the error that God's favor can be won by man's own righteousness. He plainly says that we who are called to do God's will in Christ cannot justify our own selves, neither by our wisdom nor our understanding, neither by our piety nor the works which we in the zeal of our hearts have done, but by our faith, by which Almighty God has justified every one from eternity. He says: "Jesus Christ is the way wherein we find salvation, the high priest who presents our gifts: He is the intercessor and the helper of our weakness. Through Him let us gaze up to heaven's heights; through Him, as through a glass, behold God's spotless and majestic countenance; through Him are the eyes of our understanding opened; through Him our unreasoning and darkened souls are kindled with his marvelous light; through Him will the Lord grant us a taste of his immortal wisdom, through Him who is the reflector of his glory." These passages are sufficient to give us an idea of the spirit and contents of this letter. It was much cherished in the first ages of Christianity (as current and credible witnesses assure us), for, with the Holy Scriptures, it was read aloud in the Christian assemblies. Besides this first letter, a second epistle of Clement to the Corinthians is mentioned, which has come to us, however, only as a fragment. It is less a letter, however, than a speech or homily, and by many is thought not to be Clement's at all.

There are still other writings ascribed to our Clement. But betraying, as they do, the work of heretical parties by their deviation throughout from pure apostolic Christianity, they are, by all well versed in the matter, pronounced spurious. It is not our task to enter more closely here into these pseudo-Clementine writings. They are to the church historian an attractive source from which he may derive a record of errors

as they opposed, even in the first centuries, the pure preaching of the gospel. In one of these writings [the "Recognitiones"] the history of our apostolic father appears in the form of a romance, whose substance is briefly this: Clement, the son of a Roman of high birth, Faustinianus, after a long and severe struggle with his doubts, was induced, by the preaching of Barnabas in Rome, to travel to Palestine, that he might obtain more exact knowledge of Christianity from the Apostle Peter, whom he had long desired to know. He found the Apostle in Cesarea, and from him received Christian instruction. Then into Peter's mouth are put teachings not at all like apostolic doctrines, but the true and the false, the Christian and the Jewish, mingled in dreadful confusion. From Clement's unexpectedly encountering his father and mother, whom he thought he had lost, the book received its name of "Recognitiones." The so-called Clementines (or Homilies) are written in like spirit. In them the heretical sentiment comes out still more strongly. It was natural, in the progress of the Church of Christ, that the gloomy power of error should try to array itself in the radiance of apostolic authority, the more surely to mislead men's minds. It becomes hence the earnest duty of theological research to sift the true from the false, and to remove from the revered forms of the old time the webs which either willful lying or dreaming imagination has woven round them. This has, especially in recent days, been done by the scholarly investigation of these pseudo-Clementine epistles. The more the cloud of error is dispelled, the purer the light of the genuine Clementine letter beams upon us; a mild star in the heaven of the early church, which, though exceeded by the stronger, purer light of apostolic Word, yet received its radiance from the same sun as they. — K. R. H.

LIFE VII. IRENÆUS.

A. D. 135 ? — A. D. 202. IN THE WEST, — GAUL.

AMONG those early Christians whom we may truly regard as spiritual fathers of our church, Irenæus takes a prominent place. He is especially notable as one in whom evangelical sentiment came into conflict with a rising Catholicism. Distinguished as he is, and honored as he was in the church of old, he is but dimly known to us in his outer life. A few points have come down. His home in youth, and no doubt his native place, was in Asia Minor. He was of Greek origin, as his name shows. A short but precious fragment, preserved by Eusebius, places Irenæus, at least in his early years, in direct connection with the aged Apostle John. Confirmation of this is added by a John-like clearness, depth, and fervor which meet us in his writings, treating, as they do for the most part, of

practical Christianity. Till latest old age Irenæus recalled, with loving fidelity, those days when he, a boy full of glowing faith, as in after years, sat at the feet of the venerable pastor Polycarp,¹ of Smyrna, listening to his recital of the miracles and teachings of the Lord. He was also in contact with other immediate disciples of the Apostles. He shared with others, as opportunity offered, the memorable things he heard from them upon the doings of apostolic days.

Later he is a presbyter, we find, in flourishing Lyons; a field enriched with streams of martyr blood, a centre of Christian knowl- *Lives in Lyons.*
edge and culture for a great part of Western Europe.

What led him to those regions, still bound by pagan delusions, whether inner voice or outward call, who can say? But by settling there, he not only imparted Grecian theology to western Christians, but became, by his knowledge and activity, "the Light of the Western Church." He could not but attract attention by his rich mental endowments and the enthusiastic love of the gospel that possessed him. His appointment as presbyter by his bishop may be taken as a proof of this. A stronger evidence is his commission from the Lyons church to Rome. He was entrusted by them with the matter of the Montanist heresy, which threatened their peace. He bore a letter from the Lyons martyrs to bishop Eleutherus of Rome, testifying fervently of his zeal for "Christ's covenant." About this time his aged bishop Pothinus, after a long course of ill-treatment nobly borne, fell under the persecution which scattered the church of Southern Gaul. Irenæus seemed the most worthy to succeed him. The man of peace undertook the burden of the leadership, in difficult surroundings (A. D. 177). Paganism, alarmed at the strides making by Christianity, was arming itself, it seemed, for a fierce war of extermination against the hated innovations. Heresy and schism undermined the unity and stability of the church, deceiving the simple-minded by their seductive persuasions. Disputes rose in the catholic fold on questions of church usage. But Irenæus was not the man to be dismayed by hardships or dangers. When his faith needed support under assaults from without, he found it in the consciousness: "The Christian's business is to learn to die." He was in readiness to pursue heresy to its last tortuous windings, to entangle it in the net of its own devisings, and overcome it by the word of Scripture. In this he was helped by a remarkable proficiency in Scriptures and classical literature, as well as by his keen intellect and practical experience. He was, by his discretion and gentleness, the natural mediator between conflicting opinions. His life had one thought, to extend the church builded upon

¹ The joyous triumph with which that last of the disciples of the Apostles closed his long life, spent in the service of the Master, could not fail to impress Irenæus very deeply. "When I was a child," he writes in a letter to Florinus, which has been lost, "I saw thee with Polycarp in Asia, and remember all that then happened better than what has just occurred," etc. [See p. 17.]

the faith of the Apostles. He gave to the service of the gospel his very best powers. There is doubt whether he carried the torch of truth as a missionary to the barbarous tribes around. In favor of our believing he did, is his testifying with the energy of an eye-witness that "many barbarians bear the word of salvation in their hearts, written without ink or pen, in living characters by the Divine Spirit." What later centuries told of his crowning his noble life with the glory of a martyr's death (A. D. 202) is perhaps an invention. In his work as a Christian writer he will ever live. He is not remembered for beauty or cleverness of style, nor marks of genius or originality, but for deep reverence for God's Word, symmetrical culture, and childlike humility in the things of salvation. Of most of his writings we have left but fragments and titles.

His chief surviving work aims to show and refute Gnosticism. It is in an ancient Latin translation which, in its exactness, reveals the Greek text of the original. The subject was worthy of all his powers. For no storm of persecution from without, no convulsion of schism from within, so mightily tried every nerve of the church as the false philosophy which called itself Gnosis, from its pretensions to the highest wisdom.¹ What a mind so truthful and pure

¹ Such striving after a deeper insight into spiritual things as Gnostics professed was not, even from the Christian standpoint, altogether interdicted. The gospel is something more than a blind faith. Paul recognizes in Christ a hidden spiritual mystery, and recommends it as the fulfilling of faith (Col. i. 9; ii. 2, etc.). And when he elsewhere warns them, opposing to wisdom the foolishness of the simple preaching of the cross, this is not to condemn the effort after religious knowledge, but that hollow, obscure, mystical wisdom, which, appropriating a certain amount of philosophic profundity or frothy eloquence, loses sight of the chief points in Christianity, love and redemption (1 Cor. i. 17; viii. 1, etc.); or it censures that admixture of "profane and old wives' fables" which undermined the faith, and split the church into factions (1 Tim. iv. 7; vi. 20). But it is in the very nature of Christianity, wherever she enters as the superior power, both to absorb all the wisdom she finds that is akin to her and, wherever she takes hold of the conscience, to disturb the corruptions of man's nature. The gospel of salvation and freedom took a mighty hold on that age, weak by its spirit of bondage and corruption.

Thus it happened that very early, even in the age of the Apostles, extravagant ideas of all kinds, the growth of the age, crowded to view, like insects to a light. The most obtrusive of these was Gnosticism, with its grievous moral fallacies, having its home in Asia Minor, its parents Judaism as well as Paganism. The brooding over the relations of the spiritual world were common to all, as well as the effort to turn their secrets and powers in every way to profit. In this spirit we find in the Phrygian Colosse some Jewish-Christian errorists uniting to the law of Moses a mystic angel-worship, dedicating themselves thereto with merciless castigations (Col. ii. 8-18, etc.). In Ephesus and Crete, the people were deceived by fables about the emanation of the world of spirits from God, which, along with disputes over the law, produced contention instead of edifying (1 Tim. i. 4; Titus iii. 9, etc.). Elsewhere they misconstrued Christian liberty and the grace of God into lasciviousness (2 Pet. ii. 19; Jude v. 4). In Ephesus, Pergamos, and Thyatira, the Nicolaitanes allured the Christians to partake of things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication, even as the heathen prophet Balaam had laid a stumbling-block before the children of Israel (Rev. ii. 6, 14, 20, etc.). Paul foresaw this wasting of God's flock with foreboding grief (Acts xx. 29, etc.). John stigmatizes these seducers as forerunners of Antichrist (1 John ii. 18). Other books of the New Testament are full of like warnings and cries of woe. How far this presumption affected the purity of faith was in part decided by the laxity of morals, part by the Oriental conviction of the essential corruptness of things material. Faithless helpers of the Apostles hence denied the resurrection, declaring they had already attained it spiritually in Christianity (2 Tim. ii. 17, etc.); others scoffed at the second coming of the Lord (2 Pet. iii. 3, etc.). In John's field of labor error assumed the form of denying Christ's having come in the flesh (1 John ii. 22, etc.; iv. 1, etc.).

All these symptoms show that the danger of Christians being led astray was great. Yet the Gnostics of the Apostles' times were but the forerunners of a still more frightful apostasy.

as that of Irenæus thought of the variegated Christianity painted by human fancy, we may know without difficulty. Impiety and presumption, — this was his estimate. Even could he have separated its light from its darkness in the midst of the conflict, he could have seen in Gnosticism only a mischievous tendency. He used every argument of Scripture or reason as a weapon against this Antichrist. In the conflict, he clung fast to maxims which have made him so noted as the leader of later ecclesiastical development.

In contrast with the division of the Gnostics, he exalts the unity of the church's confession. "The languages in the world are unlike, but the tradition given us is one and the same. You will find no diversities in belief or teaching in the churches, whether of Germany, of Spain, of the Celts, in the East. or those in the world's centre. As there is over the earth one and the same sun, so does the preached truth light up all places." Nationality and culture, he thus affirms, made no difference. When the presumption of the Gnostics made even the depths of the God-head open to their science, and their souls sparks of the Deity, Irenæus pointed to the immeasurable distance between the Creator and the creature. It seemed to him better for man "with less knowledge through love to approach God than with more knowledge to be in danger of blaspheming Him; to know none other than Jesus Christ the Son of God, the crucified, than to fall into anxiety through subtle questions." He counts everything a wholesome and safe object of contemplation that

For what in their day opposed Christianity only in single individuals, creeping about in obscurity, became in the second century an ingeniously developed system, with regularly organized sects. The so-called Gnosticism presented the history of the origin of God and the world in the wildest pictures of a fantastic fiction. The principal question with them was not the practical one of the Apostles, What shall I do to be saved? but the old philosophic one, How did the world come from God; whence the mixture of good and evil in it, and why? They solved these questions by supposing a most perfect but invisible God, whose eternal essence becomes an object of knowledge by its self-embodiment in a succession of divine spirits, named eons, proceeding out from Him. By the mingling of this world of spirits with eternal yet formless matter existing in the abyss, the visible world was originated. One of the lowest of the heavenly spirits, a confined yet haughty being, became the creator of the world (the Demiurg), by impregnating the material with the divine ideas, either indwelling in him, or else derived from the upper world. To the Jews, whom he chose of his own free will, he entrusted the bringing of law and order into civil life. Paganism fell under the dominion of Satanic power. Salvation was wrought out by the highest of the heavenly spirits, apparently taking a human form (the view of Docetism) to announce the unknown God, and in receptive natures reviving that consciousness of God that was lost. The end of all things was to be the return to heaven of the natures allied to God, and the destruction or the restraining of the material with the natures allied to it. A principal point in this belief was, that the Creator of the visible world, the God of the Old Testament, was in being and action very different from the God of Christianity, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Law and grace, nature and gospel, were completely distinct creations. Christianity itself was only a means and starting-point of philosophic ideas. Its essence was not an action by God, but doctrine. The most important events in the life of our Lord, his birth, his suffering and dying, and even his humanity, were mere ideas, intangible visions. Redemption consists perhaps even more in physical than in moral occurrences. The highest aim of Christianity is knowledge. Faith and an earnest life are only a middle point between the perfection of the ravished soul in the contemplation of Deity, and the unreasoning sensualism of the man governed by passion and appetite. Since differences in men arise not from previous circumstances of education so much as from natural dispositions they form an insurmountable barrier to the power of the gospel. Salvation reaches to but a portion of mankind; while all creation takes part on the other side. In keeping with this view of the world, the pure life which the better Gnostics inculcated in their comrades fast degenerated into the most shameless immorality.

can be perceived by the senses, or found revealed in the Holy Scriptures. Yet even in Scripture are dark places and difficult problems. From them man must not inconsiderately withdraw the veil. The decree is that God shall ever be teaching, man shall always be learning from Him. Complete solutions are reserved to the life eternal. Irenæus replied to the assertion of the Gnostics that their teaching was not less apostolic than that of the Catholic church, having been transmitted to them in secret tradition from the Apostles, and also given in the Holy Scriptures, after a mystical fashion. He simply pointed to the true tradition, and to the interpretation of the Scriptures in the church.

When thus engaged, Irenæus evolved his theory of the importance of tradition, so weighty in its results. "The Apostles' traditions left to the world," he affirms, "may be found by all in the churches they established. Is there dispute, then, even in small matters, let us go to the oldest churches in which the Apostles preached, and receive from them the safest solution of the question in dispute. Had it chanced that there had been no writings transmitted from the Apostles, should we not have had to hold fast to their traditions?" Because tradition was universal and unperverted, and was the essence of apostolic teaching existing independently of the Scriptures in the churches, he made it a chief weapon against the subtlety of the heretics. But in what relation did he place it to Holy Scripture? For Scripture truth is a weapon throughout against falsehood. Irenæus in one place gives this counsel: "To avoid the manifold and changing opinions of heretics, we should be nourished in the church's bosom, on the Scriptures of God, which are perfect, as given by the Holy Spirit."¹

¹ Scripture and tradition, standing alongside one another in their oneness, are, Irenæus holds, foundations and pillars of the faith; they are voices of one mouth. The traditions of apostolic belief are to be found in their purity with those bishops whose line extends without break to the Apostles. This tradition is "the interpreted word living in the recollections of the church." Thus the unity of the faith is confirmed by the agreement of the sources whence the churches derive the faith they confess. "The true Gnosis," Irenæus says, "is the teaching of the Apostles, and the church structure in its ancient forms throughout the world, with the succession of bishops, to whom the Apostles committed the congregations everywhere, in the use of the pure and entire Scriptures interpreted by itself and in the prompting of love, which is far more precious than knowledge, more glorious than prophecy, higher than every other grace."

Of highest importance to him, it thus appears, is the church's unity, as it is the chief warrant of the genuineness of tradition and of Scripture. To the church are confided all the unmixed treasures of truth, received from the Apostles; in her alone is perfect certainty of faith; out of her pale nothing but error and doubtful opinion. She is the light of God. The church moreover communicates the Spirit of God, and the life developed by that Spirit. Fellowship with Christ depends on her. She is the pledge of our immortality, the ladder of our ascent to God, the paradise which God has planted in this world. The church contains the operations of the Holy Spirit. Whoever does not lie secure in her arms, has no part or lot in this divine Spirit. The most fearful judgments threaten those who bring the strange fire of erroneous teaching to God's altar, as well as those who for an insignificant cause, it may be, rend Christ's glorious body. No after amendment can repair the mischief of such divisions. The bishops are the guardians of this unity. They have the succession from the Apostles, and with this the secure treasures of truth. To them, therefore, obedience is due. These passages, no one can doubt, have a round Catholic ring. The Roman church was seemingly right, therefore, when as she developed her hierarchical principles at a later date she made them appear as if transmitted from the times of the Apostles. But she left the most important fact out of sight, the want of agreement of her hierarchy with the church of Irenæus.

From the Roman hierarchy Irenæus is separated by no less space than the breadth of the gospel. He regards the church as the body of the Lord, not in its outer constitution, but only in its exhibition of the complete truth and the perfect life. "Where the church is," he says in a sentence that has grown famous, "there is the Spirit of God, and where the Spirit of God is, there is the church." His expression identifies the real church and the ideal; it points to a church in which the tender bloom of early fervid love was not yet destroyed by worldliness, as in later times. His sentence in its first part suits the Catholic idea of the church; in the second part the evangelical. Irenæus finds the parts inseparable. He cannot imagine a saving work of the Holy Spirit outside the communion of the Catholic church. No more can he conceive a church not thoroughly imbued with the Living Spirit. He says: "Those who have no part or lot in the Holy Spirit cannot feed on the mother-breast (that is, the church) nor partake of that most pure stream flowing from Christ's body." So essential does he make the Spirit's presence in the church's life, that he deems bishops that do not prove their office by living faith and goodly conduct no true bishops at all. The churches ought to sustain only those bishops who "unite with their office the Apostles' sound doctrine and lives without spot. Such bishops let the church support. In them the Apostles' word is realized (1 Cor. xii. 28). The truth is to be sought where the grace of God is bestowed; where we find the apostolic church, the blameless life, and the unperverted doctrine. These sustain our faith in the one God who made all things; they warm our love towards the Son of God, who undertook so great things for our salvation; they unfold to us the Holy Scriptures."

The conduct of Irenæus accorded with these principles. An opportunity to test them was given by the dispute respecting Easter.¹ When Polycarp, pastor of Smyrna, was in Rome (A. D. 160), he was freely invited by Anicet of Rome (see page 19) to administer the Lord's Supper, though there was an abiding difference between them in regard to Easter. This difference continued to be discussed in books and synods in Asia Minor. Suddenly (A. D. 196) an imperious letter was addressed to the

¹ The churches of Asia Minor from old time had taken the evening of the same day when, by the Jewish law, the paschal lamb was slain (on the 14th of the month Nisan), as the time of celebrating the sacrifice and death of Christ, the true paschal lamb (1 Cor. v. 8). The Roman church, on the other hand, regulated the celebration of Easter according as Passion Week fell, solemnizing the anniversary of Christ's resurrection always on a Sunday, and the Friday before as the day of his crucifixion. This difference in celebrating the feast had long escaped notice. An accident made it the subject of public attention about the middle of the second century. The Oriental churches reproached the churches of Asia Minor that in their feast of the Passover, contrary to general custom, they broke the solemn fast of Passion Week, even before the day of the resurrection, and what was worse, they celebrated the day of the resurrection according to the Jewish calendar, making it fall on another day than Sunday. The deeper thought that gave rise to the dispute was that as redemption was for all, so, also, the church feast should by all Christians be celebrated on one and the same day. The desire for union was uppermost in both parties. But the first attempt was a failure, as the churches thought more of respect being paid their traditions than of agreement in keeping a festival. This, however, did not disturb the church's peace.

View of the
bishop's office

Christians in Asia Minor by pastor Victor of Rome, declaring that they ought to yield their ancient customs, and come into harmony with the West. The motive of this unheard of step is unknown, whether a blind zeal for uniformity in ceremonies, or a lust of power that would see how far Roman influence extended. The Asiatics returned a refusal, resting on the authority of their great departed fathers, John the Apostle, Philip, Polycarp, and others. At once Victor fulfilled his threat, and broke off church fellowship with them, declaring them heterodox, — the first violent act of the Romish hierarchy, but not her first inclination in this direction! The domineering spirit of Old Rome had been awaked early in her pastors, possibly by the great splendor of the capital of the world; or by the fact that, alone of western churches, theirs was founded by Apostles, and hallowed by the blood of the two chief Apostles; or by the great wealth of its members; or by the energetic spirit which was an ancient Roman characteristic. The incipient feeling was helped by success. The title bishop of bishops rose as early as the beginning of the second century. Universal respect was secured in the West. Irenæus respected Rome. He calls hers of all churches the oldest and greatest. Her decisions in church matters are highly valued by him. In proving the purity of doctrine by the regular succession of bishops in the apostolic churches, he cites her as an example before all others. He ascribes to her an origin above others (or, as some understand him, a precedence). On this account he thinks other churches should agree with her, because she has always kept the Apostles' traditions. That she is the rock on which the Lord promised to build the church, he has not the remotest idea. That rock to him is apostolic truth. With his reverence for her, he is far from acknowledging her rule. He therefore emphatically rebukes bishop Victor (though agreeing with him, substantially, upon the question at issue), for his unfeeling conduct toward the Christians of Asia Minor. He shames him by telling him his own way of working. He reminds him that never before had churches separated over a difference in external usage. He passes his final judgment in these words: "Through variety in usages our oneness in faith shines with only the more brightness." The most faithful adherent of Rome knew thus much, at that time, of any primacy of her bishop! Thus far above fear of man or of man's disapproval was Irenæus. Thus royally he united freedom of mind with a resolute spirit in things essential. By this one expression he wins a place among Protestant confessors and fathers.

Irenæus has no place among those great spirits, worlds in themselves, who by noble apostolic might subdue whole empires, or by creative genius lead religious life into new developments. There is no sign that his name lived in the mouths of the people. He was known to antiquity chiefly as a man of learning. His opinions, advocated by him with power, and

of such influence on the form of the church after him, were not so much his own, as the common property of the age in which he labored. What, above all, made him one of the most eminent and attractive of objects is his faithfulness as a steward of the Divine Mysteries. With the sword of the Spirit in his hand, he watches over the church's gospel treasure. What he receives as apostolic truth he puts into convincing shape, and builds carefully and gently, to his utmost ability, the temple of the Lord. Rightly did antiquity name him an apostle-like person. He was such not alone by living on the border of apostolic times, but by his inheritance of apostolic virtues. Would that his spirit had never forsaken the later church. Would that it were revived mightily among us! — K. S.

LIFE VIII. CYPRIAN OF CARTHAGE.

A. D. 195—A. D. 258. IN THE WEST, — NORTH AFRICA.

THE north coast of Africa, which glimmers once more, in our day, with the light of Christianity, after more than a millennium of heathen darkness, proved, in the early centuries, especially favorable for the spreading of the gospel. As the fields there, under the hot sun, ripen quickly their flowers and fruits, in beautiful variety and overflowing measure, so the church of North Africa, as history shows, compressed within a few centuries a rapid growth of Christian life, and a rich harvest, which has sent its blessings to distant lands and ages. To North Africa must be traced in large part the beginning of the Western church, of her doctrine, and her form of government. The three great North African doctors, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine, were church fathers in the true sense. What the Lord wrought through them is felt by us this day. The course of their lives had much in common. Alike they were ruled by strong, ardent dispositions; they obeyed their natural inclinations, they served worldly honors and vanities. Alike were they smitten of a sudden by the converting grace of God alike they received baptism in manhood, and cared for nothing afterwards, save to serve the church of Jesus Christ, with all they had and all they were, according to the measure of strength and knowledge that was given them. No one of the three, however, so clearly shows that the new birth makes the life of the Christian a constant following of his Lord, a reflection of Him in deed and in suffering, as does Cyprian.

Thascius Cecilius Cyprian was the son of a pagan of high rank, a senator in Carthage. He chose the established way to attain to high public place in that day. He became a teacher of rhetoric and an advocate. There is a tradition that his love for a Christian maiden, whose reasoning was too strong for him, had somewhat to do in his conversion. Whether

earthly affection was his guide to heavenly things, or some other vision of the Lord met him and said, "Follow me," certain it is that he turned away and declined obeying. It seemed to him absurd and impossible to be born again, to begin a new life while cumbered with this body, to root out affections and habits deeply implanted and grown to be a part of him. But the Lord was pleased to magnify his grace in him. "Behold, I make all things new," and "I am the Lord that healeth thee,"

His late conversion.

were truths experienced by Cyprian, in ripe manhood. His consecrated will found thenceforward opportunity and call to exert its full strength for God's service. In the year 245, when he must have been some fifty years old, Cyprian was baptized by the presbyter Cecilius at Carthage. In his love to Him who he knew and felt first loved him, he found it easy to make the sacrifice which at first he thought impossible, and to maintain it even until death. He devoted at once his worldly goods to the church, to use for the brethren and for the poor; with a vow of chastity he dedicated his life wholly to the Lord's service. In a royal letter to one Donatus, who had been baptized along with him, he speaks, in moving terms, of his new life, his freedom in Christ, and his perfect satisfaction in his love. He manifests a thorough perception of evangelical doctrine.

The Christians in Carthage were soon aware of the value of this new accession to their church. In the year 247 they made him a presbyter. The very next year, they compelled him by their fervent love and pressing entreaty, not to be resisted by him, to undertake the vacant office of bishop. He knew the importance and responsibility of the place. With the decision and self-reliance which his age required, he administered the office until his death, ten years afterwards. He became in it a pattern of Christian wisdom and active zeal, to all time.

The church in the Roman Empire was then enjoying rest and growth. Nearly thirty years had passed since the days of Alexander Severus, and the Christians had been almost wholly undisturbed. The church of Carthage was grown to twenty thousand Christians of all classes. A church synod, assembled by Cyprian in Carthage, some years later, numbered eighty-seven bishops from the surrounding country of Numidia and Mauritania. But with this outward growth, a human self-confidence had entered the church. Worldliness had intruded in many a guise. The bishops themselves were not exempt from it. Like a purifying flood, therefore, did the persecution under the emperor Decius, in the year 250, pour over the churches, more mighty and lasting than any before or after. Cyprian saw in it a divine chastisement for the thoughtlessness and worldly-mindedness of Christians. The African church endured not only the oppressions of the imperial officials, but the rage of the heathen populace. They joined to accomplish the dispersion of the church, beginning with the destruction of their sacred books, and the

taking away of their bishops. In Carthage the mob rose with the wild cry, "Cyprian must be given to the lions!" Though joyful in face of death, Cyprian felt that his hour was not yet come. He embraced an opportunity to leave the city, and hid himself in a safe retreat, known only to his friends. He did not lack enemies, who, ^{Escape from death.} during his absence and afterwards, aimed to turn his withdrawal to his reproach. Cyprian answered courageously: "It was God's will that I should escape. I did it not for my own safety, but knowing that the storm against the Christians would abate, if a chief cause of it were removed. Absent in body, I was still present with the brethren in spirit." He could say this confidently, for the congregation, during the fourteen months of his absence, felt amid all their distress from without that they had a bishop who cared for them and bore them on his heart in prayer. His letters, in his exile, to his presbyters and deacons, and to his members suffering for the faith, show his fervent sympathy in their distress, and his care in word and deed for the poor, the sick, and the persecuted. They admonish against seeking martyrdom from wrong motives; they strengthen their hearts for endurance amid trials, and praise their faithful confessions. "God wants not our blood, but our faith," he writes, in opposition to a fanatic pressing toward martyrdom and death.

The most violent of his opponents was an ambitious deacon, named Felicissimus, who with his adherents refused to acknowledge Cyprian as bishop, and urged the choosing of another in his stead. This enmity did not produce any great impression upon the church, even during Cyprian's absence. Afterwards this opposing party came to nothing from their own folly.

When, in the year 251, the emperor Gallus followed Decius upon the throne, Cyprian returned to Carthage. He knew that strifes awaited him in the very heart of the community, partly kept up by the antagonists just named, and threatening greater danger than the opposition of the world. He was one of those great minds of the early Christian ages which saw clearly that, amid the ruins of the fast sinking Roman Empire, the church could rise victorious only by not swerving from her sure foundation, the revealed Word of God; only by keeping thus steadfast and united. As the builders of the Temple in Nehemiah's time succeeded by being workmen and warriors, so Cyprian was ready and armed either to build or to defend. When the church is builded by martyr blood, he thanks God for it; but when martyrdom becomes vainglory, and seeks its own honor rather than the building of the walls of Zion strong and sure, then his zeal kindles for the Lord's house. Faint-hearted and apostate Christians, whose name was legion, had, during the Decian persecution, purchased from the magistrates letters of security, or had sacrificed to the image of the emperor. These men, as soon as the storm had blown over, endeavored to return once more to the Christian community, from

which they had voluntarily separated. The intercession, in such cases, of those that had borne testimony to the Lord under tortures or in dungeons, could hardly be resisted. So highly was the merit of steadfast testimony valued by Cyprian, that the baptism of blood was credited by him with power to cleanse from sins, and in his letters those days upon which any of the brethren had suffered death for their faith were recommended to be observed and held sacred every year. At last the martyrs in heaven assembled around their Saviour were even regarded by him as intercessors for the living, and prayers to them as especially efficacious. But when the deserts of those members of his church who had undergone tortures began to be so overestimated that on them was set up the urgent demand, as of right, that every one bearing a recommendation from such a martyr must be received again into the church, without regard to the bishop's judgment, then Cyprian set his face steadfastly in opposition thereto. He would not abate a jot of his right as a bishop, Maintains church order. or of his demand that sincere penitence be manifested, and a confession made in public. His severity in this, and in general in church matters, is a peculiarity of his character. It is explained by the insubordination of the times, and agrees with his veneration for Tertullian, and the latter's strict (Montanistic) ideas. Still he did not share the views of some Christians of his time, who held no apostate worthy to be received again. He expressly said that these unhappy ones must not be driven to despair by downright refusal.

Cyprian shows this same solicitude for maintaining the purity of church fellowship in his opposing Stephanus, bishop of Rome, as to the validity of baptisms by heretics. Opposes Rome. If the church possesses stability through unity, she cannot recognize baptisms by those outside her pale. When Cyprian's opponent cited tradition against him, and in favor of his own more easy procedure, Cyprian protested against Roman traditions as not binding the Christian churches of other countries, and in fact disputed entirely the great value of tradition. "A usage without truth," said he, "is only an antiquated error." He will test the worth of tradition wholly by divine truth. While the Roman practice was worldly-wise, Cyprian was upheld by the most weighty decisions in the councils of his day. Later councils decided for the Roman usage, and it prevails in the church to-day.

Cyprian, in all his efforts, made the unity and the purity of the church his chief aim. This was the foundation thought of his life. Thence he derives his glory and his power. Then, as to-day, the church believed in the need of unity rather than in its possibility. That man is then to be the more esteemed who, taking this as his aim, devotes to its attainment great powers of organizing and administering, and that without wearying.¹

¹ In that age it was important not only to preserve the Christian faith of individuals, in

Cyprian was chosen, more than others of his time, to build up and strengthen the church. This is evidenced in his character and actions, and also in the tendency of his writings. These were numerous, and all of them called into being by the struggles and exigencies of the age. In them he warns, admonishes, comforts, and reconciles. He explains God's Word, and shows the way to put it in practice. He proves himself a most thorough student of the Scriptures. He combats the ridiculous accusations and false notions of the pagans. He shows them the folly of seeking by outward force to quench the Spirit. He quells the fear in his people of those who may kill the body, but have no power to destroy the soul. He was not alone a preacher, controversialist, and ruler. He was also a true bishop, and a bright example to those confided to his care. This he proved himself by his conduct, his Christian love, and his joy in suffering.

When once certain Christians of Numidia were carried captive by some neighboring savages, as soon as Cyprian heard of it, he collected — and he had done the same under like circumstances before

a world full of horrid lusts and of violence, but also to preserve the communion of the saints. The church, undivided and truly catholic, must be a strong tower to all that belong to her, against the hate of heresy, even more than of Judaism and Paganism. Belief in the church's unity was to become the established creed of all Christians by those conflicts in which Cyprian took a heroic part. If Christ is to grow to his full greatness on the earth through the church, then Cyprian's celebrated writings upon church unity, which torn from their connection often give offense, may be accepted as correct conclusions. For example, "No salvation out of the church;" "No one can have God for his father who has not the church for his mother;" "The oneness of the church is like the oneness of the sun: many rays, but one light; like a tree having many branches but one trunk, with its roots firmly fixed in the soil: or as when many brooks flow from one source, let the wealth of waters divide and spread as they will, in their fountain-head they are one and the same. Take the ray from the sun, the oneness of light suffers it not to be separated; break the branch from the tree, it withers; cut off the brook from its source, it dries up. The church of the Lord has the same unity and interdependence all over the world. She is a fruitful mother, who has borne us all, nourished us all by her milk, animated us by the breath of her life."

How these words could be misused, by applying them to the perishable form of a visible church, soon appeared. But that Cyprian did not mean, in any sense, that external Roman Catholic oneness of the church that takes away all liberty is quite certain from his writings, so freely quoted by the Roman church as favoring its organization and authority. Cyprian believed in church unity, without a thought that a visible centre in Rome was at all necessary. He considered a strong supervising power necessary, to take the place of the rule of the Apostles; to prevent confusion in doctrine, discipline, and worship, and to establish the church on a firm foundation. He had experienced once at least resistance to visitation by several of his presbyters. He took his views of the priest's office in part from the Old Testament. He gave little heed to the claims of a universal priesthood of believers. Yet he was so far from cutting off the congregation from a share in the church government, that he especially insisted on the need of their opinions and testimonies, and also their consent in the choice and ordination of bishops and presbyters, and the re-admission of apostates. He it was who changed the prevailing aristocratic constitution of the church into a more equalized government by bishops, presbyters, and deacons. Yet he went about it, it must be said, with an old Roman positiveness and a display of human passion and arbitrary will. If Cyprian had ever held that the Lord had put Peter, in person, above the other Apostles, he might be adduced, as he was after his time, as a supporter of the papal hierarchy and of the Romish doctrine of the primacy of Peter. That he never entertained a thought of it, he shows in his vigorous contest, above named, with the Roman bishop Stephanus, and in numerous passages of his works, which maintain the bishops as a unit, with equal dignities, to be the right church government. They are answerable, he declares, each for the trust committed to him, to their Lord and Saviour. He finds in Christ's words to Peter only the oneness of the church, at its start, but no special prerogative for Peter or his successors.

this — a great sum of money, to be paid for their ransom. His was a hearty sympathy, however far away the sufferers. The Christians had been spared by the emperor Gallus, at the opening of his reign; but when pestilence and famine broke out, it was believed by him that the Roman gods missed many of their offerings and prayers by the falling away of the Christians; accordingly, many constraints and persecutions were inflicted by him upon the latter. This gave occasion for good returns to an angry enemy. In Carthage the pestilence carried many away; horror and despair seized on all; many fled, and left the sick ones to their fate. Dead bodies lay unburied in the streets. Cyprian, in this extremity, assembled the Christian congregation, and exhorted them in Christ's name to visit even the heathen with acts of mercy and brotherly love, and return thus good for evil. He said to them, If we only do good to our own, we are no better than heathen and publicans; we are not the children of our heavenly Father, who maketh the sun to rise upon the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. On this exhortation of their bishop, the Christians willingly went to work and lent their aid, partly by giving their property, in part by their personal efforts. Much misery was relieved, and the spread of the pestilence warded off.

Courage in pestilence.

The Christians had found an enemy in Gallus, but promised themselves rest, from the change in policy under his successors. The emperor Valerianus, who came to the throne in 253, did something towards putting a stop to persecution. But in the fifth year of his reign, the restoration and gathering together of the churches came to an end. The weak old man was excited by his favorite, Macrianus, to misgivings at the growth of the church, and its daily enrollment of many noble members. He forbade the assembling of Christians for worship, and issued edicts for their punishment. Their bishops, and those of them in high civil offices, were the first taken; and when dungeons, confiscations, and banishments had no effect, he proceeded to public executions.

In Carthage, the proconsul, directly upon receiving the imperial command, ordered Cyprian to appear before him. Finding him steadfast in confessing his faith, and in refusing to name the presbyters of the Carthage church, he banished him to Curubis, a place on the sea, about a day's journey out of the city. Cyprian continued there his care for his flock. He seems to have been left in peace, and to have gathered many Christians round him. Here, as in many another instance, the banished were made the better able to scatter the seed of the gospel. Yet day by day he felt that his end was approaching. He was assured of it by a vision that was given him. He now strengthened his own soul with the thoughts he had drawn from God's Word to comfort and help others whom he saw striving and suffering for Christ's sake. He would humbly resign himself to God's will, testify for Him joyfully, and bear the

cross after Him. He would hope strongly and gladly for the coming glories, by whose side the present sufferings were nothing. In this heroic spirit he wrote letters to his brethren, some of them condemned to work in the mines, some languishing in dungeons. He would not be persuaded by friends to save himself by flight, which was still possible. He thought he was fulfilling the Lord's will by continuing steadfastly as he was.

The proconsul, Paternus, dying suddenly, Cyprian returned to Carthage. The persecutions against Christians were, however, continued by Galerius, his successor. The day of Cyprian's last trial soon came. The city was all in an uproar; even many heathen had awaked in them grateful emotions towards the good man, for his help in their necessities. But the proconsul was obliged to execute the emperor's decree. The sentence was this: "That Cyprian may serve as a warning to all who through his preaching and example have become the enemies of the gods of the Romans, he is to be executed by the sword; that through his blood order may be restored." "God be praised," said the bishop, as he heard the sentence. It was the 14th of September, 258, when he took his way on foot out to the place of execution, near Carthage. Great throngs of the faithful accompanied him. Many a one longed to die with him. With the greatest calmness he arranged everything himself, laid aside his priestly robes, and handed them to the deacons that stood by, then fell on his knees and prayed, amid many tears. Then he rose, placed the bandage upon his eyes himself, and offered his neck to receive the death-stroke.

Sentence and
execution.

His death was also seed sown to eternal life. The congregation at Carthage was assured that their faithful shepherd and preserver had gone to the joy of the Lord, and had received the crown of life. They were built up by his heroic testimony, and increased in spiritual power and efficiency. They established a house of worship on the place where the execution took place. In it, Augustine, full of the spirit of Cyprian, preached many times in after years, and kept alive the memory of the departed. The church has ever counted Cyprian among her saints for the sake of what he did and suffered in the service of the kingdom of our Lord. — L. W.

LIFE IX. LAWRENCE OF ROME.

A. D. 230 ?—A. D. 257. IN THE WEST,—ITALY.

FOR sixteen centuries the name of Lawrence the martyr has been heard in Christendom, stirring the hearts of God's servants to reverence and hope. He has shone illustrious among Christ's witnesses as far as the gospel has spread. His name has been inscribed by many churches on their portals, to preserve his memory or to commend themselves to his care. Princes of the church, such as Ambrose, Augustine, Leo First, and others, for a thousand years have exalted him by their eloquence. Spain and Rome have disputed with each other the honor of the birth-place of this brave standard-bearer of Christ.¹

In the year 257, when the emperor Valerian's early leniency to the Christians was exchanged for tyrannic severity and bloody persecution, our hero meets us as one of the seven deacons of bishop Sixtus, and indeed as the leader of the seven. Besides his duties in public worship and in the instruction of catechumens, he had in charge the keeping of the vessels of the church and the care of her poor. He was marked by an ardent zeal and exemplary fidelity in his office. The poet Prudentius, a native of Saragossa in Spain, who made his home in the city of Rome a century and a half afterwards, serving there as a colonel of the imperial body-guard, devotes a hymn in his work, "Peristephanon," or "Crown of Victory," to the sufferings of the holy Lawrence. He says, —

Sung by Prudentius.

"First of seven in holy duty, fame and praise for Christ he gains, —
Watching, serving; perfect beauty out of gloomy night attains."

The pure mind and large endowments of the young man were quickly recognized by bishop Sixtus. Especially attracted by his loveliness, and virgin-like spirit, he made him his pupil. His joy grew, as he beheld the Holy Spirit's work making great advance in the young man's heart. He made him archdeacon, and gave his zeal thus abundant room for exercise. Lawrence's name was soon in good report far and near. Especially was he revered as an angel of God to the poor, as he went unassumingly and helpfully to them, an unwearying messenger of good. Augustine, who commemorates him in more than one glowing memorial, declares "Lawrence's crown shall be lost in night not till Rome herself

¹ He was the son, according to a Spanish legend, of a distinguished general, and when deserted as a babe under a laurel tree (hence his name Laurentius), was found by the Roman priest Sixtus, given to a nurse to bring up, and afterwards carried to Rome. Italy, which was Lawrence's true home, thought earth too small for his fame, and bade the sky herald his praise, when she gave to falling stars the name of "Lawrence's Tears." The martyr's stories and church legends ascribe to Lawrence a great number of wonderful doings, some of them without precedent. The undisputed wonder wrought by him, which ennobles him as one of the first heroes of the kingdom of God, was his faithful martyr death.

is lost. He left, by his blessed well-doing in Rome, many a footprint. He is one of whom Christ said, 'Whoso loseth his life for my sake, the same shall find it.' He kept the faith by his martyr-blood, in scorn of earth. How God must honor him, when men yield him so great honors!" In another passage this same father says: "With what varied witness, with what diversified splendor of beauteous flowers, the garland of the martyr Lawrence, beyond others, is adorned, all Rome is witness." Leo the Great places Lawrence alongside Stephen, and says that as one in Jerusalem, so the other in Rome attained an indelible fame.

Few particulars of Lawrence's life are preserved outside of legends. His history turns on his martyrdom. In this the nobility of his spirit centres its radiance and shines with clear light. As one of the old doctors says: "Lawrence's triumph is celebrated by the whole world in glowing, admiring unison."

His teacher and father-like friend, bishop Sixtus, preceded him to martyrdom. He was sentenced by the governor of Rome to the death of the cross for Christ's sake, while Valerian, the emperor, was away on his campaign against the Persians. Lawrence tearfully accompanied his father in the Lord, weeping not from sympathy so much as genuine loyalty, because he was not allowed to share his envied lot. He cried to him, as Ambrose tells: "Whither, father, goest thou without thy son? Whither, holy priest, hastenest thou without thy deacon? Thou wast never wont to present thy worship without an assistant. Why am I then deprived of trust by thee, my father? Hast thou found me backsliding? Hast thou found me apostate? Prove if thou didst in me enlist an unworthy servant! Wilt thou, to him whom thou thoughtest not unworthy of thy fellowship in the setting apart of the blood of the Lord, and the administering of the Supper, now deny fellowship in thine own blood? Will not thy judgment be less esteemed, even though thy courage be praised? The slighting of the pupil dims the glory of the master. Do not great men in victorious wars rejoice in the brilliant victories of their pupils as their own? Recall, too, that Abraham offered Isaac, Peter sent Stephen before him. Thou, father, exalt thyself in thy son! Give to the Lord him whom thou instructedst, securing praise from futurity and a companion for thy coronation!" Lawrence spoke thus. The bishop answered: "My son, I leave thee not behind. Greater conflicts are reserved for thee than me. They rightly belong to thee. For us old men, the easier trials are designed. The more glorious victories over tyrants are left for the youth. Weep not, for thou shalt soon follow. Within three days thou shalt come. Such a space is fittingly placed between the priest and the Levite. Thou art not suffered to conquer under thy master's eye, lest it should seem that thou wert in need of support. And why covet a share of my martyrdom? I leave thee thy full inheritance. Why covet my

Described by
Ambrose.

presence? The weaker pupils go before their teacher, the stronger follow, having no need of a leader, that they may win without a leader. So Elijah once left Elisha behind. I commend to thee to follow my example." The prediction to Lawrence (if so made) was fulfilled. The youth followed his master after three days, falling a victim to the pagan governor's lust for gold and hate of Jesus Christ. The latter imagined that there was concealed under the care of this untiring guardian and benefactor of the poor a rich church-treasure. This he ordered him to produce, under heavy threats if he refused to obey. How our deacon deported himself is told by Prudentius: —

"Lawrence calmly hears his pleasure, bowing with a noble grace:
 'Wealthy is the church in treasure, earth affords no richer place;
 Cæsar's mints and flowing coffers no such treasure can display.
 What our Lord's blest storehouse proffers, quickly at thy feet I'll lay!'
 Gloats the foe, as Lawrence offers, what will fill his castle-coffers."

Lawrence then requires a space of time, in which he promises to collect the desired treasures. But what is this he has gathered together? The poor, the wretched, the maimed ones of the church, yet stamped with Christ's likeness. These he arranges in a long rank in the porch of the sanctuary, and then asks the governor and his officers to come and accept the church's jewels.¹

The pagan, raging over the illusion practiced, and angry against a religion that counted such possessions valuable, commands Lawrence to abjure Christ. Upon his saying that nothing shall ever induce him to do so, he commands him to be whipped till he is drenched in blood. When the desired recantation is still not made, the anger of his foe plans the most horrible decree, ordering an iron grating to be heated in the fire, and the "obstinate Nazarene" to be tortured to death upon it, as slowly as possible. Prudentius introduces the pagan as saying: —

"'Death,' thou sayest, 'cannot thee frighten! Thine illusion I'll destroy:
 No quick end thy woes shall lighten, life and need shall long annoy;
 I can pain and misery heighten, tortures fierce but slow employ.'"

He ordered and it was done. Lawrence lay stretched on his horrible death-couch bravely, even joyously. Augustine says of him: "By as little as he shrank horrified from the heat that must consume his body, by so much did his soul rise lovingly to the joys of heaven; contrasted with the glow kindled in his heart, the flame of outer torture grew cool and mild." Leo says: "Christ's love in him could not be overpowered by the flame. The fire without was fainter than that within."

Prudentius sings, also, of Lawrence's death of torture:² —

¹ Prudentius dwells on this incident at length.

² Tradition says that Lawrence, when his body on one side was all surrounded by the fire, with serene look desired that they should so turn him as to give his other side to the glowing iron bars. After that was done, his soul escaped from its bruised shell and rose to the joy of the Lord.

"Splendor lightens all his features! Such from Sinai Moses brought,
Shaming by his glance the creatures who Jehovah had forgot.
Such the first of martyr teachers from the opening heavens caught."

Further he is portrayed by the poet praying amid his tortures:—

"Pour, O God, on Rome thy spirit! Hence send faith to every shore;
Earth's remotest lands shall hear it, when this folk thy grace implore!
Firm my hope, since this foundation Paul and Peter joined to lay.
Lo! a Prince shall rise, our nation to redeem from pagan sway;
Heathen shrines in rich donation shall he give for Christ's oblation!"

His prophecy concerning Rome, says Prudentius, was fulfilled:—

"Idol might since then has withered, temples to the church give way."

And with the close of this old hymn of Prudentius we may end our brief story of the heroic course of one of the most reverend and glorious of the ancient Christian martyrs. He signs:—

"Thus for Christ unarmed striving, Lawrence wounds the pagan arm,
In his death its fall contriving, frees th' oppressed from idol harm;
Happy Rome, his bones retaining, shall the martyr homage pay.
We rejoice, his soul attaining heaven's high immortal day.
Hero! with th' elect remaining, crown'd in splendor thou art reigning!"

F. W. K.

LIFE X. BLANDINA.

A. D. 150 ?—A. D. 177. IN THE WEST, — GAUL.

ON no other land has the tempter's rage been expended as on France; especially has South France suffered, and that part of the south that has counted Lyons its capital. Celebrated among French cities for its antiquity and influence, Lyons, that lies so pleasantly on the banks of two rivers, has been more than once a door for the introduction of the gospel into France, as also for the entrance of commerce and civilization. If blows could be struck this city and vicinity (so it was planned), by the enemy, they would be felt to the utmost limit of a wide circle, of which Lyons was the natural centre. There was witnessed an example of this, terrible in its character but encouraging to our faith, very soon after the gospel had first entered Gaul. At Lyons, and at Vienne in Dauphiny, in the year 177, occurred the martyrdom of the first bishop of Lyons, and a great number of church members of both places. A short account of the same will here be given. It is taken from a contemporary document, one of the most precious that has come down to us from the early days of Christianity; namely, a letter which was sent by the churches of Lyons and Vienne to the churches in Asia and Phrygia. Its author was possibly Irenæus, who succeeded Pothinus as bishop. It has been preserved by Eusebius in his "Church History" (book v., chap. 6). There is not space here, unfortunately, to

Account by eye-witnesses.

repeat the entire letter. full as it is of the apostolic spirit. But we will at least introduce extracts from the ancient venerable testimony.

Certain members of the two churches, who already as servants of Christ had endured various trials, were led into the open square in Lyons, before the governor of the province, to be publicly examined. He treated them so severely that a young Christian there named Epagathus, not before known as such, asked leave to defend the innocence of his brethren. The judge gave him his desire, so as to associate him with the others when he had confessed his belief, and named him, meanwhile, by way of ridicule, the Christian's advocate. Such an example stirred up other Christians to come out from the heathen, among whom they had remained until now. By fresh arrests, the number of Christ's witnesses was at once increased. The falsehoods which fear of torture had forced from certain Christian slaves, who were taken along with their masters, excited the rage of the people and the governor to the utmost. They proceeded, regardless of age or sex, to the most cruel inflictions, in order to shake, if possible, the constancy of the martyrs. Some of them, especially those who had just confessed their faith the first time, were come to this ordeal without girding themselves with strength, or rather, without thoroughly feeling their weakness. These succumbed. Ten Christians denied their faith. They caused distress to the church, which trembled as she saw the increasing number of apostates. The most remained unshaken, in spite of all the arts of hell which the heathen used to sharpen and increase their pangs in the hope of at last overcoming them.¹

¹ What horrid proofs of the natural depravity of man and his embittered hate of divine truth we find, when executioner, people, and governor are busied whole days, and even nights, directing all their mental powers to discover a torture more ingenious than former ones, and suited to extract from its victim a word of submission and falsehood. What an evident sign of the grace of the invisible God, when we see these victims, one after another, men and women, old men, youths and maidens, and even children, bearing all the power and cunning of the enemy, constant amid their manifold pains, and answering their persecutors only by an humble yet invincible confession of their faith. All this could be seen in the Lyons persecution. One or two quotations may be added here, hard as it is to describe these horrid events.

"The blessed Pothinus, who was at that time over the Lyons church, and seemed still young and active in spirit, though frail in body, was carried by the soldiers before the tribunal. At the near prospect of martyrdom, a look of gladness lighted his features. His body, wasted by the load of years and a recent sickness, was only detaining the soul to give it a triumph through Jesus Christ. The multitude ran together, raising a great outcry against him, and overwhelming him with reproaches, embittered as they were against the person of Jesus Christ. When the governor asked him who the God of the Christians was, he, to anticipate the calumnies which he foresaw, replied that he should know Him, as soon as he proved himself worthy of it. Thereupon he was covered with abuse. Those near by gave him severe blows, regardless of his age. Those further away threw at him whatever was at hand. Pothinus, with but a breath of life left, was thrown back into prison, where, in two days, he died."

"Sanctus, a native of Vienne, and deacon of the church of Lyons, endured unheard-of sufferings with extraordinary patience. The pagans flattered themselves that by repeated tortures they would elicit from him some inconsistent utterance. But he met their attacks with a steadfastness which nothing could overcome. To every question he replied, 'I am a Christian.' This title answered for name, for country, for position, for everything; not another word could be got from him. The governor and executioners no longer restrained their fury. After every skillfully contrived barbarity that they could think of, they applied a red-hot iron bar to the most sensitive parts, but, kept firm by grace, the martyr persisted in this confession of faith. His person was so tortured and covered with wounds as no longer to look like a man's body. Jesus Christ, who in him was persecuted, made an in-

And to whom in this little company of heroes must the palm be given, if it is allowed to choose? To a poor maid named Blandina. Her martyrdom by itself made a greater impression on the pagans than all the rest. She ended a long succession of most horrid tortures by her death in the midst of the amphitheatre.

She was first brought to torture along with Sanctus and Maturus. "She was," says the letter which is our authority, "of such ^{A weak maiden.} weak bodily frame that we all trembled for her; especially her mistress, who was one of the martyrs, feared that she had neither strength nor courage to confess her faith. But the woman, wonderful to say, was able by the help of God to bid defiance to the several executioners who tortured her from daybreak until night. They finally owned themselves vanquished. They affirmed that the resources of their barbarous art were exhausted, and testified their astonishment that Blandina, after all she had endured, was still living. We do not understand it, they

instrument of him to triumph over the foe, and to prove that there is no pain that cannot be vanquished when borne for his glory. The martyr, after some days, was subjected to a new trial. The executioners applied the iron and fire again to the still inflamed wounds. They hoped either to weary his steadfastness or end his life, and thus to intimidate the other Christians. Their hopes were disappointed. To the great amazement of the spectators, the martyr's frame again received strength and the use of its limbs."

Some days after, Sanctus, with his friend Maturus, who had endured almost as much, was led into the amphitheatre to be exposed to wild beasts. "The horrors were renewed which they had before suffered. After a fearful scourging they were left to the fury of the beasts, which dragged them about the amphitheatre. They suffered still other tortures, as the people, at their pleasure, now demanded that this or that torture be inflicted. Finally the pagans proposed that they be seated on a red-hot iron stool. The intolerable odor which their burnt flesh emitted, far from moderating the fury of the people, only the more excited it. But they could force from the mouth of Sanctus nothing else than his first confession, 'I am a Christian.' After he, with Maturus, had suffered a long time, they both were strangled."

The Lord mercifully favored those weak youths who had at the first yielded through fear of suffering (and who of us dare cast the first stone at them?). Among them, the first to be strengthened was a woman named Biblis. Not contented with having brought her to deny her faith, the pagans would force her to accuse her brothers. They brought her to the torture. The excess of their wickedness made her lose all fear of the pain. Weak but true, Biblis at no time consented to speak evil of the church. The pain of present torture turned her thoughts to the eternal pangs of hell. She waked as out of slumber, gave God the glory, and won the crown of martyrdom. The Lord used different means to recover the other fallen ones. The faithless executioners threw them into prison with their brethren, made them share their sufferings, and thereby show them bitterly their folly. The difference of experience in this common trial was great. The fallen found an increase of pain in the reproaches of conscience, while the confessors, by the Word of God and the Divine Spirit who quickened them, were kept strong. They could be distinguished by their appearance: the martyrs were calm and happy; the fallen, sorrowful and downcast, who would have faith in their steadfastness if they now could recall their apostasy. Their condition was desperate and seemingly without remedy. But an opportunity was again offered them by a providential circumstance, to suffer for the Lord. The governor had learned that Attalus, one of the faithful martyrs, was a Roman citizen. He dared not put him to death, without an order from the emperor, whose advice he also asked in reference to the other prisoners. The answer had to be waited for. This respite was used by the confessors to secure, if possible, by prayers and warnings, the recovery of their fallen brothers. Finally the emperor's answer arrived. The wise Marcus Aurelius willed that they execute those who abode by their confession and release those who abjured. Hereupon the grace of Jesus Christ shone in the timid youths who for a moment denied Him. They were examined, in order to be set free. But most declared that they were Christians and would be sentenced, with the rest, to death. What a triumph for the church! What a joy for the angels in heaven! The rest of the martyrs, Attalus, Alexander, who had given himself up in like circumstances as Epagathus, and their comrades, in execution of the emperor's command were sternly put to death by strangling, with fresh tortures to the last.

said, for some single tortures of these we employ ought to end her life, according to the common course of torture. Meanwhile Blandina was gaining new strength by the confession of her faith. 'I am a Christian,' she cried, and by this utterance dulled the point of her anguish."

Then Blandina was led into the amphitheatre, the day of the strangling of Sanctus and Maturus, and made fast to a post, in order to be consumed by wild beasts. But none of them touched her, and she was then unbound and led back to prison, kept for another conflict.

This last conflict came on the closing day of the gladiatorial shows. Blandina was brought into the arena, at the same time with a boy comrade. a youth, a boy of fifteen years, named Ponticus. Both of them had been compelled, already, to be present all the preceding days at the executions of the martyrs. Now an effort was put forth to make them swear by the pagan idols. The sex of one and the youth of the other was counted on to secure submission. In this expectation Jesus Christ was forgotten, who makes use of weakness to put strength to shame. They both refused to obey. The crowd, like a wild beast that sees its prey escape, wished every kind of torture to be exhausted. Ponticus was first taken. Encouraged by his brave companion he went through all the degrees of martyrdom with steadfastness, and ended with a peaceful death. Blandina was left alone like Jesus Christ in the wilderness: hell tempting, the earth vanishing, heaven supporting. "She was whipped, torn by the beasts, set upon a hot chair; afterwards she was inclosed in a net to be thrown to a wild raging ox, and was tossed all broken into the air. Finally she was strangled. So great courage confounded the pagans. They owned that there was no woman among their number that could have endured such an amazing and long-continued course of suffering."

Reader, is the spirit of this woman also in thee? Of herself she was only what thou art. Seek what she sought, and thou wilt find what she found. "When I am weak, then am I strong."—A. M.

LIFE XI. PERPETUA.

A. D. 181—A. D. 203. IN THE WEST, — NORTH AFRICA.

IN the year 203, at Carthage, the proconsul, Hilarianus, caused several catechumens to be sent to prison, among them two women, Perpetua and Felicitas.

Ubia Perpetua was the daughter of one who, though not a Roman citizen, was yet of the higher classes. While not preventing his wife and children from becoming Christians, he was himself steadfast in his hereditary paganism. Perpetua was twenty-two years old, had enjoyed the

best education that could be given in Carthage, was already married, and was cherishing upon her bosom a loved babe. She was thus bound, as it seemed, by the deepest and strongest ties to earthly existence, filled full, as it was to her, with the promise of every joy. With Felicitas it was different. She was also a wife, and was carrying a child, but she was a slave. She heard the joyous message, and entered the freedom of Christ, while under bondage and service owed by her to a master. In their common imprisonment, the two felt that they were one in the Lord who redeemed them.

Wife and
mother.

Perpetua's father first foresaw the danger threatening his dear child. "I was," so she herself narrates, "associated in life with my persecutors; my father, in his love for me, was ever trying afresh to overcome me and withdraw me from my faith. 'My father,' said I, 'thou seest this vessel lying here: this little vase?' 'I see it,' he said. I replied, 'Can it be designated by any other name?' And he answered, 'No.' 'Lo, then, I cannot call myself other than I am, — a Christian.' Then father was furious, and threw himself on me, as if he would tear out my eyes, but he only dealt me some blows." Perpetua, thus enduring and overcoming, thanked her Father in heaven. Left to herself, away from the conflict prepared her, she strengthened her spirit. Some days later she became assured, in her baptism, of her salvation. While she was receiving consecration in the baptismal water, she heard the voice of the Holy Spirit within her, which prophetically bade her to pray for nothing unless for patience and endurance in her flesh.

"After some days," so she further says, "were we taken to prison; and I shuddered, because I had never known such a dark place in all my life." Soon, however, by the payment of a sum of money by the deacons, Tertius and Pomponius, who served them, her removal was effected to a better room in the prison. Also her babe was allowed to share her imprisonment with her.

Her own story.

In this time of prison life, she bore everything cheerfully, in the feeling that she was suffering for her Master. With her companions she strengthened herself for enduring in united prayer. She gladly received her relatives as they visited her, and quickened her own soul and theirs by the interchange of loving words. She was awaked in all her being, as a young mother, by the tender enjoyment of her babe; as a happy daughter and sister, by the knowledge that her mother, brothers, and sisters humbly embraced the Lord with faith like her own. She waited in calmness the development of events. In her entire consciousness she was already a citizen of a higher world. She saw a ladder of wondrous height, which reached up to heaven, but was so narrow that it could be ascended by only one person at a time. On its sides at every step were fastened iron weapons, swords, lances, hooks, knives, so that whoever climbed heedlessly, without ever looking upwards, was wounded and torn.

Under the ladder a dragon lay, of immense size, who prepared snares for the climbers and frightened them back. She saw also a garden of immeasurable extent, and, sitting in the midst of it, an old man of great stature, in the guise of a shepherd, who was occupied in milking his flock, and about him men in white garments, many thousands. He gave to her a part of the flowing milk which he obtained. By this she was assured of her early liberation from her earthly life.

Directly after this her perils began. The accused had to be given open trial. Then her father hastened from the city, bowed down by woes, and sought anew to bring his daughter to recant. "Pity, daughter," he cried, "my gray hairs; pity thy father, if I am worthy still to be called thy father; when with mine hand I have led thee to this full blossom of life; when I have loved thee before all thy brothers, do me not this shame among men." "And I wept," so she tells, "over my father's gray hairs, that he alone of my whole race could not rejoice in my sufferings, and I sought to comfort him. I said, When I stand before the magistrate at the scaffold, there will come what God wills; for I know we are not in our own power but in God's power. And he parted from me in great sorrow." Soon came her trial. The forum was already filled with an immense throng of spectators when the young Christians were hurried away from an early meal to their examination. They made their appearance, ascending the platform on which they were to receive their sentence. They all commended themselves to the Lord. When Perpetua's turn came, her father appeared along with his child and made new entreaty. The procurator, Hilarianus, also addressed her in the most friendly way. She answered briefly and decisively, "I cannot." "Thou art then a Christian?" said Hilarianus. "I am a Christian," she replied. There was then no further room for delay. She, with the rest, was sentenced to be thrown to the wild beasts. They returned with joyous hearts to the prison. Perpetua sent the deacon Pomponius to her father, seeking to have her child once more, but in vain; her father did not send it. The fate of herself and her fellow-sufferers was to come very soon. At the military celebration, the 7th of March, of the anniversary of the promotion (some years before this) of the emperor's son, Geta, to the dignity of Cæsar, they were all to be exposed, for the cruel entertainment of the people and soldiers, in a conflict with wild beasts.

The interval passed quietly. One of the condemned fell sick and died. Felicitas grew very fearful that the favor of martyrdom would be denied to her, since her confinement was near, and at such time the sentence of death against a woman could not be executed; but her ardent wish, which was also the common prayer of the condemned, was fulfilled; she was given in prison a little daughter. In the midst of her pain, a servant said to her, "Thou that now sufferest so, what will come of thee when thou

art thrown to the wild beasts? of which thou, when thou refusedst to sacrifice, didst make nothing." She replied, "Now, *I myself* suffer what I suffer; but then there will be another with me, who will suffer for me, because I also suffer for Him." Her little babe was taken by a sister to be brought up as her own.

A slave's steadfastness.

Perpetua enjoyed the consciousness of utter separation from the world. She abode continually with her own thoughts. Still the world did not give her up. The keeper of the prison, Prudens, though a pagan, enlarged his heart toward the prisoners whom he had to guard, and afforded them as many privileges as he dared. Many came to their prison, and rejoiced with them. When the day of her execution approached, her father came for the last time with heart broken by his sorrow. Yet he failed to turn her from her decision.

Thus the farewell moments of life drew near. At one time, as a tribune began to treat the accused roughly, Perpetua, by a strong and decided remonstrance, made him retire abashed. The last meal, such as was wont to be allowed to all persons under sentence, was to them a love-feast, in which they comforted one another and won converts to their faith.

At last the day of victory dawned. The prisoners proceeded out of prison to the amphitheatre, as if repairing from earth to heaven, serene, with serious, dignified countenances, "only trembling a little from joy, not out of fear." Perpetua went with light steps, as a bride of Christ, as the loved of God. By the power of her look she constrained all to cast down their eyes before her. Felicitas, too, did not conceal her joy that she had borne her child, and attained happiness, going to the fight with the wild beasts, and to her second baptism, the baptism of blood.

They thus reached the entrance of the amphitheatre. There the officers would have forced the men to enter arrayed as priests of Saturn, the women as devotees of Ceres. Perpetua, ever like herself, steadfast and firm, refused decidedly, saying, "We are come hither of our own free will that our freedom might not be thus violated or taken away from us." The tribune in attendance yielded and let her enter just as she came.

The battles of the wild beasts began. The men were slain by a leopard and a bear. The women were exposed to a mad cow, their garments taken off them, and a loose net thrown about them. When the people looked on them they were moved with sympathy at the sight, and bade them be called back, to come again to the fight with clothing put around them. Perpetua was first taken and tossed by the wild beast; after her Felicitas. Perpetua, falling on her back, sat up and drew her garment, torn at the side, together again to cover her, showing only modesty, but not pain. Then again led near, she fastened and smoothed her hair, to receive her martyr crown without the look of misery and pain which is given by disheveled locks. When she rose she noticed that

Felicitas was also thrown to the ground. She ran to her, extended her hand, and lifted her up. They stood both waiting one by the other. But already the cruelty of the people was subdued. The women were withdrawn from the fight with the beasts and led to the door of the amphitheatre, where those who escaped alive out of the fight were accustomed to be put to death. When Perpetua came thither she was welcomed by a catechumen named Rusticus. Looking about her, as one awakened out of sleep, — she was in such a frame of exaltation, — she said to the

The theatre;
closing act. amazement of all, “When are we to be led to that wild
cow, for I do not know;” and when she heard that it was all over, she only believed when she saw the marks of the conflict on her own person and on her clothes, and recognized the catechumen. To him and her brother, who had meantime been summoned, she spoke her last words: “Stand fast in the faith, love one another, and let not our sufferings prove a stumbling-block to you.” The martyrs were now, at the desire of the people, summoned into the midst of the amphitheatre. When Perpetua was run through her side by the sword, she cried out, and then directed the hand of her young and inexperienced executioner to her throat, which, under her direction, he then severed. Her innocent blood, thus shed, became a new, fresh, bubbling spring. Of its waters many drank, and were strengthened to enter the kingdom of Christ, and enrol themselves under the banner of the Lamb.

The church in Carthage, with holy pride, took the revered remains and buried them in the principal church, where they were carefully preserved for centuries, as an imperishable treasure. Thus the festival of Geta became a holy day of the church. Augustine has left three inspired discourses delivered by him with holy fervor on the day sacred to Perpetua and Felicitas. On that day each year the Christians among whom their lacerated bodies lay buried were wont to go in countless throngs to their shrines. Thus untaught catechumens and even slaves, becoming Christians and receiving baptism in the midst of persecution, kindled a light which shone out clear to the Christian church universal, and still sends its light down to our century. The evangelical church appropriates this light. She is strengthened by these martyrs as by weak and fragile copies of the Lord and Master. She grows stronger, thus, to confess Jesus with full devotion, even amid rising dangers; to maintain for future ages the gospel as it is contained in the Scripture, in its purity and majesty, unmarred by the inventions of man. — F. R.

LIFE XII. PAPHNUTIUS OF EGYPT.

A. D. 275 ?—A. D. 350 ? IN THE EAST,— EGYPT.

PAPHNUTIUS was an Egyptian bishop, who, during the Diocletian persecution, had shown his faithfulness in Christian confession. When the first church council in the Roman Empire met in Nice (325), he was summoned to take a part in its affairs. Brought up from youth among monks, he had never tasted worldly pleasure. He had remained unmarried, and obtained high regard by his temperance and purity. Not for this, however, is he here celebrated. Equal piety appeared in many of his day, and in those not bishops, nor in any church office. Equal self-denial, also, was found. Indeed, for near a century the utter mortification of the flesh, and subjugation of the instincts of nature, had been growing in reverence. Monks and hermits had gone to extremes, some from vain ambition, others with pure spirit, seeking but to please God and keep body and soul unspotted. Of these was Paphnutius, whose mind was uttered in his declaration that he would not make his life and his conscience the standard for all others, and that he would take great care not to prohibit by strict law what God had not prohibited, but left free to every person's judgment. In a decisive hour Paphnutius became a powerful admonisher of the whole venerable assembly of Nicene bishops. He spoke a good word at the right time. His word in season. He thereby preserved at least the Eastern church from advancing towards the shocking custom of enforced celibacy for pastors. Adopted, as it was, very soon after, in the West, it excited bitter disputes and unholy wars. It weakened the conscience in the bosom of the clergy, who should have been a strength to the consciences of others.¹

¹ As to marriage of priests. This title we use, though it is not evangelical to call ministers priests, as though they were intercessors between man and God; or as though all Christians were not a nation of priests, a holy people, needing no mediator save the one Mediator between God and men, Christ Jesus. Ever since the year 200, at least, had there been a conception of priests as in charge of God's worship. Presbyters or elders, entrusted with discipline, became priests; bishops, or leaders, became chief priests; the deacons, the collectors, managers, and distributors of the moneys for church support, and the poor and the sick, were made under priests. Thus things were found by Paphnutius, who neither would nor could alter them. But now priests, whether bishops, presbyters, or deacons, were to be made a different race of creatures from other Christians, like angels, who neither eat, nor marry, nor are given in marriage. The monks had promoted the view that not only the wicked, fleshly lusts, but also physical need and craving, were impure; that men must live as if disembodied, if they would live holy. Priests must not be less holy than monks, who were but laymen. They could not, indeed, give up eating and drinking, unless they chose to starve. But it became them not simply to live temperately, as every Christian ought, but to deny themselves, in their fasts, the very necessities. Priests were thought of as holy when signs of excessive fasting, pallor and leanness, were exhibited. Married life, and children, in the eyes of all who wanted to be holy in the popular way, were a desecration of the priesthood. Yet apostolic Christians had taken no offense when bishops were both husbands and fathers. The Nicene Council came in a transition period, when the lingering simplicity of old ways came into conflict with new and distorted views of holiness, and gave way to them. Let it be confessed, however, that the safe mean of what is wholesome, becoming, and Christian in marriage is hard for either the individual or the law to determine. A minister of the word must especially be circumspect in wooing and

When the bishops in Nice held conference upon the marriage of the clergy, legislation on the subject was still within bounds. Now they were on the verge of going to extremes. There were many bishops, priests, and deacons, who were married. They had their wives before they entered the ministerial office. They had children also. Now, it was likely to be ordained that those entering the priesthood must renounce the marriage relation; it was to be a disgrace to priests to have children. Already a provincial synod (305) in Elvira, in Spain, had so far yielded to this sentiment as to forbid all priests to touch their wives under penalty of deposition from the priesthood. The minds of the bishops in Nice were already inclined to the elevating of this rule into an universal church law, when Paphnutius stepped forward into the midst

of the assembly, and roared out, "Lay not upon the priests this heavy yoke. Marriage is honorable in all, and the bed undefiled. Take care lest by your exaggerated strictness a new wound be inflicted upon the church; all are not able to subdue the instincts of nature. The chastity of the divorced wife may not be preserved. Union in marriage with a lawful wife is chastity. Certainly it is enough, if those already in the ministry keep from marrying, following the old church tradition; but the man who, as a layman, is married already, must not be asked to part from his wife." The whole assembly gave their approbation to the words of Paphnutius. The council, in their decisions, passed the whole question over quietly, and left it to every one's free will to say whether he would deny himself the privilege of marriage.¹

wedding, neither wounding his own or his wife's conscience, nor giving occasion of scandal. We would not advocate shameless license, for this were restoring the flesh to dominion. Though the disposition for it be adorned with the fig-leaves of art, with taste for beauty, love, and poetry, it matters not; it deceives only those who want to be deceived. Chastity, in or out of marriage, is a great reality. Christian peace of mind without it is impossible. True chastity is not a subject of statute. Under the mask of a legally imposed chastity has the most destructive licentiousness crept into the unmarried priesthood. Good customs are better than strict laws. Still they cannot create that which grace and prayer alone are able to produce, even a pure mind.

¹ The Greek church in the East did not take away that liberty, albeit public opinion, here and there, was unfavorable to a married clergy. Not long after the Council of Nice, a church assembly in Paphlagonia had occasion to pronounce an anathema against any who refused to take sacrament from a married priest. Later, this could hardly happen, at least in respect to bishops, for it was the custom to take the higher clergy from among the monks, whose vows forbade their marriage. In the Western church celibacy became a church ordinance, though it took centuries to enforce it. Pope Siricius (385) first dared to maintain the scripturalness of the prohibition, in a letter to a Spanish bishop, Himerius. Unmarried clergy were to have no women near them, save old persons of their kindred; a wise provision, which had been early made for monks. Yet it could not prevent concubinage with all its evils. Luther, in his letter to the clergy at Augsburg during the Reichstag (1530), in which the evangelical princes presented their triumphant confession, sought with voice of thunder to rouse consciences against this fearful abuse. What contradiction of God to forbid marriage, his ordinance, but allow concubinage, which He forbids! If the Roman church is now generally more careful, it is owing to the watch kept by the evangelical church by its side. The pain and uneasiness of conscience which the prohibition of clerical marriage excites in countless persons who cannot control the impulses of nature are surely a secret cancer to-day in the church of Rome. Those are happy, who, married or single, by God's grace keep soul and body unspotted. The strong know best (what the dead sensualist hides from himself, as he surrenders his conscience to the idols of natural impulse and blind force) that in our flesh dwelleth no good thing, but that only through

Paphnutius especially shows us that in every matter of life we must preserve and respect the liberty God has granted us. What God has forbidden is sin. Man should not needlessly multiply prohibitions by statute, thus making sin of what before God is not sin. What is not forbidden is allowed. Not that it is always right to practice what is allowed. But it is to be decided by every individual, in each instance, whether his conscience and reason do not bind him, although he be not bound by precept. The more we have allowed us, the more are judgment, reflection, and will called to decide whether we must not deny ourselves. Enlarge the sphere of the lawful, and you enlarge the sphere of independent judgment; you gain room for exercising the full strength of the spirit, and the purity and vigilance of the heart; you educate men to true freedom. Children, fools, and transgressors must have the limits of the lawful made narrow; but the more a man loves God, understands his precepts in their spirit, and exercises self-control, the more he will find is allowed him. Human weakness, too, wants tender handling. There must not be demanded of men by precept or prohibition what is impossible, thus driving them to despair or hypocrisy. The weak should not be put under the yoke by intolerable precepts. The strong, when allowed freedom of choice, should take heed lest by any means this liberty become a stumbling block to them that are weak. It will be well if every one, both in respect to the forbidden and the lawful, and the use or the disuse of the lawful, will remember and imitate the wise bishop, Paphnutius. — H. E. S.

LIFE XIII. SPIRIDION OF CYPRUS.

A. D. 275 ?—A. D. 350 ? IN THE EAST, — CYPRUS.

In the times of the emperor Constantine the Great, and his sons, the emperors Constans and Constantius, there lived on the island of Cyprus, blessed by Paul and Barnabas visiting it first on their earliest missionary journey, a devout man named Spiridion. He was the owner of a sheep-farm on the east coast of the island, near the village of Trimitunt, some distance out of Salamis. He took care of his flocks himself. A plain man, without external polish or book-learning, he was truly and deeply rooted in the faith. Mighty in prayer, and with profound knowledge of the heart, he was sometimes credited with the power of working miracles and the gift of prophecy. He came of that

A rural bishop.

God's Son, who has shed his blood for our sins, and with struggle, toil, and prayer, does the Spirit become master of the flesh, and that this dear victory is to be ascribed not to self, but to the gift of God; that marriage, ordained of God for holy purposes, is, as a rule, to man and woman alike, a wholesome help and medicine, softening and refining impetuous nature, and assisting its submission to the Spirit.

simple age of Christianity when there were many bishops, and when bishoprics were no larger than parishes are now. The heart and life of a bishop were regarded by the people, then, rather than his eloquence or learning. Spiridion was made a bishop about the time of the last persecution under Galerius and Maximin. He was held in the greatest esteem by his congregation. His fame grew and obtained his name a place among the worthies of the Greek calendar, as also of the Latin. There gathered also about him, by reason of the originality of his piety, a mass of popular stories, in which history and legend can hardly be separated one from another. It is best for us not to try too strictly to make the separation, especially where the traditions help us to comprehend the man and his influence over men's minds.

No doubt exists that Spiridion was one of those faithful confessors whom Maximin, in his effort to destroy all Christians, and especially all bishops, doomed to toil in the mines, first putting out one eye, and crippling the joint of one knee. With these scars of Christ, Spiridion ap-

In the Nice
Council.

peared, along with the rest, at the great church council at Nice, in Bithynia, which was opened by the emperor Constantine in person. He is thought, too, not without probability, to have been the venerable unnamed bishop who caused such an excitement there among Christians and pagans, by his exemplification of the power of faith. A pagan philosopher, with crafty eloquence, was mocking the Christian belief, and even embarrassing the learned bishops, who ought to have answered him. A plain old man advanced and desired a word. The request was granted him out of reverence for his worthy appearance, yet with apprehension that he would be turned to ridicule. Then he began calmly and earnestly: "Philosopher, listen in the name of Jesus Christ! One God is the maker of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible. By the power of his Word has He made all, and by the blessing of his Holy Spirit has He established all. This Word, whom we name God's Son, having pity on man's errors and on his brutish life, was born of a woman, lived with men, and died for them. He will come again, as the judge of men's doings. Such is the truth; so we believe without nice definitions. Give thyself then no trouble to oppose what is firm faith, or to seek objections, or to question how this could or could not be. Dost thou believe? Answer me!" To the amazement of all, the surprised philosopher answered, "I believe," and then thanked the old man, and advised the philosophers who had been of his opinion to follow his example, for he was stirred by an unspeakable influence, and not without the aid of God, to be a Christian. If this old man was not Spiridion, he was his image.

After the council, Spiridion dwelt at home as bishop, the same as before. Next to his congregation, he looked after his sheep.¹ He had had

¹ "There came one night some thieves to steal the sheep, who were stricken in the inclos-

a wife, and a daughter, Irene, who dwelt with him, and was of like mind with himself. While her father was at Nice, the maiden died.¹ When she was yet alive and keeping house for him, there came, during a season of fasting, when he had been abstaining for days, a stranger, to pay him a visit. He bade his daughter wash the feet of the guest and set on food. She answered that there was no bread or meat in the house, except some bacon, the use of which in the fast was not allowed; but he bade her prepare the same and set it before the guest. He then partook, and bade the other help himself. He had first prayed the Lord to suffer him in this case to violate the ordinance of the church. The guest delayed, refused to eat, and said he was a Christian. "Then," answered the worthy man, "you need have no trouble about it. To the pure all things are pure."

Anecdotes.

But he could also be very strict when he thought that the reverence due God's Word was put aside by man's presumption. This was proven once by the young bishop of Ladra (otherwise Ludron), also a city of Cyprus. This man, Triphyllius by name, had been educated at Berytus (or Beyrout), on the Phenician mainland, and had studied law and rhetoric. As a Christian, he submitted to Spiridion's training, which the latter exercised with holy zeal. He especially strove to expel his lofty pride of learning. He had such success that the man became known and honored as a saint, and is inscribed as such in the Latin calendar. At a synod of Cyprus bishops, this Triphyllius was assigned the duty of preaching the sermon. In the Scripture words, "Take up thy bed and walk," he ventured in place of the word for bed, which was not sufficiently elegant Greek, to introduce one more choice. At once Spiridion, hurrying up from his chair to his feet, called to him to say if he thought himself better than the Evangelist, that he was ashamed to copy the expression which had been used by him. This indignation commanded respect, and by his speech he accomplished his object.

His self-forgetfulness showed itself in many ways. He divided his bishop's revenues into two parts, of which he gave one to the poor, the other he lent out to those desiring. In doing this he was in the practice of not handing out the loan, but of letting them take out of the coffer themselves what they needed. He also let them put the money, when

ure by an unseen hand, and were found there the next morning by Spiridion, when he went to lead out his flock. They owned to him their guilty purpose. By his word and prayer he relieved them of the stroke with which, by his power with God, he had arrested them. He then said kindly 'that he would send them a wether, that they might not have had such a long watch in vain; that, however, they should have asked him for it, instead of trying to steal it.' He suffered, thus, no one to go away from him in trouble, but sought to make men better by love."

¹ "After his return, some one came and complained that he had committed a treasure to the deceased girl, and wanted it again. Spiridion replied that he knew nothing of it, yet searched for it, but without discovering any trace. The other so wept and cried as to try the bishop's heart. He betook himself to his daughter's grave, called her by name, and bade her tell him where she had hid the treasure. The voice of the dead indicated to him the place where she had buried it. He sought after and found it, and gave it to its owner."

they returned it, into the chest again, reposing thus full confidence in their integrity. There was a man who, at one time, abused this trust; for, as he laid the money back in the chest, he took it secretly up again. Spiridion said nothing; but after a while the same man came back to borrow money again. The bishop told him he should take the amount needed out of the coffer. He went to it, found nothing, and said that there was nothing there. "Ah," the bishop exclaimed, "that is a rare thing, indeed, that thou alone canst not find in the chest what thou needest. Thou must at some time have failed to put back what thou hadst taken. Otherwise thou wouldst certainly find what thou wast in need of. 'That I warrant thee, and if thou art innocent, go again now and take it.'" The man was convicted, and acknowledged his guilt.

Thus Spiridion was taught of God in all simplicity. He was able, therefore, to train and care for souls: for he knew what was in man. When he died is unknown. It is said that it was at the time of harvest, in gathering which he was himself assisting. Would that we had yet many country bishops like Spiridion. All may take of him a lesson. — G. F. S.

LIFE XIV. ATHANASIUS OF EGYPT.

A. D. 300 ?—A. D. 373. IN THE EAST, — EGYPT.

ATHANASIUS is distinguished in the church by the twofold title, "The Great," and "The Father of Orthodoxy." His character can be truly estimated only when viewed along with the whole course of his times. Men of historical note need, all of them, to be seen with their surroundings, to be fully understood. Some of them, however, in both ancient days and modern, present characters and lives so thoroughly cosmopolitan and human, that they might well belong to later scenes and later days, and even to our own. Others are so interwoven with their times that their portrait in its smallest trait cannot be viewed away from the historic background against which it is placed. Athanasius is among the latter. His greatness is inrooted in the growth of dogma by which in the fourth century the church was overspread; not as by accident, but by the law of her own development. Athanasius greatly promoted this growth. His penetrating mind was directed to the great theological questions which convulsed that age. His fate depended upon their solution. The greatness of his will, which bore calamity with the courage of a martyr, can therefore be best measured by understanding the questions named in all their significance. Athanasius was not called as a Justin, an Ignatius, or a Cyprian, to proclaim Christ as God's Son, against polytheists and idolaters, in face of the stake and the jaws of

beasts. Every one that owns and loves Christ as a Saviour can see how a man could die for that. But it was his vocation, with unfaltering boldness, to stand up for the church's exact and orthodox belief, to resist the course of error, a duty as difficult as it is important. It may possibly astonish the simple Christian that a war had to be waged more than three hundred years upon certain definitions and descriptions of the Being of God,—especially as these need further explanation and accommodation to our minds now. But let none call it a mere war of words. For whoever considers how near was the question discussed to the very life of the Christian faith, how also its decision was to influence the progress of Christian doctrine, will not fail to count the struggle deeply significant. Athanasius, its foremost champion, will be seen, by such an one, a hero. His life-story will receive from such the attention it deserves.

Athanasius was born in Alexandria, that celebrated city founded by Alexander the Great, and nourished by the Ptolemies, his successors. There Eastern and Hellenic culture found a common home; and Jews and Christians alike had their far-famed schools and doctors. The year of his birth is doubtful; it was about 300. Of other famed church fathers we know the lineage and training, and of some their education by careful mothers, but nothing of this do we hear in the case of Athanasius. Thus much is known, however, that Athanasius was early devoted to the church's service. In boyish plays, which often declare the vocation of the coming man, Athanasius, it is told, person- ^{He plays bishop.} ated the priest or bishop, and that with such native dignity that, having on one occasion caught the eye of bishop Alexander, he was taken in hand by him to be trained to the profession of the ministry. Though Christianity was struggling then in direct opposition to ancient paganism, it yet allowed its form of thought to be shaped largely by pagan literature. The youths that were to be the church's doctors were nourished and brought up on the classics. Thence they formed their taste, and derived their philosophy, elocution, and logic. Like the rest, Athanasius gave himself to these studies, but joined therewith the still higher study of the Holy Scriptures and the Christian fathers. He exercised himself at the same time in prayer and fasting, thus to subdue his spirit and protect himself against the temptations of the flesh and world. That he actually withdrew into the solitary life of the hermit, and had acquaintance thus with the holy Antony, whose life he afterwards wrote, cannot be declared with certainty. In the year 319 we find him already a deacon in the church's service. The youth of hardly twenty became his bishop's confidential friend, and soon after commenced his literary labors. Although now, under Constantine, paganism was repressed, it was still firmly rooted (as was proven in the reaction under Julian) in the minds of many, even of the educated. It had no lack of subtle defenders or ready champions to

wage an aggressive warfare. Christian apologetics, to which still belongs the first place in theological science, needed to keep its weapons ready at hand against such assaults. Athanasius undertook to maintain the truths of Christianity against the pagan Greeks, and while thus engaged to unfold the foundation doctrine of Christianity, the incarnation of the Logos.¹ Soon he found opportunity in the great Council at Nice to make brilliant trial, not in writing only, but in open debate, of the depth of his theological views, and his skill in setting them before others.²

There was in Alexandria a presbyter named Arius. He is described by his contemporaries as a tall, lean man, with pale face, grave expression, and bristling hair. He had a quarrel with his bishop, Alexander. The personal difficulty grew into a theological controversy through their differences of opinion on the nature of the Son, and his relation to the Father. Arius maintained that the Son was not as the Father, eternal. He was far above all other beings created by the Father, yet "there was a 'when,' a moment of time, in which the Son was not." Arius rejected, in an assembly of the clergy, the opposite views held by his bishop as Sabellianistic.³

¹ In his books, *Λόγος κατὰ τῶν Ἑλληνῶν*, and *Περὶ τῆς Ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ Λόγου*.

² Nowhere had theological speculation taken bolder flights than in Alexandria, especially in her catechetical school, or seminary for Christian teachers. The great thinkers, Clement and Origen, had striven to solve those loftiest problems which Christian theology must either undertake or be content to stay in the dark on the main points of her belief. The incarnation of the Logos was a favorite theme of the day. This we find young Athanasius attempting to treat in his very first production. Then another question rose: what the Logos was, and what his relations to God the Father, the increate, eternal, invisible, and unchangeable. Was he a second, inferior God? By such teaching God's unity would be destroyed, and Monotheism would be displaced by a new Polytheism. Or was he only to be thought of as a power dwelling in God, and emanating at an appointed time from that ever-living source, an outward manifestation to the visible world of the everlasting God? Christian belief could not be satisfied with this either. Christ's own utterances in reference to his eternal existence with the Father compel the acceptance of a personal being. The necessary conclusion was that there was a difference between Father and Son, not in mere name, but inherent in God's own nature. Between these two extremes — the one separating the Son from the Father, which involved the idea of inferiority, the other uniting them without distinction in one being — the church sought an expression that should declare both identity in essence and difference in persons. This was not compassed without a hard struggle. Already the opinion of Sabellius of Ptolemais, that the persons in the Godhead were to be understood as mere names by which He revealed Himself, and a similar idea of Paul of Samosata, were both condemned as untenable in a synod held at Antioch, A. D. 269. Meanwhile the disciples of Origen, especially bishop Dionysius of Alexandria, kept fast hold of the difference of persons, but now even this orthodox acceptance of a distinction between the Father and Son took a heretical direction. The distinction was made not only to include a subordination of the Son to the Father, as was held before by Origen and Dionysius, but also to threaten the lowering of the Son to a mere creature, the depriving Him of his right as Son in the Godhead, allowing it to Him only in a figurative sense. This opinion was held by Arius.

³ Arius, let it be noted, did not consider Jesus a mere man, the son of Joseph and Mary, as did the Ebionites at a very early date, or as did Artemon and Theodotus in the second century. He taught the existence of Christ before the world, as the Logos, with the Father before the Incarnation; he did not deny that through the Logos God created all other beings; that this first-born of creatures was far above all other creatures. He had no hesitation in calling him "God" in a certain sense, a figurative limited sense, as others before him had done, using the expression, a "Second God." He thus deemed the Logos, or Son of God, a kind of intervening existence between God and the world. He shook thus the monotheistic foundation of Christianity by placing a second God, or shadowy Under-God, by the side of the one true God. He cut the very nerve of Christianity, denying its chief mystery, the incarnation of the Logos as a real, essential entering of God into man's nature.

Bishop Alexander excluded Arius, provisionally, from the church's communion, and informed the bishops of the East of this step, in a circular letter. Arius, too, bestirred himself; he also sought to win the bishops of the East. One of them, Eusebius of Nicomedia, attempted to make peace between Arius and his bishop. Arius agreed to tone down his expression. Then the emperor Constantine, imperfectly informed of the merits of the struggle, did what he could to bring the combatants to terms. For, though such discussions might exercise the sagacity of the learned, they brought small blessing to the life of the church at large. But in Egypt the excitement had already gone too far to be easily calmed. The emperor was obliged, for a final adjustment of the strife, to call a general assembly of the church, the first of the Ecumenical Councils, to meet in Nice, in the spring of 325. Three hundred and eighteen bishops attended. After Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Eusebius of Cesarea, had in vain attempted a Confession of Faith, the former one with a somewhat Arian sound, the latter one expressed in Scriptural language, there came to the front the Leader at Nice. still youthful deacon, Athanasius. Through his clear-cut definitions that could not be misunderstood, he decided the day, and exercised the greatest influence upon the formation of the Nicene Creed, in which the sameness of essence of Father and Son was made the watchword of the church.¹ From that day Athanasius enters the history of the Arian conflict, and indeed becomes its very centre.

The victory seemed decided for orthodoxy, when the synod had passed sentence of condemnation against Arius and his adherents. A strong court party, however, succeeded in winning over the emperor's sister, and through her changed the views of the emperor. Meantime Athanasius, upon the death of Alexander, soon after that, was made the bishop of Alexandria. The diocese included all Lower Egypt, Libya, Pentapolis, and the seven districts of the Upper and Lower Thebaid. Not long after his installation, he had to consecrate Frumentius as bishop of Ethiopia. Everywhere a wide field of activity opened before him. But peaceful labor for the building of the church's inner life was not to be thought of. The Arians allowed him no rest. They induced that same Constantine who had commanded to consume with fire the writings of Arius, like those of Porphyry, now to recall him from his exile in Illyria. Arius, to quiet the believing, had meanwhile handed in a creed couched in general terms. Athanasius was given to understand that he must receive the excommunicated again into the church. This he resisted to the utmost, preferring to bring upon himself the emperor's utter displeasure. Enraged at his resistance, the enemies of the bishop employed all the arts of intrigue which they could command. They de-

¹ The terms used are, "The Son is eternally begotten of the Father, not created, Light of Light, very God of very God, of one substance (*ὁμοουσιος*) with the Father; by Him are all things made."

nounced Athanasius as an enemy of the emperor, as a disturber of the peace, a violent man, that made use of his office to oppress others. The most extraordinary stories were industriously circulated. For a long time the accused kept his slanderers at bay. At last his opponents, made up not only of Arians, but of all classes, combined to the bishop's overthrow.

The chief blow was dealt by a synod held at Tyre, ten years after the Synod of Nice (335). There a party had the upper hand, who, without espousing the Arian error, yet decidedly opposed the Athanasian doctrine, and especially the expression "*homousios*" — of same essence. They were also unfavorably disposed to Athanasius personally. From their leaders, Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Eusebius of Cesarea, they had the name of the Eusebian party. Later they were known as the Semi-Arians, or Half-Arians. Others, pure Arians and Meletians, united with them for the overthrow of the man they all disliked. Among the accusations trumped up against him, there was one intended especially to excite the emperor, namely, that Athanasius hindered the export of grain from Alexandria to Constantinople. In vain Athanasius showed the

First exile.

falsehood of this, and of the other charges. After he had been condemned by the synod, he was sent, by command of the emperor, as an exile to Trier. There he received, at the hands of Prince Constantine and bishop Maximus, a becoming reception. Meanwhile Arius, recalled from exile, was to be received again — a synod at Jerusalem having decreed his reception — into church-fellowship, and that at Constantinople. But the day before, Arius died very suddenly. We cannot censure Athanasius if he saw in it a judgment of God.¹ Others ascribed it to witchcraft or to poison. Soon after came the death of Constantine. Under his sons, Constantius in the East, and Constans in the West, the strife went on. Indeed, it now assumed an alarming aspect. What at first was only a personal quarrel, became in time a general dispute between the churches of the East and West. The measures of the emperor only served to heighten the party strife. The sons of Constantine (Constantine II. being still alive), immediately upon their entrance into power, recalled all the banished bishops. Constantine II. did himself the honor of recalling Athanasius. After more than two years' exile, the latter returned to his former office, to the extravagant joy of the people of Alexandria. Yet the waves of the church commotion ran so high that there was no hope of safe anchorage for any long time. Constantius, now sole ruler in the East, too easily changed his mind, listening to the complaints, old and new, constantly urged against Athanasius by the hostilely disposed party of the Eusebians. It was not a good omen when the orthodox bishop, Paul, of Constantino-

¹ The bishop of Constantinople, Alexander, forced by the emperor to receive Arius into the church's communion, had, it is said, prayed God to help him out of his distress, which prayer was answered by Arius's sudden death.

ple, was deposed, and Eusebius of Nicomedia installed in his stead. The second removal of Athanasius was soon arranged, and was accomplished by the Synod of Antioch (341). The law was then passed that no deposed bishop could ever be restored. In vain Athanasius disputed the legality of the Synod of Tyre, which had deposed him. His opponents could see nothing illegal in it. Athanasius was forcibly ejected from office. Gregory of Cappadocia, elected bishop by the Antioch Synod, was forcibly installed in his place. When the intruder, accompanied by his countryman Philagrius, the governor, entered one of the churches of Alexandria, on Good Friday, a tumult was excited, but was quickly quelled. On the Easter following, an attempt was made on the life of Athanasius. He, however, escaped the plot; and after solemnly protesting, in a circular letter sent from near Alexandria, against the injustice done him, took refuge with bishop Julius, in Rome. Here

Second exile.

such reception was given him as compensated him for the contumely heaped upon him. To western Christendom he seemed a man persecuted for the faith, — he was a martyr. A synod of some fifty bishops pronounced decidedly in his favor. Meantime the chief of his opponents, Eusebius of Nicomedia, then bishop of Constantinople, was dead, but without affecting the fortunes of Athanasius; not till six years after, at a synod held at Sardica, in Illyria, composed mostly of western bishops, was there full justice done him. (Those on the Arian side absented themselves from Sardica, and held a separate assembly in Philippopolis.) The Nicene doctrine was declared the true one, Arianism rejected, and Athanasius acknowledged as lawful bishop of Alexandria. The emperor Constantius came forward and invited him to take possession of his office. Athanasius, who was then in Aquileia, obeyed the summons. Taking leave of his friends, he turned toward Constantinople, the residence of the emperor. The latter gave him a friendly reception, and commended him in an autograph letter to the civil and ecclesiastical rulers. In it he termed Athanasius a man of God, signally supported of the Most High in all his trials, and known to all for his orthodox faith and correct course of life. Athanasius's journey was like a triumphal procession; his reception in Alexandria was a solemn ovation. Nor had he passed the ten years in the West to no purpose. They were among the most fruitful of his life. His presence there served to strengthen the faithful, and to establish them in the doctrine of the church. In another way he did effective work, a way more foreign to our religious views than are even the debates of these times. He awakened in the West the liking for monasticism, for a life of solitude and penance. This he did largely through the biography he wrote of Antony, the father of monks and hermits. Besides, he took two monks with him who planted this mode of life, begotten under eastern skies, upon the western shores, there to develop itself in after times to a wide-extending system.

Athanasius was left undisturbed in his ministry in Alexandria for but a short time. He had hardly spent two years exercising his office with watchfulness and zeal, when the death of Constans, the western emperor (350), brought with it a new tempest. His murderer, Magnentius, stirred a portion of the East to insurrection. Athanasius firmly remained loyal to Constantius. None the less, he was charged by his foes with a secret understanding with the usurper. The troubles of the times were used by them to effect the overthrow of the orthodox power. The Arians were bolder than ever. The synods of Arles (353) and of Milan (355) condemned Athanasius anew. Their rage was not against him only, but against the whole orthodox party. Eusebius of Vercelli, Hilarius of Poitiers, and Hosius of Cordova, a man more than an hundred years old, were made victims. Even Liberius, the bishop of Rome, the successor of Julius, was banished to Berona in Thrace. As for Athanasius, they fell upon him suddenly in the church, while officiating on the eve of a holy day. The church was surrounded by troops under the imperial general Syrian, a detachment penetrating into the sanctuary. Athanasius, seating himself in his bishop's chair, ordered the deacon to sing the one hundred and thirty-sixth psalm. The whole congregation took up the refrain, "His mercy endureth forever." Having dismissed the people, he would have given himself up to the troops as a prisoner, when some of his clergy and monks came back and by main force carried him with them, before the soldiers were aware. This was received by Athanasius as the saving arm of the Lord. He withdrew into the Egyptian desert, and there passed his third exile.

Third exile.

He published thence a reply to the accusations of his enemies. He sent to the bishops of his province a letter warning them against the poison of Arianism. He had more need to do this, as Arianism was making giant strides; as Athanasius declared, "a monster of wickedness gone abroad over the whole earth." The exile employed his solitude and enforced leisure in composing several great works against the Arians, four in particular that are especially renowned. He thus prepared the spiritual weapons in which he trusted; albeit such resistance was despised by the overwhelming material power of the other party. At the synods of Rimini and Seleucia (359), Arianism celebrated new victories. In human judgment, the hour of its undisputed sway had now come. But already the decree was gone forth: "Thus far and no farther." Arianism carried in itself the seeds of its dissolution. Its own counsels were divided. From the start, as has been seen, a middle party existed under the name of the Eusebians, who shared in the Arian dislike of Athanasius but not their hatred of his creed. These diversities were kept out of sight during the heat of the combat. The pure Arians went under the colors of the half-way party. When victory was secured, they came out with their bold negation, which they expressed in the

formula : The Son is in substance unlike the Father. This the moderate party would not adopt, for while they also denied the equality of substance they maintained firmly that the Son was in all respects like the Father. In the course of the struggle, which cannot here be followed out in detail, the half-Arians, as they were called, approached the Nicenes. The pure Arians found themselves losing ground. While the conflict was swaying to and fro, Constantius died (361), leaving his kingdom and church in a very unsettled condition. When Julian assumed power (361) he recalled the banished bishops, one and all, and so Athanasius once more resumed his office. Julian was not interested in favoring one party more than another. His evil designs against Christianity were helped by the disunion of Christians. Hence he was pleased by nothing so much as by the factions destroying one another, and so proving the weakness of the Christian faith. Still an emperor whose chief policy was the extermination of Christianity could not long let go undisturbed such a man as Athanasius. Sooner or later the two must come into sharp conflict.

Meanwhile Athanasius was using his respite, as long as it lasted, for the establishing of peace. In the battle he had proven himself inflexible against error. Now when the erring returned repenting, he was ready to welcome them to the fold. Those who had been seduced by others were treated with especial forbearance, and their return to their membership or office-bearing in the church made as easy as possible. To assist this end he assembled the Synod of Alexandria (362). This moderation, though condemned by bigots, was the best way to secure in the end the victory to the right. The characteristic of Athanasius was not, as some charge, arrogance of opinion, but firm adherence to known truth, with sincere desire to see the unity of faith attained through the bond of peace. His high aim, constantly followed, was no outward, dead orthodoxy. His was a faith wrought in his profound convictions. For it he was ready to fight and to suffer. The zeal for Christ with which he opposed the pagan reaction, under Julian, did not go unnoticed. He was dreaded by Julian, especially for his influence upon pagan women, a number of whom he had baptized. He was therefore sent by him again into banishment, — the fourth time in his life! Fourth and fifth exiles. It was for only a little while. Julian falling (362) in the war against the Persians, Athanasius was recalled by Jovian. When, under Valens, the Arians rose to power once more, the much-tried hero was for the fifth time sentenced to the fate of the exile. For more than four months he found a hiding-place in his father's tomb. Then the people vehemently demanding his return, the emperor, to prevent an insurrection, granted their wishes. Athanasius was allowed to live the rest of his years in quiet possession of his office, seeking the spiritual welfare of the church. His strength continued to advanced old age. Its mettle was

only improved by conflicts and trouble. He died in the year 373, first recommending his faithful comrade, the presbyter Peter, as his successor. Whatever idea we form of the man, or of the combat in which he was the foremost champion, who will say other than that he was a hero? But do not expect the heroic in his outer appearance. Athanasius was of small stature, with body wasted by fasts and vigils. Yet there was in him something great, that could sway the mighty men of his age, among them the Roman emperors, who opposed him. His mind is mirrored in his history and his books. He has been accused of pride, harshness, and stubbornness. But are not these erroneous designations of his firmness of character and fervor of faith? Certain it is that in that breast of iron, which he ever offered to the enemies of truth, he hid a royal measure of love to that flock which he led, and to the whole church of Christ. For them he was ever praying. He sought nothing for himself. Granting that he failed at times, in judging men and their motives, in choosing means to teach and promote the truth; that he laid greater stress upon the exact definitions of doctrine than the Christian faith requires, — though not greater than seemed to him and his age necessary, — who, for this, will condemn him?

There is not to be expected here a list or review of his writings. Let it be noted, however, that the church creed that bears his name, the *Symbolum Athanasium*, beginning with the words "*Quicumque vult salvus esse*," etc., and which, along with the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene, is counted an ecumenical confession of faith, was neither made by him nor in his age, but at least two hundred years afterwards, in the church of the West. — K. R. H.

LIFE XV. ULFILAS.

A. D. 318—A. D. 388. IN THE EAST, — ON THE DANUBE.

WHEN Alaric, king of the Goths, entered Rome the third time (410), he spared the Eternal City to the utmost of his power; he granted to heathens and Christians secure refuge in the remaining churches, those, especially, of Peter and Paul. The gentleness of the so-called barbarian in this conquest is praised by the holy Augustine in his strongest terms.

Goths as
Christians.

By other historians the submission of the German victors to Christianity, then still in her youth, is recorded in marvelous stories, some of which we must repeat. During the inevitable plundering of the city, one of Alaric's Goths met a Christian maiden, and without harming her, demanded of her gold and silver. She brought him vessels of surprising beauty. He, amazed, asked where she had

found them. The moment she said that they were taken from St. Peter's, he ran to his master and king, to tell what had happened. Immediately Alaric caused the return of the vessels to the church, his own people guarding and bearing them, while around gathered ever-increasing throngs of Goths and Romans. Christians and Pagans, singing songs of triumph. Widows and orphans were, by others, conducted safely to St. Paul's. Of a wild Goth, it is told, that when he had offered violence to a beautiful woman, as she presented her already wounded neck for the fatal stroke, he, honoring her chastity, led her himself to Peter's church, committed her to the warden, and laid down six gold pieces for her support.¹ How did these Northmen attain to the depth of reverence thus shown by them to a new faith, so that, as we shall find, they were ready to die for it? They were not easily turned, we know, from their demigods and ancestors. Did not Duke Radbod, of Frisia, in the time of Charles the Great, when he had already put his foot into the deep laver, withdraw it, as in answer to the question whether he would find his fathers in the land to which he was going, he received the harsh reply that they must all abide in hell, declaring: "I will wait and go with the rest, where my fathers are, but not to Hela, where cowards and idlers alone have to go, but to Woden, who welcomes the brave to new battle-grounds in Walhalla"? Who wrought among the Gothic races, Vandals, Gepidæ, and others, such early and swift change of belief that now their kings, before battle, knelt in prayer, and from prayer arose to the fight? that their people carried with them tent-churches over their rough roads, bore the Holy Scriptures with them into battle, administered oaths to those they conquered, on the Gospels, and kept such oaths most sacred?

One man had, humanly speaking, done it all. He had given his people the Scriptures in their own tongue. He had for forty years, The Gothic apostle. as a true shepherd, cared for the civilizing, training, and edifying of his Goths; by word and pen, by sermon and treatise of every kind, in their own language, and even by works in Latin and Greek, for the sake of securing a recognition of their Christianity from other nations. This man was Ulfilas. His name, thus written by the Greeks,

¹ When the western Goths took Bordeaux, they are said to have spared, in every way, their female captives. When Totilas, a leader and king of the Ostro-Goths, possessed himself, by a night attack, of the famished city of Rome (346), he bade that the women be protected above all, and through the whole night sounded the Gothic war-horn, that the citizens might hide themselves, or seek shelter in the churches. This spirit of gentleness and humanity was breathed upon the provoked barbarians by their lofty faith in Christ, pagans as they were a few years before. The brotherly kindness of the Vandals is celebrated by even the Romans. This gift God gave to a new people, a race with many branches, but with one mother-tongue, one living trust in God, one heroic tradition, one code of morals and sense of right. They had lived a unit on the shores of the Baltic when the people on the Mediterranean, diverse in race and feeling, were but half blended, or merely forced together by Roman power and Roman baptism of blood. Another endowment of those blonde, blue-eyed sons of the north must be named, the same that Salvianus, a presbyter of Marseilles, but a native of Trier or Cologne, dwells on, — their exceeding chastity. So marked was it, that the much abused Vandals, before they had fairly conquered Africa, cleansed it of all vileness, compelling all lewd men and lewd women to marry.

who could not pronounce the German W, was rather Wulfila; a word that is found in Gothic history also as the name of a chief, and resembles Wulfgang, Wulfhard, or Wulfstein.

The image of this man shines benignly from out the tempest of revolution. In his seventy years of life, he pursued constantly one aim. He preached eternal salvation to his warrior people. He urgently and sincerely pressed it upon them. He was also at pains to be a peacemaker in earthly matters, mediating for them in days of need, on the eve of some bloody struggle with their imperial foe. He grew to be so revered by his grateful Goths, that they were wont to say of their bishop, "What Ulfilas does is good; it must tend to our saving; Ulfilas can do nothing bad." Even their violent foe, the emperor Valens, esteemed him so that he called him the Moses of his people, as the one that led them away from persecution into the quiet forest vales of Hæmus, and prepared there a new people for the Lord.¹ Through a happy concurrence of events there has lately come to us new information respecting Ulfilas. It is from one of his most intimate and devoted disciples, who was instructed and trained by him from his youth in the doctrines of salvation. This chiefly is to be extracted from it, that Ulfilas rejected each and all of the sects then existing.² He kept them away from his flock, as a true shepherd keeps the wolves and the dogs. He pronounced every schism a synagogue of Satan. He maintained one undivided, true church of Christ; one virgin, bride and queen; one vineyard and house of the Lord. In this conviction he left his people a creed which his pupil, Auxentius, afterwards bishop of Dorostorum (the present Silistria), has preserved. In its beginning Ulfilas expressly affirms that he had so believed and taught throughout his life.³ This creed is literally as follows:—

"I, Wulfila, bishop and confessor, have ever believed thus, and before my God and Lord do confess this true and only
Creed of Ulfilas. faith.

"I believe in one only unborn and invisible (or indivisible) God, the Father, and in his only begotten Son, one Lord and God, the Creator of all creatures, to whom none is like, but He is God over all and over ours;

¹ How Christianity reached the Goths first is hardly known. Through them were reached their kinsmen, the Gepidæ, Heruli, Vandals, Longobards, and Burgundians. It was the Arian form, making the Son of different essence from the Father; a creature, though in the Father's image. This belief swayed these tribes almost till they disappeared from history. They were hence counted excommunicate by both Greek and Latin churches. From their own point of view, however, they were as entirely justified as the former in holding their creed as the only true one; their church, as the only orthodox, all the while standing strictly by Scripture as interpreted by Arius.

² As Manicheans, Marcionites, Montanists, Paulicians, Sabellians, Anthropomorphites, Patripassians, Photinians, Donatists, Macedonians, etc.

³ He possibly wished to meet, by this declaration, the charges circulated, especially that Ulfilas and his Goths had been first led into Arianism by the emperor Valens, when he gave them a place of residence. The passions of those times introduced this story even into the Greek church-histories of these troubles. They even relate that Ulfilas let himself be seduced by the courtier Eudoxius, not only by the latter presenting the doctrinal differences as insignificant, but by his giving a bribe.

and in the Holy Spirit, the power which enlightens and sanctifies (Luke xxiv. 49; Acts i. 8), who himself is neither God nor Lord, but a servant of Christ, subject and obedient to the Son in all things, as the Son is subject and obedient in all things to the Father, the Blessed forever."¹

Until his thirtieth year (348) Ulfilas was a "lector" or reader to his people.² He was then made bishop of the Goths by Constantius, son and successor of Constantine the Great, and a supporter of the Arians. In this office he enjoyed seven years of activity, transforming his people, and converting many, even among the Goths of Athanarich, a chief who had long been hostile to Fritigern, the leader of the Visigoths. The former began a persecution of the Christian Goths. Many of them, both men and women, endured with steadfastness a martyr's death. Ulfilas then led them, by leave of the emperor, into Roman territory, to Mosien, in the valleys of the Hæmus mountains (not far from Nikopolis, now Nicoli). There they abode under the name of Little Goths, seeking a living from their forests and meadows, by keeping cattle and raising a little grain. Ulfilas dwelt among them as their bishop and pastor for thirty-three years.³ As such he attended the church council in Constantinople

¹ This confession puts no interpretation upon disputed Scripture passages, neither does the Bible translation that has come to us from Ulfilas. In such places as Rom. ix. 5, 1 Tim. iii. 16, and Phil. ii. 6, there is no dragging in of Arian coloring. The last suspicion vanishes in the last-named passage, upon a correct interpretation (Massman's *Ulfilas*, 1856).

² In the year 258, under the emperors Valerian and Galerius, the great invasions of the Goths occurred, when they penetrated even to Galatia and Cappadocia. Many Christians, and especially many ministers, are said to have been taken away by them as captives. Their reverend appearance, and especially their healing the sick and driving out devils by naming the name of Christ, made, it is told, a deep impression on the simple, unprejudiced minds of the Goths. Among these prisoners it is thought were the forefathers of Ulfilas, from the Cappadocian Sadagoltina, in the vicinity of the city of Parnassus. The above-mentioned bishop Auxentius has recorded that his honored teacher died in Constantinople in his seventieth year, and in the year 388 after Christ, and that he was buried by the bishops in attendance, and the people, with great honor. According to this date, Ulfilas must have been born in the year 318, half a century after his forefathers came to the Goths from Cappadocia.

³ [To this period we ascribe his Bible. Ed.] It is agreed by all church historians that Ulfilas translated the Bible from the Greek. They add that he left the books of the Kings untranslated, for fear of making his warrior people still fonder of war. There are some evidences, however, that he translated the books of the Maccabees, which are still more warlike. In 1563 there rose the first rumors, traces, and proofs of the existence, no one knew whence, in the Abbey of Werden, on the Ruhr, of a splendid manuscript of the Four Gospels in the Gothic tongue, written in letters of gold and silver. After many vicissitudes, on the storming of the Hradschin, in Prague, by the Swedes (1648), a little before the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War, it was carried away from the treasures of the Emperor Rudolf, as a good prize, to Stockholm. Later, Queen Christina, in the year 1669, gave the manuscript to Upsala. The Four Gospels in it were originally arranged, according to the old church tradition and custom, in this order: Matthew, John, Luke, and Mark, as is shown by the loss of the leaves or sheets at the beginning or end of the first and last-named Gospels. From 1563 till 1599, when the manuscript was already in Prague, and again from 1648 till 1830, it has evidently sustained new injuries, so that of the original three hundred and eighty leaves, only one hundred and seventy-seven remain, an irrecoverable loss to the scientific knowledge of our mother tongue, as well as to comparative philology. The manuscript is written with conscientious care (though not without errors in writing, omission of lines, etc.), with silver letters throughout, and in the beginning of paragraphs with gold letters upon purple parchment. Similar silver and gold manuscripts (also silver on black parchment), of the Holy Scriptures in particular, are still in existence in other places (Rome, Florence, Munich, Strassburg, Paris, etc.).

More than a century since (1756), the Abbot Knittel discovered in the library of Wolfenbüttel fragments of a Gothic translation of the Epistle to the Romans. They are in a

(360), and gave assent to the creed framed the year before at Ariminia or Rimini.

Meanwhile Athanarich, immediately after his war with the emperor Valens (370), began a second persecution of the Christian people of Fritigern. Many were scattered beyond the Danube and as far as the Euphrates. There has come down to us a fragment of a Gothic martyrology in which, as also in the "Lives of the Saints," is preserved the memory of the burning of many Christians in a tent-church, and with the rest, the presbyters Batwin and Vereka, and no less than forty maidens, at Berca; also of the holy Saba and the presbyters Gudila and Sansala, the last drowned in a river when thirty-two years old (371). and meeting his death with the greatest joy. Athanarich had required that they eat pagan meats, and pray to the idol which was brought on a wagon, pagan fashion, to the Christian tents. Every one who refused this was burnt alive in his tent-house.

Fritigern, thus kept in constant warfare by Athanarich, had meanwhile become a Christian, and strengthened himself by the aid of the Christian Goths. But all their relations were suddenly overturned by

manuscript evidently coming from Italy, and in the eighth century rubbed with pumice, and again written over. A Latin translation is written alongside. Conjecture was expressed that these fragments belonged to one and the same translation as the Gospels of Werden. Greater certainty of this was obtained when, finally, in the year 1817, the former Abbot Angelo Mai, at Milan, who died afterwards at Rome, a cardinal, examined carefully in the Milan Library a number of manuscripts from the neighboring convent of Bobbio, similarly rubbed with pumice, and again written over, and in the underlying often very obscure characters, recognized by certain proofs the translations of almost the entire Pauline writings, as also more notable fragments of the Old Testament (Ezra and Nehemiah). This surprising, and, for us, highly gratifying discovery, gradually (1817-1835) made by the Count L. O. Castiglioni, of Milan, was of greater importance, in that not only the Epistle to the Romans, supplied in part by the Wolfenbüttel fragments, appeared in translations quite the same, but that several of Paul's Epistles, and the principal ones, appeared preserved in the double manuscripts.

Through these genuine fragments of the Old Testament, as well as through evidence since obtained, the assertion of the Greek church historians has been confirmed, that the Goths possessed the entire Scripture in their own tongue. The further fact is declared that we have to do with one and the same translation. The supposition has been expressed before that this is the very translation which the historians unanimously ascribe to Ulfilas. Beside the Pauline writings, there are found in the Milan and Roman sheets some obscured fragments of a lengthy Arian exposition of John's Gospel in Gothic, with attacks on the heretical assertions of Sabellius and Marcellus interspersed. These leaves the author read on the spot, in the year 1833, and published in Munich in 1834. The verses of the Gospel of John, part new, part repetitions, confirm the main fact that we have to do with one and the same text of the Gothic translation.

As respects the importance and value of this Ulfilian translation to the understanding of the original; the leading judges and linguists have already sufficiently credited the Gothic bishop with conscientious fidelity to both the Greek original and his own mother tongue. Hence the Gothic Scriptures, in not only a few instances, but throughout, are suited to present a truer reflection of the Greek Bible text, at least as it appeared in the middle of the fourth century, than the Egyptian, Greek, or Latin versions, while some of them are older. Only as the author, well acquainted with the three chief languages of his day, is obliged to do so, by the object which he carefully keeps in mind and executes, does he deviate in arrangement of words and turning of sentences from the arrangement of the Greek text, and then in transparent manner. His conscientiousness in his work is supported by the reading of at least one Greek manuscript, and thus contributes to support the Greek original. After all these facts, resting on the most careful weighing of details, may not the supposition be made, that with proper assistance from other translations and aids, there might be restored from the Gothic translations of Ulfilas a Greek text, such as may have been found in the majority of the best manuscripts in the latter half of the fourth century in the church of Byzantium, or in the East?

the Huns coming from over the Volga, first upon the Alani, then overwhelming the great Ostro-Gothic realm of king Ermanrich. The east Goths went west. Athanarich and his Visigoths (or west Goths) withdrew into inaccessible highlands. Fritigern, with a new grant from the emperor Valens, led the great mass of his Visigoths, two hundred thousand bearing arms, across the Danube into Thrace and Dacia, where lands and means of support were given them. Ulfilas went with them, and found a more extended and less disturbed field. Soon, however, the Goths, aroused by the avarice and treachery of their Roman governors, began destructive forays. Valens felt obliged to meet them. When he was hurrying impatiently to the battle-field by Adrianople, he was met by Fritigern's ambassador, a trusted Christian priest (who but Ulfilas), sent to secure from the emperor permanent homes for his people in Thrace, and a firm treaty. Valens received the bishop, whom he knew well and honored greatly, with all respect, but refused the requests of the Goths, and began battle the next morning (August 9, 378). Fritigern once more proffered peace. The battle lasted the day through. At nightfall the emperor was struck by a hostile arrow, and had to be carried into a hut. There he and all his retinue were burned up together by the Gothic victors. It was a penalty, said the church historian, for the sending by the Arians of so many souls to everlasting fire. The Goths, after defeating their enemy, ravaged the Greek empire to the very walls of Constantinople.

While these dreadful scenes were passing, Theodosius, the successor of Valens, when sick in Thessalonica, became a Christian, embracing the Nicene confession. He gave orders that the Arians should give up the churches hitherto held by them, and in a general council (381) proclaimed the orthodox creed. The disquiet which ensued compelled him to call another council (383). In that, also, the Arians met defeat.

The gray-haired bishop of the Goths then set out (388) with his pupils, Auxentius, Palladius, and others, to go once more to Constantinople, and ask a decision by a third council. The emperor promised it, but was won over by the Nicenes, and revoked his promise by a decree (June 16th) when marching against Maximin. He forbade all further disputes on doctrine, by preaching, or otherwise. The Arians of the capital, misled by a false report that the emperor was slain, destroyed the house of the orthodox bishop, Nectarius, as by an imperial order. The emperor, now, by a new decree from the field, forbade altogether the proposed council.

Ulfilas, breaking his heart in his grief over this, sickened and died in the middle of the year 388, in his seventieth year, at the capital of the Greek empire. There the king of the Visigoths died before him. The bishops in the city and many people followed the universally honored man to his well-earned resting-place.

Death in Constantinople.

They raised no monument to his memory. He himself had prepared one in his own lifetime. His translation of the Bible remains, though in a marred form, a memorial outlasting all the destroying centuries. — H. F. M.

LIFE XVI. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

A. D. 347—A. D. 407. IN THE EAST, — CONSTANTINOPLE.

FOR fifteen centuries Christendom has done homage to a name which shines, at least to Eastern eyes, with an almost apostolic radiance. The name is of one of the two gifted men whom the Lord vouchsafed his church soon after that fatal moment when, unfurling her banner beneath the protection of the secular arm, she entered on her perilous career as a state church. Of those world-illuminating beacons, the one rose in the West in Aurelius Augustine; the other in the East, in him who was crowned by enthusiastic Christendom with the title of Chrysostom, that is, Golden Lips.

After the church had prospered in warding off heresies and establishing Scriptural doctrines in the councils of Nice (325) and of Constantinople (381), the time seemed propitious for her giving more thought to the fostering and elevating of Christian life. God provided that a man should be forthcoming to give this more practical turn to church progress. Like a winged spirit he rises from amidst the grave and solemn assembly of the hewers and fashioners of dogmas. Let us observe him more closely.

In Antioch, a great trading town, a seat of Hellenic art and science, and by far the most celebrated metropolis of Syria, in the year 347, was

His parentage. a first-born son given the Roman general Secundus and his wife Arethusa, of noble descent.

The parents, owning the banner to which they devoted themselves and their child, called him by the name John. The father did not see the heaven-favored growth of his boy, for an early death took him away. At his grave Arethusa promised: "My love to thee shall live in my son, to whom I devote my whole life." A physiognomist read on the infant's brow a stout spirit of liberty and exalted courage, and advised his mother to keep for him his father's victorious sword. But his mother, the third in a three-starred constellation, shining along with Monica and Nonna, as a bright example to Christian mothers, hoped one day to see the brow of her darling adorned with a nobler symbol, and to behold him clad in other armor than that of his imperial master. Taught by her, and very early fed on the pure milk of the Word, little John grew up, justifying her fondest hopes. When he entered his fifteenth year, he was confided by his mother, not without misgivings yet in childlike trust in God, to

the school of the celebrated rhetorician and philosopher, Libanius, a pagan indeed, but one who to independence of thought and thorough culture added the habit of a decided tolerance of Christianity. The teacher soon observed the rich gifts of the assiduous youth. His joy at the boy's remarkably rapid progress in every science was somewhat clouded when he saw in him the germs of the Christian faith already vigorously at work. Yet he indulged the hope, as he saw how his pupil hung with lively interest on every word of instruction from his lips, that he should one day lead him back to the altars of his ancestral gods; and indeed for a time the hope seemed none too rash. Enthusiasm for Grecian poets, orators, and philosophers carried away the boy, susceptible as he was, in the highest degree, to everything beautiful and good. The theatre and circus, which he visited now and again, delighted him. His efforts in declamation and oratory evinced an eloquence that delighted his master. He received encouragement from him to venture an early effort at public pleading. He attained such success in it that his genius for the forum was seen by everybody. But *Studies the law.* the more the promising student received the plaudits of Libanius on the path that was developing his mental faculties, the more, too, did he find his mother's earnest prayers closely attending him. Through her blessed influence, his moral strength and Christian convictions proved equal to his protection against the enticements of paganism. Not very strangely, he became utterly disgusted with the whole business of the law, after he saw the rhetorical tricks of the advocates in the very precincts of the courts, as they uttered their windy perorations, and dangled after the cheap applause of the multitude. He turned his back upon the forum, and to the great joy of his mother, who saw in it an answer to her prayer, he, with his friend and fellow-student Basilus, like-minded with himself, devoted his undivided attention to the study of the Bible and sacred subjects. Scrupulously avoiding the bustling arena of public amusement, and attending regularly upon church services, he drew the attention of the venerable bishop of Antioch, Meletius. His youthful sincerity was marked. Soon he was admitted to baptism; then, after repeated theological discussions held with the bishop, he was made by him (370) "anagnostes," or public reader of the Scriptures in the church. John would have preferred, in imitation of his friend Basilus, to join the pious monks in the mountains adjacent, whom he often visited, and never without edification. But how could he withstand the entreaties of his loved mother, who, with many tears, begged him to stay with her. "Do not make me a widow for the second time! Postpone your present intention till I am no more." Alas! to his deep sorrow, that moment was far too near! The Lord called the precious one in peace to Himself. What was there now to keep the orphan from following the long repressed wish of his heart?

He went to the mountains, and was given by the good brothers and fathers a hearty welcome. He was happy in joining them Lives a hermit. at the first cock-crow, in prayer and singing of psalms, then betaking himself to sacred study and meditation in his quiet cell. Before the midday meal he came with the rest to Bible reading and profitable conversation. In the afternoon he went with them into the garden or field to plant or plow for the needy, or else visited these in their huts, carrying religious consolation. Monastic life was at that time a noble ideality, not yet tainted by Pharisaic sanctimoniousness. Six favored and happy years did John pass in his well-loved mountains, the last two in a dark grotto. There his health received such injury that he did not venture, when Meletius called him to become a deacon in the church of Antioch, to refuse. He returned to the city, deeply imbued with Bible knowledge, and enriched in his inner life. His office not admitting of his preaching, he devoted himself, heart and soul, to the sick and poor. As he had done when in the mountains, he here also presented the community of the faithful with many a spiritual and persuasive book. In particular he finished that excellent work of his "*Upon the Priesthood*." But it was after the death of Meletius (386), when the new bishop, Flavian, made him a presbyter, that he first entered a sphere in which he could reveal, in fullest degree, the endowments of his mind and heart.

His very first sermons produced a marvelous effect. People said such powerful, such convincing preaching had never before been His first preaching. heard. Notwithstanding his repeated requests that they would leave off such pagan practices, he was once and again interrupted in his burning eloquence by loud and stormy manifestations of approval. And indeed his rhetoric, with all the enlightenment shed on it by the gospel, had in it a strong flavor of Greek culture and an Attic elegance, reminding one of the eloquence of a Demosthenes, rather than the simple form of speech of the apostles and evangelists. But the chief power of his sermons lay, not in choice of language, nor turning of sentences, nor originality of simile and metaphor, but in their fullness of thought and striking argument, in their noble spontaneity, as of classic days, in their adaptation, and in the fresh, buoyant, nervous style of delivery, like a stream that has burst through its rocky barrier, gushing forth from the very depths of his heart. "I speak," he says of himself, "as the fountains bubble, and still continue to bubble, though none will come to draw. I preach as the rivers flow, — the same, though no one drink of their flood of waters."

He had no sooner entered on his office of presbyter than his faith and his care of his flock were put to a severe test. In the year 387 there was a terrible insurrection in Antioch, on the occasion of the emperor's imposing a new tax. The mob smashed the street lanterns, seized on the

public buildings, and threw down the emperor's statues and those of the imperial family, with contemptuous speeches and derisive songs. Thus they gave the outbreak the character of high treason. The tumult was soon allayed by a legion of soldiers marching up, bearing down innocent and guilty alike. At this juncture, Chrysostom appeared clad in the full armor of the Holy Spirit, and by his eloquence and power subdued the hardest hearts. His twenty-one famous homilies "On the Statues," or sermons on punishment, repentance, and consolation, rolled like heavy peals of thunder with falling lightning, flash on flash, over the thousands fiercely thronging around his pulpit; or sometimes like the refreshing morning-dew, trickling down into the hearts of the alarmed and contrite multitude. "The sea is roaring!" he cried; "only press in hither. Day and night the motherly embrace of the church is open to receive repentant sinners. God looks down upon you graciously when you humble yourselves before Him, and will save you from all further evil!" This positive assurance, uttered with great certainty, was, against all expectation, literally fulfilled. The people were fearing the worst from the anger of the emperor Theodosius. They had induced the old bishop, Flavian, to go to Constantinople and entreat for pardon in person. He came back, bringing news that surprised the city, and filled it with loud rejoicings. The emperor, to his humble supplication, had returned the magnanimous answer, "Is it a great thing, that we mortals should subdue the anger we feel towards our fellow-men, when our Lord, out of love to us sinners, took upon Himself the form of a servant, and even prayed for his murderers? How can I do otherwise than pardon the Antiochians, who are my fellow-servants?" Chrysostom had prophesied. We may imagine how greatly the result magnified the popular esteem in which he was held.

The pious resolves of the people failed, many of them, under the pressure of those grievous times, to ripen into deed. We often hear our orator, in subsequent sermons, bitterly complaining that the old watchword, "Bread and public games," was again heard; that God and the world divided their hearts, the church and the theatre shared their interest; that his exhortations to lead a holy life were repulsed by the miserable pretext that the same things could not be expected from the laity as from the monks and clergy; and that the women, especially, instead of earnestly pursuing Christianity, only toyed and trifled with it, presenting each other with beautifully written and splendidly bound *Evangelists*, never thinking, though, of regulating their lives by their precepts, but merely placing them on their tables as ornaments, or superstitiously hanging them as amulets upon their girdles. Yet the longer Chrysostom was in the church of Antioch, the brighter did its light shine among the churches of the age. He would have spent his days there, joyfully, if, in the plans of the Invisible Warder, he had not been destined to still greater undertakings.

Influence in
Antioch.

In the year 397 occurred the death of the bishop of Constantinople. The eunuch Eutropius, raised by flattery and intrigue to be the favorite of the emperor Arcadius, upon a business journey to Antioch, heard Chrysostom preach. So carried away was he by his brilliant eloquence, that on his return to the capital he made all haste to advise his imperial master to nominate him to the vacant office. The nomination forthwith occurred, but in the form of a command, leaving Chrysostom no choice. He had to get away from Antioch secretly, for the city, clinging to him with enthusiasm, would on no consideration have given him up. In tears he tore himself from a congregation which approached the ideal of a family, whose head was Christ. He was received in Constantinople, whither Arcadius summoned a great number of eminent bishops to give him welcome, with every mark of honor, and even with pomp. Yet he was soon aware that here he stood on ground very different from that he had of late so happily occupied. Equally soon did a great part of the worldly clergy discover, from his apostolic bearing, and the dignity marking his demeanor, that there was no chance of his proving, like his predecessors, a sensual seeker after pleasures.

Chrysostom was solemnly installed in office the 26th of February, 398. Constantinople was quite a Christian town, if an orthodox confession of faith, and a belonging to the church, could give a right to bear the title. But the life of the Constantinopolitans, given up wholly to amusement, so little corresponded with their boasted purity of faith, that the bishop was convinced his work was to be that of reformer of morals. He began, then, by explaining to the clergy under him what he expected from them as ambassadors of Christ. Those who would not understand his exhortation read its meaning in the example he set them of untiring zeal and genuine self-denial. He withdrew from the empty parade of the court; declined all invitations to the showy feasts of the grandees; denied himself every superfluity in domestic life, that he might give to the poor; and devoted his income to the founding of missions for the crowds of barbarians pouring into Italy, the Goths in particular. In his sermons he exposed with great fearlessness the moral sores he had found alike in high and low in the luxurious capital. He characterized the positive dogmatic tone affected by so many, as a mask behind which a child of hell might be concealed. He lashed, without sparing, the avarice of the rich, the extravagance in dress of the women, and the eager running of everybody to the theatre and circus, "those devil-kitchens of paganism." He insisted upon a spiritual frame of mind, and its preservation in every relation. As in Antioch, here again, when uttering the most vital truths, he was frequently interrupted, to his sore pain, by the stentorian applause of the crowded congregation. "Friends," he cried out to the excited multitude, "what am I to do with your applause? It is the salvation of your souls I want. God is my

Head of the
Eastern church.

witness what tears I have shed in my secret chamber, that so many of you are still in your sins. Anxiety for your saving has almost made me forget to care for my own." His tears and prayers won a rich harvest of souls. Multitudes were by the word of fire from his tongue led to God. By degrees the city put on a different aspect. In him, it was said, the fable of Orpheus was verified: by the melody of his speech wolves and tigers were subdued, and changed to gentle lambs.

His zeal and plain speaking, wherever he went, with populace and with court, could not but make him bitter enemies. He found his worst foe at a long distance from him, in Theophilus, ^{stirs up his} ~~foes.~~ the bishop of Alexandria. This man hid an insatiable ambition and devotion to the world under the cloak of the loftiest priestly grandeeism. He was thoroughly unscrupulous. The moral earnestness and spirituality of the patriarch of Constantinople opposed him, like another evil conscience. Theophilus could not forgive him for being his superior in talent, influence, power, and fame. Day and night he brooded over the most feasible means of hurling him from office, or of tarnishing his reputation. Many a well-laid scheme he saw wrecked by the popularity of the excellent primate. One was his effort to anathematize him as a secret adherent of the heresies of Origen. This he attempted by means of a special synod which he had induced the weak bishop Epiphanius of Cyprus to call. Epiphanius went with his clergy all the way to Constantinople. There he was overwhelmed with the enthusiasm pervading the whole thronging population for their bishop. He was convinced, too, of his utter inability to prove the charges that had been trumped up. Thoroughly ashamed of himself, he took leave of his associates in the business with the words, "I leave with you the capital and the court and hypocrisy," and went back to his diocese. But now Theophilus, with a crowd of bishops, mostly Egyptians, went himself to the capital. He had the more certainty of victory from having heard that the patriarch was in disfavor with the empress. He deemed it prudent, however, to hold the intended synod not in the capital, but a little way out, in Chalcedon, at a country seat called "The Oak." On the question whether Chrysostom held heretical doctrines, there was a division. Then a mass of petty accusations were brought against him, plainly the inventions of malice. With bold face his foes charged him, among other things, with squandering the church property, with secretly leading a sensual life, with entering the church without a prayer, and a great deal more of the same sort. In their petition to the emperor to confirm their sentence of deposition, they remarked, with hypocritical moderation, that they would take no account of the treason charged upon the accused, in that he had publicly (on the occasion, it was said, of Eudoxia's forcibly seizing upon a vineyard in the suburbs, the only possession of a poor widow) called the empress a "Jezebel."

Under the lead of his crafty wife, Arcadius was persuaded, on the motion of this irregular synod, to pronounce a sentence of perpetual banishment upon his bishop. Chrysostom received the blow with manly composure. He conjured the stunned and indignant populace, who were just ready to create disturbance, for God and his Word's sake, to be quiet. He exclaimed to the agitated crowd: "Let the sea rage, the waves cannot touch the rock on which we stand; let wave rise above wave, the little ship, Jesus, in which we hide will never sink. What should I fear? Death? Christ is my life! Banishment? All the earth is the Lord's. The seizure of my worldly goods? I brought nothing into the world; what should I take out with me? I despise the world's terrors, and mock at all its splendors." He then took leave of the friendly bishops who stood near him, with the words: "Grieve not for me. I am not the first teacher, and shall not be the last. After Moses appeared a Joshua, after Jeremiah a Baruch, after Elijah an Elisha; and Paul, dying a martyr's death, left a Timothy, a Titus, an Apollos, and many others." To avoid a sedition, he quietly gave himself into the hands of the police in waiting, was put by them with great secrecy aboard a vessel, and immediately carried over to Bithynia. As soon as the news of this spread through the town, the streets resounded with curses on the synod, the foreign bishops, the imperial court, and the empress Eudoxia. Fear seized the foes of the banished. Their alarm grew when the next night an earthquake shock frightened the city. Eudoxia perceived in it a sign of the wrath of God. She at once, with her husband's approval, sent to the exile Brison the chamberlain, his warm friend, with a letter to the bishop, in which she said, among other things, "I am guiltless of the blood of your holiness," and besought him to return without delay. He did so. Received with great cries of joy, and attended by flags and torches (though he declared he would not again mount the pulpit until a lawfully convoked synod acquitted him of the false charges of Theophilus), he was borne along forcibly by the enthusiastic crowd up to the Church of the Apostles. Here, in the presence of the whole court, he invited all to join with him in praising God for the quick and surprising change in their affairs. "Banished from among you," he said, "I praised God. Given back to you, once more, I do the same. The courage of the faithful pilot is not weakened by the calm any more than it is shaken by the storm!"

A good understanding again existed between empress and bishop; but soon came an occurrence that ended it forever. Eudoxia had erected near St. Sophia, the principal church of the town, a splendid silver statue, and inaugurated it with festivities that savored far too much of paganism. Chrysostom certainly thought that he dared not pass in silence, in the public assembly, the great excess that marked the occasion. Word was carried Eudoxia, whether truly or in garbled form will ever remain doubt-

ful, that the bishop, in a fast-day sermon, on the anniversary of the death of John the Baptist, had the effrontery to say, evidently referring to the empress: "Herodias once more rages! Again she dances and has others dance; again she burns with longing desire to receive the head of John upon a charger!" Eudoxia immediately in-^{Second exile.}sisted upon her husband's assembling the synod, but for a very different purpose than had been intended by Chrysostom. Under court influences its members proved unprincipled enough to pronounce against John, whose friends they had hitherto been, a sentence never allowed save to an ecumenical council. By it the bishop was found unworthy of his position. Unless reinstated by another and greater synod, or restored by the secular arm, he was irrevocably and forever dismissed from office. Chrysostom's friends implored the imperial pair not to confirm this unrighteous decree. It was in vain. A well-intentioned bishop threatened Eudoxia with Heaven's curse if she perpetrated her intended wickedness against "his holiness." His enemies upon their part cried out, "His blood be on us!" Eudoxia was inexorable. The sentence of banishment was signed. Soon the winds were filling the sails of the bark that carried the truest and best bishop of the Eastern church, the noblest ornament of the Eastern capital, into exile. A more undeserved fate was never decreed against mortal man.

Full of cheerful courage, Chrysostom for the second time landed on the coast of Bithynia. He was guarded by his military escort, not so much as a criminal, as a father to be waited on and cared for by them as by children. He had to await in Nice further orders as to his place of banishment. He spent the days of rest in writing letters of consolation and encouragement back to his friends in Constantinople; especially to the revered and almost saintly deaconess Olympias, as also to many friendly bishops, ministers, and missionaries far and near. His only care was the well-being of the church, and his motto that of Paul: "Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all." At the end of four weeks came the imperial command that he should go to Kukusus, a desolate town in a rough climate, away on the frontier between Isauria, Cilicia, and Armenia. "God be praised for everything," exclaimed the triumphant martyr, and under a burning sun set out hopefully on the long, tiresome journey. Contend-^{Affecting hardships.}ing with many difficulties and privations along the way, beset frequently by fierce robber troops, he went through parts of Phrygia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Armenia. More than once, when attacked by fever, did he have to halt in dreary, inhospitable deserts. But all these miseries moved him far less than the exceedingly melancholy aspect of the church which everywhere presented itself. Yet he had many a heart-felt token of sympathy from Christian people. Sometimes the exile's journey turned almost to a triumphal procession. But the

clergy that were worldly and wicked, envious and jealous, met him with cutting coldness and bitter enmity. Often they drew from him the sigh: "Take pity, Lord, for here are flocks that have no shepherds." Report spoke of a pious bishop, Pharetrius of Cæsarea; but this unworthy man not only kept away from Chrysostom, but let a set of fanatic monks, with loud revilings, expel him from the town, and deprive him of a brief repose provided him by a pious matron, Seleucia, at her villa. He was driven from this quiet sanctuary into the pathless desert in the dead of night. The mule he was riding stumbled. He lay breathless on the ground. Collecting his strength with a hearty "God be praised for everything," he again mounted, and pursued his weary journey, with an abiding trust that a convoy of angels was attending him.

At length he reached Kukusus, a miserable desert place, but made an Eden to him by the love, so long missed, with which he was welcomed, after so many misfortunes, by the bishop and the entire population.

His letters thence to Constantinople ring like songs of praises. To Olympias, who had pitied all his weary trial, he wrote, "Remember there is only one really sad thing, sin!" But he was not to remain long in Kukusus. A threatened attack by a band of savage incendiaries from Isauria obliged the people, and Chrysostom with them, to make their way as well as they could, through snow and ice, to Arabyssus, a fortress about sixty miles from Kukusus. He arrived there sick; so crowded was the town with fugitives that he could have only a mean, narrow little room. Yet he soon regained bodily strength, while not a moment did he cloud his spirit with sadness.

All this while his enemies at Constantinople were not satisfied. Furious that news was continually received of the exile, and that by his word and life his lustre shone over land and sea, they coaxed the emperor Arcadius (Eudoxia had died a painful death in the autumn of 404) to order Chrysostom's transportation from Arabyssus to Pityus, a lonely desert place not far from Colchis, on the extreme borders of the Roman empire, and possessed and surrounded by barbarous tribes. In the year 407 it was that two soldiers were ordered to conduct him thither. When he came to the town of Komana, in Pontus, he went with his two attendants into the church, where, according to tradition, was the tomb of Basilicus. Utterly exhausted he fell asleep, and had a vision which stirred his whole soul. The martyr Basilicus appeared to him, and said: "Be of good cheer, brother, for to-morrow we shall be together." On awaking, he begged the guards to be allowed to stay a little while longer in the sacred place. "No," was the brutal reply; "on with you to Pityus." He obeyed. Scarcely, however, had he dragged his weary limbs half an hour's journey, when suddenly his strength failed, though not his faculties. He had to be carried back to the church at Komana. With a cheerful countenance he laid aside his travel-stained garments,

giving them to the poor who stood around, drew forth clean raiment from his little bundle and put it on. Then he knelt down to pray near a cross by the grave of the holy martyr, uttered for the last time his motto and watchword, "God be praised for everything," ^{Glorious triumph.} bowed his head, and joyously, in firm trust in the blood of Jesus Christ, this faithful shepherd, tried and purified in the fire seven times, passed to the church triumphant.

Thus died John Chrysostom, September 14, 407, a sacrifice to a debased Christianity. One of the great fathers of the ancient church, he was the last illustrious teacher of the East. He speaks even to-day in his numerous writings, full of an emotion that reaches the heart. Through his example he verifies this side heaven the saying, "They that be wise (or are teachers) shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever." Undoubtedly several fathers of the early ages excelled him in profoundness of doctrine, and exercised greater influence on the shaping of the creed of the first centuries. But in holy beauty, in grace and persuasive force, in his reforming power in religious life, there is hardly one to compare to him till the days of Luther. It is not to be denied that the great preacher's ministry would have had yet more abiding influence had not to his mind, as to the whole church then, the Bible doctrine of justification through faith alone been partially eclipsed. Chrysostom's especial vocation was to preach repentance and whole-hearted conversion. His word was confirmed by God, by many a sign and gift of the Holy Spirit. He was and now is one among the most gifted, favored, and faultless souls by whom God builds up his kingdom on earth; a man after God's own heart; as true, joyous, and self-sacrificing a shepherd as has tended Christ's flock since the Apostles; a true Bible scholar, who, to the best of his knowledge and ability, drew his words directly from the fountain of the "sure word of prophecy," and never ceased to draw. He was the model of what a priest of God should be, devoting himself solely to the Master and his work. In this, even more than in his preaching, he is to this hour to the whole church, and especially to her ministers, an illustrious example.—F. W. K.

LIFE XVII. AMBROSE OF MILAN.

A. D. 333—A. D. 397. IN THE WEST, — ITALY.

AMBROSE, bishop of Milan, is the first of the four great men distinguished above all others as fathers of the Latin church. By his piety, good judgment, and vigor, he far outshines every Italian or Roman bishop before him. The archbishopric of Milan owed to him her independence

in church order and worship, which for centuries would not be made subject to the all-prevalent Roman uniformity. This long continuing influence evidences the greatness of his Christian talents.

Ambrose sprang from a Roman family of position. He was born in 333, the last year of Constantine the Great, and a little before the death of Arius. He lived in an age of the fiercest conflicts,—orthodoxy with Arianism; Christianity with heathenism; the power of the church with the unlimited pretensions of imperial rule; the empire with usurpers and assassins; the Roman realm with the attack of the Goths; and in all these conflicts he maintained manfully and successfully the side of the right. Meantime, as a good shepherd, he led his congregation. In a day of general decline, he cultivated by word and example a heroic endeavor after Christian virtue and holiness, as defined by the standard of his age, and by his own understanding of the will of God. His was a pure soul, that did not seek its own, was humble before God, tender and deep in its love to his own people, fearless in personal danger, often in tears, but always happy in the worship and service of the Lord.

He was the youngest of three children. He had a sister, Marcellina, and a brother, Satyrus, older than himself. His father, also
His family. named Ambrose, was governor in Gaul. He resided in Lyons, Arles, or Trier,—in which is not certain,—and in one of these cities, probably, Ambrose was born. When once his parents were walking in the open court of the palace, and the child lay near them in his cradle, there settled on his lips a swarm of bees. His nurse was about to drive them off, but the father would not allow it, and said, “If the child lives, there will some great thing be done by him.” The bees soon flew away, and left the boy unharmed. Some one later saw in it a sign of his coming kindly eloquence, with allusion to the passage, “Pleasant words are as an honeycomb, sweet to the soul, and health to the bones.” An honorable, virtuous spirit appears to have been hereditary in Ambrose’s family, but no Christian belief. He was not baptized early in life. While he was still a boy, his father died. His mother, with her bereaved children, returned to Rome. The widow’s house was now opened to the influence of Christianity, which then received in Italy and Gaul a fresh impulse through the presence of Athanasius, the great bishop of Alexandria. As early as 336 this man of God was in Trier, as an exile, and perhaps was known then to the family of Ambrose. After 342, he passed six years in Italy, banished from his office. At the beginning and end of this exile he visited bishop Julius in Rome, where, by his portrayal of the edifying life of the Egyptian hermits, he created a great awaking to effort after holiness by complete renunciation of worldly things. Several ladies of the higher ranks were deeply affected; among them was Marcellina, Ambrose’s sister, and with her, in the same way of thinking, their devout mother. This example of his sister and her

friends made a great impression upon Ambrose, and influenced him, though not designedly. Albeit his training, as also his brother's for the higher state service, to which his position called him, lay in the hands of pagan teachers and statesmen, he did not lose these impressions of his youth. He already had a dim presentiment of his future lofty calling; for once, when he had seen the pious ladies of his house kiss the hand of the bishop, he said jokingly to a friend of his sister, "Kiss me, too, on my hand; for I will some day be a bishop also." While a youth, he entered the law as a barrister and advocate, and secured, by means of his character and talents, the confidence of the statesmen who observed him.

He was chosen by Probus, the governor and superior judge of Italy, as his counselor, and in the year 370 was given by him the governorship of Milan, by which the provinces of Emilia <sup>Is a Roman gov-
ernor.</sup> and Liguria, with the cities of Bologna, Turin, and Genoa, came under his sway. "Go not as a judge, but as a bishop," the gentle Probus said to him at his departure; and surprisingly soon the judge literally turned bishop, although he came to Milan as a catechumen, unbaptized.

Auxentius, who had dispossessed the orthodox bishop Dionysius, and actively favored the Arians, was now dead. The two parties of the orthodox and the Arians fought in the cathedral over the choice of a bishop. The most serious disturbances were to be feared. Ambrose went into the church, and addressed the excited multitude to quiet the uproar. Then a childish voice is said to have been heard crying, "Ambrose is bishop!" At once rose the unanimous cry of the entire throng, and demanded Ambrose as bishop. Each party could hope to win the excellent man, who was very Christian-like, but not yet a Christian. He, greatly shocked, refused utterly, proceeded as judge with unusual severity, and even brought notoriously bad women into his palace, to blot his reputation. The people did not allow themselves to be diverted. Finally he fled and hid himself in a neighboring country seat. Meantime, the emperor Valentinian First received the news, and joyfully confirmed the election. Ambrose's place of refuge was discovered, and he was obliged, at last, to follow the general desire. He received baptism at the hands of an orthodox priest, took one after another the priestly vows, and some eight days after his baptism mounted the episcopal chair (December, 374). He exercised his sacred office for twenty years. From his very entrance upon it, he renounced all care of his own property, gave his money to the poor, his real estate to his brother to manage, the income of it to his sister, and its ownership to the church. Soon after his elevation he went to Rome to see his deeply beloved sister, Marcellina. Their mother meantime had died. He found there also the friend to whom he had reached his hand jestingly for a kiss, and reminded her that he was now become in fact what he had unwittingly prophesied, a bishop.

At that time the Italian bishops were accustomed to preach very rarely. From Liberius, the bishop of Rome, we have a discourse on but one occasion,—the consecration of Marcellina, the sister of Ambrose, to perpetual virginity. It was Ambrose who first introduced into Italy the custom of sermons upon every Sunday, after the precedent of the Greek and North African churches. Yet, as he came a novice into the bishop's office, he had himself, as he declares, to learn the doctrines. Here his exact knowledge of the Greek language came into play. It is a deficiency in him, but not a matter of reproach, that often he is but the translator and imitator of his Greek masters, Origen and Basil, and without discrimination introduces their faults and their excellences into his discourses. When it was important to warn and to speak to the heart, then he ever exhibited his own peculiar talents. His spoken eloquence must have been far greater than is shown in his written sermons; for he could thoroughly captivate his hearers, and among them was Augustine, who was by him especially led back from Manichæan scholasticism to simple Christianity. "While I was giving my mind," Augustine says, "to hear how well he spoke, I became suddenly aware how truly he spoke." He especially displayed his eloquence when he consecrated virgins taking the veil. They came from the regions of Bologna and Piacenza, as well as from Mauritania in Africa, to take the veil at his hands. The mothers of Milan would not suffer their daughters to attend these sermons, fearing lest they also should choose the single condition of life. But Ambrose gave his greatest care to the instruction of catechumens. He knew here how to make excellent use of the Bible history, joining with it Christian instruction and awakening. Evidences of this remain in his treatises on Paradise, on Cain and Abel, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, which all arose from his instructions to catechumens. He sought also to elevate the mind of the clergy who were under him. To this end he delivered a course of addresses, which he subsequently wrought into three books, "On Duties." He had in his mind Cicero's work, "De Officiis," which he remodeled, handling it freely, from a Christian stand-point. He was deeply interested in this, for the church since Constantine needed to combine her precepts with the severe morals of the ancient Romans, and to penetrate the Roman state with a Christian atmosphere. Cicero had naturalized in Rome the lessons of the Greek philosophers Plato and Zeno. By his work "On Duties," he made them accord with the Roman conceptions of morals and of the state. To Ambrose is to be ascribed the great merit of first conceiving and following out the idea of transforming the Roman Empire, which had so many pagan elements, into a Christian commonwealth. Not that he sought that object with conscious purpose; he approached it unknowingly, under the holy impulses of heart and conscience, as he associated

Pastor and
preacher.

Practical dis-
courses.

with the emperors of his day, and as a chief of the church came into business contact with the civil government. To keep the princes well disposed to the church's dignity and order, to keep the people well inclined to the sovereign power and the imperial succession,—this was his Christian endeavor; and he thus proved a benefactor of both princes and people, a restorer and preserver of the peace.

Ambrose had exercised his office scarce a year when (November, 375) Valentinian the First died, leaving behind two sons, Gratian, who was seventeen, and Valentinian Second, a child of four. The emperor's widow, Justina, falling under Arian influence, put forth great power to advance her favorites, but found in Ambrose a strong opponent. When the Eastern emperor Valens was wounded by the Goths (378), and taking refuge in a peasant's cottage was burned up, and the wild storm of Goths swept over Thrace and Illyria, dragging away many citizens as captives, Ambrose not only raised great sums of money to ransom as many prisoners as possible, but had the church vessels of gold and silver melted for the purpose. Gratian made choice for emperor of the East of the brave, energetic Theodosius, who entered on his government January 19, 379. At this moment, when the inroads of the Goths were threatening Milan, Ambrose was mourning the death of his only brother. Satyrus was at home after a dangerous voyage, in which he had been cast upon Africa in a shipwreck, and had barely escaped alive, and was visiting his brother. There he was taken with a fatal illness, and gave up his spirit in the arms of his brother and sister, in the same devout way in which he had lived. He was commemorated by Ambrose in a funeral sermon, which still exists.

The next year Ambrose waged many a victorious battle with Arians and pagan Romans, who beset the palace of the emperor Gratian. He effected by his influence the removal from the senate chamber of the statue of the Goddess of Victory. After its first removal by Constantine, it had been replaced by Julian, but now was taken away, against the urgent remonstrances of the pagan senators and their eloquent lawyer Symmachus. Soon after this came a pressing famine in Italy; victory, too, forsook the emperor in a war against the usurper Maximus, who advanced through Gaul from Britain at the head of an army, winning over the legions of the legitimate ruler. Gratian, flying, was murdered at Lyons, in the twenty-fourth year of his age (August 25, 383), remembering his bishop in his dying words. Ambrose, greatly crushed by this disaster, was not in the least thereby affected in his faith. He saw in it no evidence against his religion, but a call to Christian fidelity. When Symmachus, in a memorial, earnestly recommended the restoration of the statue of Victory, he opposed it, and there was no more heard of it. On two occasions, by commission from the emperor's mother Justina, now reigning in the name of her young son, Valentinian Second, Ambrose

undertook in person, a difficult embassy to Maximus, and negotiated a peace. He resisted at the court of Maximus, albeit in vain, the bloody doings of that tyrant, in punishing with the sword as malefactors errorists who could not be convinced of error. Alas, the church afterwards largely copied what an unlawful ruler cruelly began in opposition to this most noble leader. She, too, raged with fire and sword against real and supposed errorists, as well as against witnesses of God's truth.

By and by it became a desire of Justina to please the Arians, to whom adhered the Gothic troops, who were in large part the support of the staggering Roman Empire. She therefore commanded bishop Ambrose to concede to that party a church in the suburbs of Milan for public worship. This was on the Saturday before Palm Sunday, 385. Ambrose refused, relying on the church law and the clergy and people of Milan. Justina was angry, threatened violence, but did nothing. A greater danger came the year after, when the empress, in the name of her son, gave a law, by which public worship was allowed the Arians, with threatening of death to every one who forcibly hindered them, or even opposed quietly by a suit at court. Ambrose assembled the bishops and priests who were then present in Milan, and in their name drew up a paper praying for the law's repeal. Then the empress called for a religious conference at the palace, between Ambrose and an Arian bishop. Ambrose refused, inasmuch as decisions on doctrine belonged not to the imperial court but to church assemblies. His banishment from Milan was now sought. He did not yield, but declared that he dare not leave his flock amid these dangers. His person was threatened with violence. He fled into the church, surrounded as it was by the soldiery. The congregation assembled round him, and were strengthened by him in religious discourse, prayers, and singing. He caused hymns to be sung that he himself had composed in rhythm. He it was who first introduced the antiphonal singing of psalms and hymns from the Greek church. Under the name of Ambrosian singing it was spread through the West, and received with favor. On this decisive day in the church of Milan, there was present, among others, Augustine, who was already (since 384) come from Rome to Milan, as teacher of rhetoric, and also his mother. He has recorded how deep an impression this solemnity made upon him, and how the tears of his widowed mother were copiously shed.

Ambrose proved victorious. The next year (387) he celebrated a more gentle and peaceful triumph, when he received Augustine, with his friend Alypius and his son Adeodatus, in holy baptism. There is a beautiful church tradition that at that time the Holy Spirit gave Christianity her glorious hymn of praise, *Te Deum Laudamus*, in an alternate song of Ambrose and Augustine. Even though the later origin of this hymn can be established, the tradition

Triumphs of
Ambrose.

rightly utters the deep harmony of these two men of God, their blessed unison of song and prayer to the triune God, and their accord with the believing of all ages.

Soon Justina required Ambrose to go upon another embassy to Maximus, to beg the remains of her son Gratian, and if possible to avert a fatal descent of the usurper upon Italy. In the latter task he failed. Justina, with her young son, was forced to seek in the East the protection of Theodosius. Maximus, with his hosts, overspread North Italy, but was defeated by Theodosius, beleaguered in Aquileia, and after the taking of the city was beheaded. The noble victor, at the petition of Ambrose, gave pardon to many of his followers.

Theodosius could show fierce wrath, could deal hard strokes at riot and mutiny. There was need of it in that day, when the bonds of union through the empire were relaxing, and foes from without were threatening. Yet he had before this (in the spring of 387) punished gently a riotous outbreak in Antioch, and at the prayer of Flavian, the bishop of the place, had readily forgiven it, even though the statues of the emperor and his family had been thrown down and dragged along the pavements of the city. A more serious outbreak now took place in Thessalonica, in Macedonia (A. D. 390). This the emperor resolved to punish to the utmost. Ambrose exhorted him to use Christian leniency, and spare the innocent. The emperor made him the best promises, then adopted other counsels, and took a fearful revenge. The rage of his soldiery was left unrestrained, and seven thousand persons, the innocent along with the guilty, were slain in a fearful massacre. A cry of horror spread through the land. But no one dared tell the truth to the terrible emperor, the saviour of Italy and the empire. Theodosius came back to Milan. Stained with blood, as the prince was, Ambrose could not bring himself to allow him to approach the Lord's Supper, unless he repented of his blood guiltiness. He wrote him in respectful terms that he would defer the celebration of the sacrament while he was there, giving his own illness, as he was then ill, for a reason; at the same time Rebukes an emperor. he set before him his fault, and admonished him to humble himself before God. Theodosius refrained for eight months from the sacrament, and gained admission from Ambrose into the church, for the first time, on Christmas. He had already testified his penitence in public, and revived a law that a death sentence should not be executed in less than thirty days after receiving the imperial signature. The emperor's repentance was sincere. Through his entire life he preserved a painful recollection of his crime. Thus Ambrose saved his own conscience, the majesty of the church, and the emperor's soul. He had shown regard at the same time to the majesty of the sovereign, for he did not, as is thought by many, abruptly reject him at the church's doors in a rude and theatrical fashion, but admonished him privately, and brought him to repent of his own accord.

Ambrose's relations with the boy emperor, Valentinian Second, were ended by the latter's murder in his twentieth year (May 15, 392) by the rebel Arbogast. Ambrose, when his remains were brought to Milan for burial, pronounced an affecting funeral discourse, which is still in existence. Arbogast set up as emperor a certain Eugenius, who threw himself upon the good-will of the Arians and pagans, making them concessions. Ambrose forsook Milan as long as Eugenius was there, and when the latter lost his empire and his life in his defeat by Theodosius (in the summer of 394), Ambrose rendered his hearty thanksgivings unto God. He wrote to the emperor: "The letter of your pious clemency have I laid upon the altar; I held it in my hand when I brought thither the sacrifice, that through my lips thy heart might be speaking, and that thy lines might be obliged to perform the priestly service."

Theodosius died in Milan, the 17th of January, 395. His remains were carried to Constantinople for burial. First, however, some forty days after the emperor's death, there was held by Ambrose a commemorative service, in the presence of the two sons and successors of the emperor, Honorius, eleven years old, and Arcadius, eighteen, the great dignitaries of the realm, the military leaders, and a large part of the army. While he celebrated appropriately the deeds and virtues of the great emperor, he sought also to win securely for his tender children the loyalty of their subjects. He inculcated in a way that suited the taste of that period the principles of Christian government.

A little while before Easter of the year 397, Ambrose fell ill. The imperial lieutenant, Stilicho, declared at the news that his death foreboded the fall of Italy. He urged the worthiest men of Milan, loved by Ambrose above others, to go and beseech him to pray for the continuance of his life. So many instances were told of answers to his prayers that men believed that what he asked of God would be granted. But Ambrose replied to his friends: "I have not so lived among you as to be ashamed to live yet longer; but neither do I fear death, for we have a good Lord." When he was praying in company with a ministerial friend, he beheld, as he lay resting, the Lord Jesus confronting him, and smiling on him benignantly. In the closing hours, he lay quiet, his hands crossed upon his bosom. He was seen praying, with his lips moving, but was not heard. Honoratus, bishop of Vercelli, who was with him, had laid himself down in an upper chamber to rest. He heard as if thrice the words, "Rise! Quick! In a moment he will expire." He hastened down, gave him the Lord's Supper, and then Ambrose expired. This was on the 4th of April, the eve of Easter. His body was laid in the Milan Cathedral. The many visions and signs and remarkable cures that were said to follow indicate the deep impression left by his godly course of life and his Christian character.

Some time after Ambrose had gone home, there came the queen of the

Marcomanni, named Fritigil, all the way from the woods of Bohemia, to pay him a visit. She was affected very deeply when she found Ambrose was no more. — H. E. S.

LIFE XVIII. JEROME.

A. D. 331—A. D. 441. IN THE WEST, — ITALY.

JEROME was the second of the four great teachers of Latin Christianity. He was born in the year 331, in Stridon, in Dalmatia, a Roman town between the rivers Drave and Save. The place was destroyed in 377 by the Goths, but most likely is the present Strigow. His father, Eusebius, was a Christian, as were the whole family; yet Jerome was not baptized till 362, in Rome, whither his father had sent him in early manhood for the completion of his education. He went through the whole of the usual course of that day, studying grammar under the celebrated Aolius Donatus, rhetoric and philosophy ^{At school in Rome.} under other masters. He found food for his receptive, inquiring mind in the classic writers of pagan Rome; he was also well acquainted with Greek. The youth's excitable nature was open to the dangerous allurements so plentiful in the luxurious metropolis. His ardent imagination added to the power of his temptations. He lived like the youths with whom he associated, commanding all the resources of culture and enjoyment, gathering meanwhile great acquirements from observation and from books. He was greatly impressed by the remains of heathen art in Rome, but his heart and imagination rested especially on the Christian monuments. He visited on Sundays the churches, the tombs of the apostles and martyrs, and the catacombs. In these subterranean passages and rooms, dimly lighted by tapers, and holding in niches along the sides the bodies of the dead, as if in sleep, he beheld the scenes of divine worship in the days of persecution. There had been brought to Italy and Rome by Athanasius the Great, bishop of Alexandria, at the time of his exile, reports of the voluntary self-denial and distinguished virtues of Antony and other saintly hermits that in Egypt were following his brilliant example. Jerome was at that time a wonderfully fantastic mixture of flesh and spirit, sinful lust and moral rectitude, paganism and Christianity. Yet he was striving for better things, and his effort after the new holy life of the Christian won the victory especially after his baptism (362). With his friend Bonosus he undertook a journey the next year (363) to Gaul and the Rhine, and subsequently to Aquileia, where he found the presbyter Rufinus seeking ends like his own, and formed with him the closest friendship. Bonosus afterwards left him to live as a hermit on a barren island in the Adriatic.

Jerome had before joined with his pagan studies the reading of Christian authors. He was drawn to this, not by their stores of knowledge only, but especially by their grandeur and heroism, by the adventurous and wonderful. He was not satisfied with reading; he must behold, undergo, and experience everything for himself. He painted everything that was told him in the highest colors, for he was extraordinarily fanciful, as his style of writing betrays. He found Italy, after a few years, unendurable. With his friends Innocentius and Evagrius, he journeyed to the East, visited Bithynia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, and at the close of the year 373 reached Antioch, the native town of Evagrius. There Jerome passed a winter marked by sickness, misfortunes, and disquietude of conscience. Then it was that he resolved, amid prayers, fastings, and tears, to be a thorough Christian, to subdue utterly the desires of the flesh, to give up pagan literature, and to devote his whole life to the cause of the faith. He carried out this purpose, amid severe conflicts. He adopted, indeed, the conception of Christian perfection that was held by the best men of his day. He resigned himself to monkish asceticism, while he relieved the irritability of his passionate temperament by controversial writings. At this time he had that remarkable dream which he relates to his friend, the Christian lady Eustochium. He fancied himself standing at the judgment-seat of God. When the Lord asked him what he was, he answered, "I am a Christian." The voice replied, "Thou art not a Christian, but art a Ciceronian, for where thy treasure is, there is thy heart also." Then Jerome felt the blow of a whip, of which he assured his friends he afterward found the marks and felt the pain. At last he received pardon, by the intercession of others, when he had first taken a solemn oath never more to open a pagan book. Without concluding from this dream that the use of heathen writings is forbidden a Christian, we may believe that with Jerome his delight in the artificial beauties of Cicero's eloquence was carried to a sinful extent, unfitting him for the pure and simple grandeur of the Bible. Jerome, with the most eminent of the church teachers of his century, often did injury by pagan rhetoric and bombast to simple, healthful, manly Christian utterance.

Jerome was beset still by the tempest of struggles that overtook him in Antioch. In the desert of Chalcis he sought with heroic zeal to banish the lascivious images wrought in him by his too early vitiated imagination. He could not achieve it with all his prayer and fasting till he had recourse to mental occupations, in harmony with his learned aspirations and divine calling. He undertook to learn Hebrew, with the help of a learned Jew, being the first Latin scholar that had set himself to the task. The beginning is found here of the first attempt of western Christianity at the independent study of the Old Testament. In Jerome slowly ripened the fruits of more than forty years' labor, which he be-

stowed on the translation and exposition of the Old as well as the New Testament. He was assisted by the extensive preparatory works of the Greek church fathers, especially of Origen, the great Alexandrian. At the same time he was delayed in his good work by many interruptions, disputes, and obstacles, some of them of his own creation.

Having spent four years in penitent solitude, Jerome returned to Antioch, and was there consecrated presbyter by bishop Paulinus; with the understanding, however, that he should be forever exempt from ministerial duties, and should not have to give up his monkish life and its independence. The next year (379) he went to Constantinople to hear Gregory of Nazianz, whose pupil he was proud to reckon himself long afterwards. He there studied thoroughly the writings of the Greek church fathers, and translated the chronicle of Eusebius into Latin, but with alterations and additions. He translated also, at the request of his friends, some of Origen's writings. On his return to Antioch, he accompanied bishop Paulinus to Rome (382). He was there received by pope Damasus with marks of distinction, and was made by him his confidant in ecclesiastical affairs. From this he received in later times the title of Roman cardinal, though that office certainly did not exist then in the sense that it bore some eight centuries afterward. He thus by degrees took a share in the government of the Western church, which just at that time was sustaining a hard fight with the last remnant of heathenism. In comparison, however, with the church of the East, torn with its schisms, it wore a venerable aspect of unity and steadfastness in the faith. What was more important to the life of Jerome, Damasus commissioned him to take the Latin translations of the New Testament, which differed greatly and were in parts very incorrect, and test and correct them by the best Greek manuscripts, thus to prepare the way for a pure, uniform version for universal use. Jerome began his work with the four Evan- Edits the Goe-
pels. gelists. He edited these, and made a list of passages, following earlier Greek interpreters, showing what each evangelist had in common with the others, or peculiar to himself. He corrected also, while in Rome, the Latin translation of the Psalms; not indeed as yet after the original Hebrew, but from the Greek Alexandrian version. His labor in this, so necessary and wholesome for the entire Western church, found abundant opposition on the side of those who were accustomed to regard their faulty copies as the Word of God, and who could not bear to see what to them was holy writ corrected by a man.

Jerome opposed the frightful corruption of manners in Rome, prevailing not only among the pagan but the Christian citizens. His remedy was monkish abstemiousness and celibacy. He would thus secure the life for God, amid fasting and prayer and the reading of the Scriptures. His heroic and unbounded efforts excited great admiration and imitation, especially among the Christian women. He met some little resist-

ance on scriptural grounds, which he overcame by his skillful argument. He found severer opposition on the side of the world. The persons judged and condemned by him in their bitterness would neither understand nor admit how far he was in the right. By the favor of Damasus, Jerome was preserved, during the life of that pope, from an open demonstration of the public feeling. By his influence, chiefly, several women of wealth and exalted rank, Marcella, Albina, Paula, and her daughter Eustochium, were led to renounce marriage, the world, and every allurements, devoting themselves to a life of penitence, prayer, and self-denial. The public discontent at this broke over all bounds at the rumor that Blaesilla, the daughter of Paula, a young widow of twenty, had died from violent castigations, leaving her mother inconsolable. "Why do we not," was the cry, "drive these abominable monks out of town? They ought to be stoned to death, or thrown into the water!" To withdraw from this hate shown to him personally, Jerome hastened his departure. He took ship to Cyprus (August, 385), there visiting his friend, the bishop Epiphanius; thence to Antioch, accompanied by his younger brother, Paulinianus, and several monks. He was followed by Paula and her daughter Eustochium, and the devout company, that same winter, went on to Jerusalem to visit there the holy places. In the spring of the year 386, these pilgrims betook themselves to Egypt; from Alexandria they bore greetings to the monks in the Nitrian desert. While his companions were wholly busied with their devotions, Jerome gathered up many geographical and other facts to serve him in understanding the Scriptures. He made the acquaintance, also, in Alexandria, of the celebrated expositor, Didymus. Returning from Egypt, he and his devout friends chose Bethlehem as a permanent residence.

Jerome had seen and deplored the great defects of his age. He had himself had experience of both of them, — the devastations of immorality and licentiousness in the perishing Roman Empire, which was endangering by its downfall the whole Christian church, and the want of independent Bible study in the church of the West. Knowing nothing of the original Bible languages, especially the Hebrew, the church was cut off from the sources of truth, and had to accept faulty translations and arbitrary expositions. To attain holiness by the mortifying of the flesh, to understand the Bible by its study and edify himself and others by its perusal, Jerome made from this time forth the aim of his life. He devoted himself thereto with heroic self-forgetfulness and untiring zeal, all the while surveying from his solitary watch-tower in the town of Christ's nativity the whole church of Christ upon the earth. A man of enormous power of intellect, he directed all the impetuosity and strength of his nature to the promotion of Christian knowledge and piety as he understood them. And though he may sometimes have mingled error

with truth, and confounded God's glory with the human "I," he yet did what he could, and he did much.

In the waste portions of Bethlehem he contented himself at the first with a miserable abode, in which he led an almost solitary life. But after the lapse of three years he formed a small religious community. Cloisters were built by the help of Paula's fortune: one for the monks, with Jerome as teacher and leader; another for virgins and widows, with Paula at its head. A third building was set apart for the reception and entertainment of pilgrims. Bread, water, and pulse were the daily food of this pious company; a garment of coarse stuff their clothing; a hard couch their resting-place; reading and studying the Holy Scriptures under Jerome's guidance almost their only occupation. He collected, himself, with untiring diligence, the materials for the expositions on which he fed his devout community. He overcame his aversion to Christ's enemies so far as to continue learning the Hebrew under a pious Jew, named Baranina, who could come to him only at night, because it would not have been suffered by the other Jews that the treasures of the Old Testament should be unlocked to a Lives in Palestine. Christian. Jerome (from 389 on) wrote expositions of Paul's epistles, Philemon, Galatians, Ephesians, and Titus, and sent them to Marcella in Rome, who had begged to have them. In these commentaries he made use of the works of the Greek fathers, especially Origen. He published (390) a work upon the meaning of Hebrew names; another upon the names and localities of Hebrew places; a third upon passages in Genesis, in which he shows how the faults of the Greek and Latin translations are to be corrected from the Hebrew. Then he began his principal work, a new Latin translation of the Old Testament from the original, with which he was occupied fifteen years, though indeed with frequent interruptions. His commentaries upon the prophets and some other Old Testament books are valuable as containing many linguistic observations, with choice passages from Greek expounders of the sacred writings. Of his other publications, biographies of holy men, translations from the Greek, and controversial treatises, there shall be noted here only one,—his catalogue of distinguished Christian authors, at the end of which is a list of his own writings. In addition, a great mass of letters must be included, part of them very prolix, and many of them addressed to devout Christian women.

Jerome's controversial writings, however important to himself and the church of his age, must be here passed over. He often argued more for his own sake than for the sake of the good cause; often quite as zealously for an error as for the truth; and not satisfied with refuting his adversary wanted to annihilate him. He fell out with his friend Rufinus over Origen. The latter was with justice attacked for his errors. Thereupon Jerome, though he honored the great services of that father,

quarreled with his friend for upholding him. He fell out with bishop John of Jerusalem also, who disapproved of passing a sentence of condemnation on Origen so long after his death. By his attack on Pelagius, who had warm partisans in the Greek church and in Palestine especially, in the synod of Diospolis (Lydda), Jerome brought upon himself,

Hot disputes. in his later years, the persecutions of the enraged populace, so that he had to take refuge for a while in a fortified tower. Most thoroughly was Jerome right, when he advocated a clear, explicit translation of the Scriptures. He has afforded the greatest help, in his expositions of the Bible, to its grammatical, historical, and geographical elucidation. By his allegorical interpretations he has done harm, often bordering in them on the marvelous. After all his manifold labors and conflicts, in an advanced old age, in the ninetieth year of his life, he died in Bethlehem, and was there buried. His bones, it is said, were in the thirteenth century carried to Rome, and laid first in the church of Maria Maggiore, by the altar of Christ's manger, but afterwards removed to some other place.

Bethlehem, where Christ's manger had been, was the spot Jerome chose as the dearest to him on earth; and shortly before his death he wrote the following, which has been appropriately introduced into a Christmas sermon by Valerius Herberger: "As often as I look on this place, my heart holds sweet discourse with the child Jesus. I say, Ah, Lord Jesus, how dost thou tremble; how hard dost thou lie on thy couch, and all for my soul's welfare. How can I ever repay thee therefor! Then methinks I hear the young child's answer: Nothing do I desire, my beloved Jerome, but that thou sing, 'Glory to God in the Highest.' Trouble not thyself; for my need, for thy sake, shall be still greater in the Garden of Gethsemane and on the cross. Then I continue, Dear child Jesus, I must give thee something! I will give thee all my gold. The child answers, The heaven and earth are ever mine; I need it not. Give it to the poor; then I will accept it, as given to me. I again open my lips: Dear babe Jesus, I will do so with gladness, but to thee personally I must give something, or I shall die of grief! The child answers, Beloved Jerome, as thou art so bounteous, I will tell thee what thou shalt give me: give me thy sins, thine evil conscience, and thy damnation! I say, What wilt thou do with them? The child Jesus says, I will take them on my shoulders. This shall be my sovereign act and deed of fame, as Isaiah spoke long ago, that I should bear thy sins and carry them away. Then I began to weep bitterly," adds Jerome, "saying, Child, dear child Jesus, how hast thou touched my heart! I thought thou wouldst have something good, and thou wilt have nothing but what is evil in me. Take, then, what is mine; give me what is thine; then am I free from sin, and sure of life everlasting."

Jerome has been often represented in paintings: sometimes he is a her-

mit, in a coarse garment; or a dweller in the desert, a lion at his side; or else beating his breast with a stone, as the penitent in the wilderness of Chalcis; sometimes with a red hat, as the counselor of pope Damasus; sometimes as a learned scholar, with his ^{Jerome in art.} Bible. Correggio has painted him standing by Christ's manger, reading devoutly, by the side of the new-born Saviour, the prophecy of Isaiah: "Unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given; the Wonderful, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace." This is the Jerome whom we gratefully honor; the scribe who teaches us the way to heaven, bringing out of his treasures things new and old; the translator of the Bible for the Latin church, in the Roman tongue, as Luther is the interpreter of the word of God for the evangelic church in our German language. — H. E. S.

LIFE XIX. MONICA OF NORTH AFRICA.

A. D. 332—A. D. 387. IN THE WEST, — NORTH AFRICA.

THE instances are notable, in the history of God's kingdom, of great teachers, rich in blessings to the church of Christ, who were indebted for their first deep impressions of piety to the influence of godly mothers, whose activities afterwards in the holy cause may be traced directly to their care. Often when the truth germs in souls encompassed by errors and by life's tempests seemed lost, the early impressions associated with thoughts of their mothers came back, and called, irresistibly, their longing hearts to return into the divine peace, so sweetly known in days of childhood. In that company of Christian mothers, venerable for their own lives, and deserving besides of lasting remembrance for their influence upon their children, belongs, certainly, Monica, the mother of the great church teacher, Aurelius Augustine.

Monica was born about the year 332, probably in the Numidian town of Tagaste, where she lived after marriage. Of Christian parentage, she was carefully brought up. In recounting incidents of her childhood she recalled her great attachment first to her parents, then to an old servant who had nursed her father before her, and still remained in the family, less as a servant than as a friend, be- ^{Her old nurse.} loved and respected by all. To this aged woman the training of the little daughter was entrusted. She executed her office with wholesome severity and kindly discretion. From small beginnings she sought in the child the largest development of the domestic virtues. Monica was by no means of a quiet and passive disposition, but lively and high-spirited. She faced the world with a bright, vigorous sense of enjoyment, united to great depth of feeling. On such good soil the gospel took deep root, in-

fusing divine strength into this being so full of life and originality. After having, as a good daughter, done her duty in her parental home, she was given in marriage to Patricius, a highly respected citizen of Tagaste, possessed of some property. In her wedded life she proved amid difficult circumstances that the spirit of the gospel imparts to the human soul the love which, as is said by Paul, beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, and endureth all things. Patricius was a thoroughly good-hearted man, but extremely hasty. He was still attached to paganism, a painful fact for Monica. Then the latter lived the first of her married life along with her mother-in-law, who had no great confidence in her son's wife. Nevertheless, Monica kept the horizon of their domestic peace unclouded, by her punctilious care for the household, by kindness and love, by meekness and humility. In like manner she endeavored, by kindly visits, to strengthen the unity of other households, or restore peace where strife had entered. Her most fervent desire was to gain her husband over to Christianity, and to see her children, among them her loved Augustine, safe, through a consciousness awakened in them of a heavenly Father and Redeemer. Patricius, feeling the worth of such a wife, suffered himself to be led by her. He raised no opposition to their children being instructed in the Christian faith, and afterwards baptized, and at last was himself baptized in the Redeemer's name.

Death of her
husband.

Soon afterwards he died, when his son Augustine had just entered his seventeenth year. It was a comforting thought to Monica that her husband, whom she loved so tenderly, for whose salvation she offered so many heart-felt prayers, had died in the faith in which she had found everlasting life.

After the death of Patricius, Monica lived like the widow of whom the Scripture says: "She is a widow, indeed, who is desolate, trusteth in God, and continueth in supplications and prayers night and day." She had no thought of marrying again. By the side of Patricius' grave, she marked the place where she would one day be buried. She was untiring in her devotions and deeds of piety. The word of God was her refreshment, prayer the breath of her life. She went twice every day to church, morning and evening, to listen to God's holy Word and to pray. She let no day pass that she did not lay her gift on the altar. She was often seen visiting the tombs of the martyrs, bringing gifts that she might celebrate the love feasts, then customary in the North African church. She relieved the needs of the saints; according to her means she gave alms to the poor. For her children she toiled and prayed with tender solicitude. She had given them birth into this transient life, and longed to secure them birth into the life eternal. She felt, as Augustine expressed it, mental birth-throes whenever she saw her children deviating from the way of God. Many a pang did her mother heart suffer, as she beheld the son on whom she had lavished her affection, to

whose promising disposition she had attached so much hope, plunged into an abyss of depravity, lust, and unbelief. Her after-life connects itself closely with her son Augustine's, and exhibits to us mother love, in one of its offices, seeking to save an erring son from destruction. Therefore, to have a true picture of her life, we must cast a glance at that of Augustine.

Augustine's mind, in boyhood, had received a deep impression from the piety of his mother's daily life. He opened his heart to the preaching of the gospel. His childish piety was instanced when, upon his suffering a severe attack of illness, he earnestly begged of his mother to be baptized. Whilst preparations were making for the sacrament, the boy recovered. The baptism was therefore put off, according to the view of that age that it was well that baptismal grace, as a means of cleansing from all sin, be saved until riper years. To this first period of childish piety there succeeded a time in Augustine's life when passions and pleasures made havoc of his youth. This was in his seventeenth year, when he returned home from Madaura, where his decided talents had received development in the study of literature and rhetoric, and was preparing to attend the academy of sciences at Carthage. His dissolute tendency increased more than ever after the death of his father. There was added to his mother's sorrow over the sensual life of her son the pain of seeing him utterly alienated from Sorrow over her son. the Christian faith, and embracing Manicheism, a mixture of the doctrines of Christianity with paganism and fantastic natural philosophy. How must it have cut her to the heart, attached as she was to the church, and finding through it the way of happiness, to hear from her own son words of scorn and contempt at what was to her most sacred! Her tears fell, her prayers ascended unceasingly for her lost child. But at last, so great was the horror of the gentle woman at her son's degradation that she was on the point of separating from him and leaving him to his fate. Then was given her a voice of comfort, and a hope that the wanderer might yet be rescued; she felt an impulse to surround him more than ever with her heart's love. This comfort reached her bowed soul when, in answer to her lamentations, a bishop once exclaimed: How is it possible that the son of so many tears should be lost! At another time, she was greatly comforted by a vision. It seemed to her as though she stood weeping, when a youth of brilliant aspect and gentle countenance approached, and demanded the cause of her tears. "I am weeping," replied she, "over the ruin of my son." Then he bade her cease wailing and look up. Where she would be, there should her son be also. Monica gazed upward, and lo, Augustine was standing at her side. She saw therein a sign from Heaven that she was not to withdraw from her son. With hopeful love she betook herself anew to her prayers. Her hope was severely tested. Her tears were not regarded by Augustine.

He preferred to separate himself from her weeping, and one evening left the wailing mother, who in vain sought to detain or to accompany him, standing upon the shore of the sea, by the church of the holy martyr Cyprian, while he embarked for Italy, to seek in Rome a wider field of activity than he had found during the several years he had spent as a rhetorical teacher in Carthage.

A mother's heart seeking to win a son back to his faith in God and to life will find its way even across the sea. Monica, leaving her home, followed Augustine. After a short stay in Rome, he had settled in Milan as a professor of eloquence. She found him gloomy and dispirited. The chains of his pleasure were galling him. He had broken with Manicheism, convinced that the promise of knowledge from the lips of a Manichean was only a vain boast. He was now doubting whether man ever could attain to true knowledge. Monica's quick eye discovered this change in Augustine. Grateful emotions towards God filled her heart; with quiet confidence she repeated the words, "I believe, by God's help, that before I leave this world I shall yet see thee a member of the church universal." Already the fulfillment of her earnest hope was in preparation, by the secret springing of life in Augustine's heart. He had been attracted by the preaching of Ambrose, the bishop of Milan. Gradually he saw the church's teaching in another aspect than it had before worn to him. The religious feeling that had filled him in childhood, now strengthened by deep thought, took new possession of his soul. Monica was a witness of that great transformation by which Augustine was at last brought back into the church's faith, joyfully resolving before God to forego earthly desires, and spend his life in efforts for the kingdom of God. She lived in Italy, devoting herself to the same employments and good deeds she had ever followed in Africa. She was so zealous at the time the Milan church was threat-

In Ambrose's
congregation.

ened by the storm of Arianism that often Ambrose, when he met Augustine, gave him his congratulations on the possession of such a mother. In firm trust in God, she was anticipating the hour when her son should be restored to the church. At last came the hour, the longed-for moment, when Augustine, in the garden of his home, under the fig-tree, fell upon his knees before the Almighty, entreating, with tears of repentance, the forgiveness of his sins, and strength to live a holy life. Like a second Nathanael, he received from the Lord, whose loving eye beheld under the fig-tree the first Nathanael, the command to put on the new man in righteousness. How Monica's heart overflowed with joy and thanks when Augustine told her that God had shown him mercy, and that his earnest wish for the rest of his life should be gratefully to magnify the divine grace! Her dream was fulfilled. Her yearning motherly heart was given its desire.

Augustine, between the time of his conversion and that of his baptism,

passed some months in strict retirement at Cassiacum, not far from Milan, the country seat of his friend Verecundus. Monica accompanied him thither. She took charge of the housekeeping of the small but thoroughly united circle. Besides Augustine, there were at Cassiacum, Monica's second son, Navigius, her grandson Adeodatus, who was Augustine's son, and several of the pupils and friends of Augustine. She took an active part in the discussions on the loftiest subjects that can concern human thought and the soul's happiness, which Augustine held in Cassiacum, under the open sky when the autumn weather permitted, or else in some room of the country house. Her words, uttered from a soul of faith, excited the admiration of her hearers. Those were calm, blessed hours, breathed upon by the first gentle breath of holy peace that was wafted to the heart of Augustine, long tossed by the tempests of the world and of his own lusts. Monica had suffered many sorrows for her son, but her pain was richly recompensed. Augustine never tired in expressing to her his gratitude. "Truly, mother," said he to her once, "I firmly believe God has, in answer to your Joyous days. prayers, given me this mind — to prefer nothing to the search after truth, to desire nothing besides, think of nothing, love nothing." What unutterable feelings filled this mother when, on Easter of 387, in the church at Milan, her son Augustine, and his child Adeodatus, in the bloom of tender youth, were baptized, and received, the two together, into the communion of the church.

Their return to Africa had already been determined. Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, was reached. The preparations for the sea voyage were completed. Soon the native shore was to be gained. But Monica was nearer her heavenly home than her earthly one. She had no anxious desires to bind her to earth after she had beheld her heart's wish accomplished in her son's baptism. Her yearning was towards heaven. She expressed this feeling one day, when standing at the window of their house in Ostia, with Augustine at her side. Her eyes rested on the little garden before her, while her thoughts were already in Paradise. They sought together in anticipation to rise to the glory referred to in the saying, "Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." Inspired words on the happiness of the heavenly fatherland poured from the lips of Augustine. Monica, stirred in heart, in the sense of her near departure, answered, "As for me, my son, I have no further delights in this life. I know nothing more to do here, nor why I am here now. There was one thing for which I wished to live, — to see thee before my death a true Christian. This God has given me beyond my desire, now that I see thee caring not for earthly fortune, and serving Him. Why should I linger here?" A few days afterwards she was laid low by a fever. Declining rapidly, she was often unconscious. "Where am I?" she asked. Opening her eyes, and perceiving her sorrowing sons by her bedside, she said,

"You will have to bury your mother in this place." Augustine suppressed his tears, but Navigius sought to reassure her; she should not die in a foreign land; God would return her to her native country. It had been her hope to find her last resting-place by the side of her husband. In this sickness even this wish lost its power. "Nothing," she would say, "is far from God, and I have no fear that at the last day He will not know whence to awaken me." To Navigius she said, "Bury my body here, without minding, and do not grieve! But I entreat of you never to forget me when approaching the altar of God, wherever it may be." She expired at Ostia, on the ninth day of her illness, in 387, in her fifty-sixth year, when Augustine was thirty-three. Augustine had to seek his home without his mother, who had left her home to follow him to a strange land. Her memory went with him; in God's sanctuary her last wish was thought of by him, for his whole after-life was a remembrance of his mother. Often in dreams he saw her with celestial countenance, and he felt, as in her life on earth, that he was encompassed by her love. — E. B.

LIFE XX. AURELIUS AUGUSTINE.

A. D. 354—A. D. 430. IN THE WEST, — NORTH AFRICA.

THE fourth century of Christianity, following close upon the martyr centuries, proved a time of marked religious progress. The church spread rapidly and powerfully when acknowledged by the state and legally established. By an almost unbroken course of victory it brought paganism to its dying gasp. Yet there came many a heathen reaction. Though suffering a general decline, paganism intruded itself still into the details of every-day life, and even into the church. External strength and splendor were given the Christian organization. Its undertakings were sustained by the government. Its bishops in charge of its affairs were also given a share in the civil administration, which had not been allowed them as long as the state was hostile. The churches were richly endowed. Christian art was developed, especially in religious edifices and forms of worship. Theology reached its full bloom. Most of the church fathers, and by far the greatest of them, rose in the fourth century. Their works have come down to exert the profoundest influence on succeeding generations. There were not lacking serious doctrinal disputes and divisions. Arianism had to be resisted in the East, while a distracting schism rose in the Roman provinces of North Africa. This was named from its chief originator, bishop Donatus, of Carthage, and is known as the Donatist schism. Its leading design was the preservation and extension of the church of the first centuries by bald simplicity and separation from the state. As the schism progressed, it broke off,

by rebaptisms, all connection with the church in general. Other still older sects endeavored also to maintain and extend their existence. The Manicheans may serve as an example. But the church's chief danger was in her leaning on the state and yield-^{Sketch of his times.} ing to secular influences. To oppose the latter, monasticism came forward. With something of the martyr spirit of the previous centuries it resisted church secularization. Practiced everywhere in hermitages and convents, it excited general enthusiasm. The church was apparently gaining unity and power throughout the Roman Empire, when there rose the migration of nations. To Rome it was a foreboding of destruction; to the church an opening of new paths of progress. This, then, was the century which, producing an Athanasius, a Chrysostom, with the Cappadocian Gregorys and Basil, an Ambrose, a Jerome, and a Hilary, also brought forth an Augustine. To him the first place must be given, at least among Western Christian fathers. His career will, as we shall see, reflect the period whose outlines have been given.

Aurelius Augustine was born in the year 354, in the Numidian town of Tagaste. His parents were Romans. His father, Patricius, was of a kind but impetuous disposition. He took no particular interest in Christianity, for although he was enrolled as a catechumen, he waited till near his death before he finally laid aside his paganism by receiving baptism. His mother, Monica, who was of Christian parentage, was a woman of decided piety. From her, Augustine received even in childhood the liveliest impressions of religion; he had less hindrances to Christian attainment in that his town, Tagaste, was one of those North African towns from which Donatism had disappeared. His talents were early remarked. It was his father's hope that his boy would attain a brilliant career of wealth and worldly renown. Though Patricius had no great fortune, he spared no expense on his son's education. He sent him to a school in Madaura, thence to proceed to Carthage to complete his course of study. The father's plan would have probably failed at his death, which occurred soon after, had not Augustine found a patron in a wealthy and influential citizen of Tagaste, named Romanianus, whose help supplemented the narrow resources of Monica. Augustine was expected to master rhetoric, and in this way attain distinguished position. Diligent in study, Augustine, whilst at Carthage, became exceedingly dissipated. The life of luxury and sensuality in that great and wealthy commercial centre, with its still abounding paganism, was greatly tempting to his excitable, passionate disposition. Dissolute comrades, also, did their utmost to plunge him into sensual excesses. When but a youth he had a son as the fruit of an illicit connection, by name Adeodatus. His unbridled life tended, of course, to efface the pious lessons of his childhood. In addition came another influence to turn him from the course to which his mother had directed him: he

made acquaintance with the Manicheans. By their perplexing questions and contemptuous utterances respecting the faith and doctrine of the church, he was so drawn off as to resign his place as a catechumen, and go over completely to that party. His slight knowledge of Christian doctrine could not quiet the discord excited in his soul by questionings respecting the origin of evil. To his unformed mind these objections to the Holy Scripture and his Christian belief seemed unanswerable. He was driven to accept the dogmas which supposed two eternal beings, a good and an evil, out of whose conflicts grew the world's development. For the Manichean doctrine rested more on fantastic imaginations than on philosophic reasons. Augustine found much of this teaching unsatisfying; the thirst for knowledge he had hoped to gratify still pursued him. He had parted with the faith of his childhood. He had lost the last support of morality, adopting the Manichean view that evil was something external, and imposed upon him by no fault of his own. Sometimes he was affected by longings for a different life, but never found in himself the strength to carry out his better desires. His condition and course of life caused his mother the deepest misery. She followed him to Carthage, and sought by entreaty to win him to a different course, but in vain. True he was more and more convinced of the insufficiency of Manicheism, in part by the study of astrology, to which for a while he devoted himself. Yet, knowing nothing better to substitute, he continued his Manichean connection when he had given up all hope of attaining in it the highest knowledge.

Meanwhile he completed his studies, and settled in Carthage as a teacher of rhetoric. He had many an affectionate disciple, among them a young man of Tagaste, Alypius, who through long years proved his most faithful friend. But he was not wholly satisfied with Carthage, and decided to seek in the world's metropolis a larger and better field for his labors. He planned to deceive his mother respecting his departure, for he was wearied by her entreaties to him to stay. He was on his way to Italy, while she was lamenting in Carthage. He left also behind him his child and his child's mother. In Rome he opened a lecture hall of rhetoric, but did not meet with the success he expected. He added to his discontent at his position new troubles of mind. He not only found Manicheism untenable, but, misled by intercourse with the so-called academic philosophy, began to doubt if truth could ever be found. In the hurry of that vast city human life seemed a thing tossed hither and thither, with no star to guide. In this forlorn condition he met with a change in his affairs that was of the highest importance to his inner transformation. By the influence of friends, Manicheans like himself, he was called to Milan as professor of rhetoric. In this position he secured a worldly support. He obtained, besides, larger recognition as a master in rhetoric. This outward prosperity helped him to a calmer

frame of mind. His study of Platonic philosophy gave him new light respecting knowledge. By its help he was led to the loftiest spiritual contemplations; his mind was stirred to lay hold of the truth. The belief was revived that truth was not beyond man's reach. Where to seek it he hardly knew, but gradually he was assured that he ought to look for it in the Christian church. His help to this assurance was Ambrose, who was then the bishop of Milan. Helped by Ambrose.

This man, one of the greatest Western church rulers and teachers, was especially eminent as a preacher. Augustine often went to listen to the sermons of the famous bishop.

He was at first specially attracted by their rhetorical form, but soon, also, by their substance. He obtained new light upon the Holy Scriptures. He began to see that in his early hostility to the church he had occupied himself less with her doctrines than with his own prejudices and false conceptions. He found the views presented by Platonism offered him by the church also, but in a living, divine revelation, in a love that sacrificed itself for suffering man. He beheld the church in her grandeur, unity, extent, and unparalleled history, an institution of God, where man might obtain life and truth. Through the church's witness he found the Scriptures an original proclamation of the divine revelation; upon this secure footing he gave himself to the study of them, especially of Paul's epistles. Meantime, Monica had followed her son to Milan. Adeodatus and his mother were also with him. Monica, with exalted trust, never ceased her prayers to God for his conversion. As yet it was but half accomplished. His life and conscience were at variance; his knowledge created a fearful conflict between his spirit and his flesh. He longed for a life of devotion to God,—to put away his ambitious plans and fleshly lusts, yet he found himself fettered by them ever anew. The breaking of one illicit connection only opened the way to form another equally unlawful. He experienced hours of deep melancholy. His health began to suffer, and often he thought his death was near at hand. He was in this mood once when visited by a friend, Pontitianus, a warm, earnest Christian. Alypius, who, having devoted himself to the law, and lived for some time in Rome as a barrister, now resided in Milan, was also present. The conversation turned upon the monastic life in hermitages and cloisters. Augustine, who had never given the subject a thought, was deeply moved by the portrayal, by Pontitianus, of a life given to God in self-denial and renunciation of the world. He beheld in such a life the realization of his own undefined longings. He felt humbled at finding men, every way his inferiors in knowledge and education, giving themselves unhesitatingly to God; while he, with desire for spirituality, still gave way to his unbridled passions. When Pontitianus had gone, he remained deeply affected. Seizing Paul's epistles, with which he had just before been occupied, he hast

ened with them into the garden adjoining his residence. Alypius followed him. The two friends sat silent in the garden, side by side. Augustine, with inner remorse, was reviewing his past life. He reflected what he might have been by the grace of God, and what he had missed. Out of the deep anguish of his contrition a gentler mood gradually stole over him; he felt that it was not yet too late; he might still be within reach of God's grace; he might yet pursue a new path in life. Overcome by these emotions, he left his friend, and alone under a fig-tree threw himself upon the ground in tears, pouring out his heart to God, praying for the forgiveness of his sins. As he prayed, he heard suddenly the words, "Take and read," as if uttered repeatedly by the lips of a boy or maiden. He listened, and his soul was impressed with the thought that along with these words he was given by God a sign; and that opening Paul's epistles, which he had left with Alypius, he should find the will of God in the first place that should meet his eye. He returned to Alypius, caught up the sacred book, and read in silence these words from Romans: "Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying, but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ." He received then a seal that his sins were forgiven, and a command that he should now enter the way of life for which he had longed. He declared this to his friend. Alypius felt that for him, too, a like turning-point had come. Continuing where his friend left off, he read, "Him that is weak in the faith, receive ye," and applying the words to himself he resolved not to leave at this step the friend to whom he had till now been faithful. They hastened together to Augustine's mother to tell what had happened. Monica burst forth into praise and thanksgiving. Her prayers for her son had been answered beyond all her hopes. He not only would become a member of the church, but would resign his earthly expectations and desires, in order to live unreservedly unto God.

This occurred in the autumn of 386. Augustine renounced his professorship, giving as a reason that he purposed withdrawing from every worldly pursuit, and also that his impaired health no longer would endure the labor of teaching. The season of supreme rest that comes sometimes to a man's life came to Augustine the following year, comprising the period just before and just after his baptism. It was really the only period of rest in his life, for his early years, leaving out his childhood, had been full of the pangs of inner conflicts and sinful aberrations; his later years in part were stricken with deep sorrows of other kinds, in part oppressed by daily toils. When he had announced his decision to withdraw from the world, and was desiring first of all to spend a while in solitude, he was asked by a friend in Milan, named Verecundus, to find a retreat in his country home, in the neighborhood, at Cassiacum. Here, amid beautiful scenes, with a little circle of trusted friends, among whom

Becomes a Chris-
tian.

we know were his mother, his son, and his friend Alypius, he spent happy days, recalling the guiding mercies of God, and viewing the path opening out before him. He also occupied himself with religious and scientific studies and pursuits. He wrote several works, relating partly to his former occupation, partly to his progress in philosophy. He endeavors in them to present the truths that he had sought with such long struggle and found so savingly revealed in the church, and to make them a light to others. About Easter of the year following he returned to Milan, to make, along with his son and Alypius, the last preparations for baptism. On Easter eve they and many others were baptized by bishop Ambrose.

The time immediately succeeding his baptism was to him a glorious period. He was full of the thought of God's grace, he was melted in tears as the songs of the church fell upon his heart. But his tears were full of peace. His resolve to live the life of a monk must now be executed. He had thought even, after his conversion, of going as a hermit into some wilderness solitude. He found a voice within him resisting this purpose. He considered that even though he withdrew from a worldly life, he must not give up intercourse with others, and his efforts on their behalf. He thought that not the hermit's cell but the cloister would best realize the ideal life he had in view, and that in his native town of Tagaste he could most suitably seek for that realization. In the autumn of 387 he started for Africa. Monica, it was ordained, should not tread again her native shore; she died in Ostia. She had done all she could for her son, and was ripe for another world. Without the mother, who for him had left her home, but with her legacy of sorrow and of love, Augustine landed on African soil, at Carthage. Arrived at Tagaste, he gave the property left him by his parents to the church and the poor, reserving only sufficient for his necessities. With several of his friends, he then formed a monastic band having all their goods in common. Adeodatus was one of the number, giving great youthful promise, but died young. Meantime, Augustine, by the publishing of many a work, attained large reputation in his native country. This, with his renunciation of his property and his ascetic life, aroused the desire that he should take some church office. He did not cherish such desire, but preferred his life of quiet and independence, engaged in theological studies and pursuits in a community of like-minded companions. Thus thinking, he went on a journey (391) to Hippo Regius, to find there a friend of his and win him for his monastery. The bishop of Hippo, at the time, was Valerius, a devout, gentle old man of Greek origin, who used to lament that his want of fluency in the Latin made his preaching of so little use in his diocese, and who had thought of securing for preacher and assistant some presbyter who was qualified. When he was expressing his mind to his congregation,

Augustine chanced to be in the church, and the whole assembly, on hearing the bishop, cried out to have Augustine consecrated priest of Hippo. Augustine was confounded, and refused his consent, but to no purpose. He had to give way to their demands and come to Hippo as presbyter. He still, as priest, followed his cloister-life. Besides preaching frequently, he devoted himself to the work of his calling, and zealously continued his theological compositions. He gave his writings at first a philosophical turn; those against the Manicheans being controversial also. Now, in addition to expositions of Scripture and of doctrine, he was called into a discussion by the existence of Donatist disorders, for the diocese of Hippo was greatly torn by this strife. Augustine's experience, with which the view he held of the grand oneness of the church had much to do, made him consider the Donatist schism very dangerous. He became its strongest opponent; and to his untiring efforts its defeat may largely be ascribed. Thus four years went by. Valerius found his hopes fulfilled and exceeded, and feeling his end approaching, he cherished an ardent desire that, during his life, Augustine should be consecrated as his co-bishop, thus securing the better governing of the diocese by a hand that was known to be strong. At a proper opportunity he uttered his wish. The clergy and congregation of Hippo gladly assented. The bishops whose consent was required expressed willingness. Augustine's opposition was overcome, and he was made co-bishop with Valerius. There was in the affair some irregularity, for by church law two bishops could not rule in the same diocese at one time. For a long time Augustine was oppressed by the fact that his elevation to the bishop's office was in evasion of church rule. He was leader of the church of Hippo many years, and since the death of Valerius soon occurred, he was the most of that time sole bishop. Some time before, Alypius had become bishop of Tagaste.

The pastor of
Hippo.

Augustine, when made bishop, gave up his cloister-life, for he deemed that the constant intercourse with others, into which his office brought him, was not consistent with monasticism. He compensated himself by uniting his clergy with him in a common order of life, the principal condition being the renunciation of individual property. He became by this one of the chief authors of the so-called canonical life of the clergy. His name, also, lives in the history of monasticism, which as bishop he zealously promoted. In the long period of his episcopate, he displayed extraordinary activity. It was the more wonderful, inasmuch as his health was delicate. He bore the marks of age upon him before he became an old man. His taste had been largely for theological study, and the contemplative side of his calling. His office demanded that he should occupy himself with many external affairs. His life, which he gladly would have spent in retirement and edifying studies, became a constant warfare. He felt that he must resist sectarian tendencies

that existed or were springing up. Considering this position of his as a controversialist, also his frequent absences from his diocese in the church assemblies of North Africa, or elsewhere counseling and directing matters of church business; taking into account, besides, that he spent a great part of his time in dispatching the legal business that came under a bishop's jurisdiction; and remembering, too, that he preached frequently and at times almost every day, and carried on an extensive correspondence, and published before his death, in addition to sermons and letters, no less than ninety-three large and small volumes,—must we not count that his labors would have been extraordinary in the longest of human lives? He not only worked during the day, he usually gave a part of the night to toil. In his last years he was occupied on two extended works, toiling on one in the daytime, on the other at night. Not till he was an old man did he seek assistance in his office. Then he chose his young friend and pupil, the presbyter Eraclius, of Hippo, whom he designed to name as his successor. Eraclius was not obliged, as happened to Augustine in his connection with Valerius, to be co-bishop, but remained still a presbyter, yet representing him in all church affairs that did not demand to be settled by him in person. Augustine could thus apply himself the more uninterruptedly to the Bible and ^{His great writings.} to theological works. He was granted very few years to enjoy this rest. His end was near at hand. His last years, too, were darkened by the events of the world's history that were then passing.

Augustine's importance to the church is apparent in his writings.¹ But

¹ The writings of Augustine extended over the whole field of ecclesiastical inquiry and erudition. Thorough master of the science of his times, he proves himself in his writings a leader in the profoundness of thought and penetration with which he grasped and exhibited the problems he had to solve. With great logical powers he showed inventiveness in setting forth the objections that could be urged against an opposite doctrine, as well as inexhaustible skill when refuting those of others. Joined with this intellectual quality his works show the living piety that animated him. Both these stamp his writings with an originality awakening and edifying at the same time. The same characteristics are evident in his sermons. The first of all his works is his great book "The City of God." In it all the rays of his genius and all the paths of his investigations meet together. The unfolding of God's kingdom in opposition to the resisting but sinking kingdom of darkness is portrayed to its eternal consummation; all this from the Christian point of view in contrast with his former Manichean standpoint. Augustine's polemical theology has three chief objects, Manicheans, Donatists, and Pelagians. That is, it is against that Dualism, which is also connected with Pantheism, against Separatism, and against Rationalism, in the sense of a shallow intellectual apprehension of the doctrine of salvation, which after its defeat before this, upon the doctrine of Christ's person, sought to build itself up again upon the doctrine of man's nature. In his controversy with the Manicheans, Augustine opposed to their errors the idea of a God, the conception of the creation, and the ruin of man's nature by his own guilt. Against the Donatists, he upheld the unity and greatness of the church, pleading for the hidden meaning of the sacraments, and uttering many heart-stirring words of love and patience. In this dispute, he allowed himself to be led into justifying the use of forcible measures for church objects, and hence his name is connected with the persecution undertaken in his own time and afterwards on behalf of the church. When the Donatist schism was almost at an end, in part by the power of conviction, partly by coercion and not without occurrences that profoundly affected Augustine, and when he saw quiet near, he was drawn into the still wider Pelagian controversy. The British monk, Pelagius, who gave his name to this dispute, in his travels through the length and breadth of the Roman Empire, became personally acquainted with Augustine, and at first greatly admired his course of life, his intellectual gifts and theological acquirements. But it was soon found by Augustine that Pelagius exalted man's nature in oppo-

that by which he shines most illustrious, is his complete overwhelming personality. The thorough union in him of a devout disposition with keen powers of intellect; his mental activity in its peculiarity of everywhere arousing, instructing, convincing, and edifying, — these make him not only to his own age, but to all ages, one of the greatest of our church leaders.

Augustine, even in his lifetime, was held by the church in most profound regard. He received adulations without measure, even to his disgust. His "Confessions," in which he tells God his penitent story to the praise of God and the abasement of himself, not only fulfilled his strong heart-desire to pour out his soul thus before God, but also his wish to oppose the overwrought praises heaped upon him. He felt constrained also, to subject himself to severe self examination, as he looked back over his many writings, in order to mark and correct whatever he had said wrongly. He did not live to complete this task.

Augustine now found himself an old man, having passed many toilsome and painful years. He was in hopes, with Eraclius at his side, to spend the last of his life in profound quiet. But instead he had to witness the train of overwhelming calamities that came on Northern Africa in the war of the Vandals. The movements of the migrating nations had repeatedly shaken the Roman Empire. Rome herself had been taken by king Alaric's Goths as they passed, but soon restored to the power of Honorius. This king, under whose reign the life of Augustine was mostly passed, had now died, and his sister Placidia held rule in the name of her son, Valentinian Third, yet under age. The prefect Boniface, a very distinguished Roman general, who deserved well of Placidia, was in charge of Africa. Feeling how great a support he had been to Placidia, he was the more afflicted by his recall, and was led to suspect a design against his life. Instead of obeying he raised the standard of rebellion, and called in as his allies the Vandals, then overrunning Spain. He had stood in close relations with Augustine, for he was not only distinguished as a statesman but as a friend of the church. Zealous

sition to the Scripture, and did not accept the grace of Christ in accordance with the church belief. Pelagius and his disciples denied a continuing guilt and sin in human nature from man's first fall. Human nature, in the view of Pelagius, is essentially the same in a new-born child as in our first parents. The grace of Christ was not conceived by Pelagius as a means of saving for those ensnared by the guilt and destruction of sin, but as a means of help, whereby divine love made the way of salvation for men more secure and complete. Opposing these views, Augustine taught the depravity of the whole nature of man by the first fall, the guilt of sin transmitted from generation to generation, and the inability of fallen human nature by its own strength to lead a life well-pleasing to God, or even to prepare itself for the attainment of God's grace. In thus indicating that man's salvation rested wholly on divine grace, he went so far that he not only traced every determination of the will of man to good to a previous inworking of grace, but also ascribed the acceptance or rejection of grace, not to a distinct self-determination of the human will in reference to that grace, but to the divine counsel, by which but a portion of men should receive that grace in effectual measure. However far the church has gone with Augustine's doctrine of grace, she has not wholly followed him in the doctrine of the divine predetermining and choosing, but keeping within these bounds of thought, beyond which Augustine was trying to go, she holds to the doctrine that the offer of divine grace is intended for all men, and that rejection of the gracious call is a crime of man's own determination

in his devotion, he had even thought, after the death of his first wife, of entering a monastery. Augustine and Alypius had dissuaded him from the step, urging him rather to devote himself to the welfare of the state. Now Augustine saw the rebellion of Boniface with profoundest sorrow, nor did he grieve only at the position taken by Boniface towards the imperial house, but at the dissipation of his habits. He wrote him a letter of earnest warning; it may have had its effect on Boniface personally, but it was too late to prevent the consequences of his mutiny. Boniface became reconciled to Placidia, but the Vandals who had entered Africa, under king Genseric, refused to withdraw, proceeding to subdue the country and winning the victory over Boniface. The horrors of a barbarian war were spread over Africa. True, the Vandals were Christians, but were, as Arians, hostile to the church of Africa. They had possession of all but a few of the cities, one of those left being Hippo. This they now besieged. Amid these calamities, Augustine waited with longing desire for death. It was his continual prayer, during the siege, that God would either free the city from its beleaguering foes, or, if He had willed otherwise, would strengthen his servant to endure his will, or else remove him from this world to Himself. The last ^{Amid wars, at} portion of his prayer was granted. In the third month ^{peace.} he was seized by fever and his strength soon spent. In confidential talk with his friends and pupils, he had often declared that Christians and priests, though they had sought salvation faithfully, should never leave the world without heartily confessing their sins. Feeling his end approaching he put in practice his precept. Ten days before his death he asked that the penitential Psalms of David should be brought him, then had them fastened on the wall near his bed, and read them with prayers and tears. He was to be disturbed the while by no one. He asked his friends to come into his chamber, only when the physician came, or when refreshment was absolutely necessary. As at last he came to his death-hour, his disciples and friends in Hippo approached his couch and joined their prayers with the prayers of the dying. He fell asleep on the 28th of August, 430, at the age of seventy-six, when he had been bishop of Hippo thirty-five years. After his death, the town, which had sustained a long siege, was taken and destroyed by the Vandals. The church library was saved, which contained, along with many volumes collected by Augustine, a complete set of his own works. The bones of Augustine were in the year 500 borne to the island of Sardinia, by the bishops who left Africa on account of the oppression of the Vandal rule. In the eighth century they were carried on to Pavia by Luitprand, king of the Lombards. The spirit of the man was borne over the whole church of the West, transmitted by his many writings. The church of the succeeding centuries in all her development has remained in living union with Augustine. — C. B.

THE CHURCH'S SPREAD IN THE NORTH.

PERIOD SECOND. CENTURIES V.-X. (OR FROM THE FIRST KNOWN CELTIC LEADERS TO THE SETTING UP OF THE CHURCH AMONG THE CHIEF RACES OF MODERN EUROPE). DIVISIONS OF THIS PERIOD: BEFORE THE ERA OF CHARLEMAGNE, CENTURIES V.-VIII. AFTER THAT ERA, CENTURIES VIII.-X.

LIFE I. PATRICK OF IRELAND.

A. D. 400?—A. D. 490? CELTIC LEADER, — BRITISH ISLES.

IN the village of Bannaven, between Dumbarton and Glasgow, toward the close of the Roman rule in Britain, lived a deacon Calpurnius, with a son Sucath, or Victor, who was afterwards known as Patrick or Cil-Patrick, that is, Church-Patrick. This was Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland. He was carefully trained by his father for the church, but at the age of sixteen fell into the hands of pirates, in one of their inroads on the coast. They carried him away to North Ireland and sold him as a slave to an Irish chief, who made him his herdsman. In the solitude of his shepherd life, weighed down by his misfortune, the heart of the young man turned to God, as he himself relates: "I was sixteen years old, and knew not the true God (that is, he had till then only an outward knowledge of Christianity, without experience of its saving truth), but in a strange land the Lord opened the blind eyes of my unbelief, so that I thought, though at a late hour, of my sins, and turned with my whole heart to the Lord my God. And He looked down upon my low estate, my ignorance, and my youth; He cared for me before I knew Him, and ere I could distinguish good from evil, He protected and comforted me, as a father his son."

After six years' captivity, Patrick found means to escape and go home. He recognized God's hand in the attending circumstances. Again, in his thirty-second year, he was so unfortunate as to be made prisoner by the sea-robbers, who were on every side devastating the shores of Britain, now forsaken by the Romans. He was taken to Gaul, but found opportunity, a second time, to return to his people. So quickened was he, as a Christian, by misfortune, that he was roused to an effort to impart his faith to others. His mind turned to the scene of his former captivity. He chose Ireland, familiar as he was with her language and people.

A Scotchman
in Ireland.

The story of his first visiting Rome and receiving from bishop Sixtus Third, the pope of that period, the Irish mission, is an invention of later times. In that earlier day there was no connection between Rome and the Irish church. The latter was developed in the same way as was the church in Britain, previous to the withdrawal of the Romans.

Patrick knew that the Celtic pagan priests or Druids of Ireland would be his foes. If he was to accomplish anything he must endeavor to gain over the chiefs of the country, before the Druids should count him an opponent. This he succeeded in doing. He also gained one from among the Irish poets, who by celebrating Christ in song contributed materially to the advancement of Christianity. During his captivity in Gaul, Patrick had observed the cloisters established there already, after the style of those in Egypt, like that of Cassianus in Marseilles. He now devoted the land given him by the Irish chiefs to the founding of monastic establishments in Ireland. His mission work endured much opposition from pagan chieftains and the Druids. He encountered it successfully, not only making a part of the island Christian, but leaving behind him, in his monasteries, schools that should extend his mission. He attained an advanced old age: some say one hundred and twenty years, reckoning three divisions of forty years, which are hardly to be accepted literally. He may have lived till between ninety and a hundred and ten, a not uncommon age in an active and enthusiastic monastic career. It may have been attained by Patrick, for his activity evinces an extraordinary physical vigor.

As the name of Patrick soon grew very common in Ireland, it is not strange that many things have been ascribed to him that belong to others of his name. The difficulties of his biography are increased by two other facts. The means at his command were insufficient to crush and extirpate the old pagan culture, manners, and literature, to the extent attained by the missionary preachers of Germany. On the contrary, the great political influence of the Irish lords endured, and their old songs exerted undiminished power. But after Christianity had won the day, their praises of pagan heroes were no longer in place. They did not suppress them, however, but introduced the holy Patrick into the song, or into the introductory verses, making him, as far as possible, their mouthpiece. So he grew to be the representative, in poetry, of Christianity. All Christian institutions and enterprises in Ireland, whose origin was unknown, were ascribed to Patrick. This is the first circumstance to be mentioned. The second is that when Patrick was made the Christian hero, there were sung in his praise songs that contained far more of myth than of history. The contents of these songs were embodied afterwards in his biographies. On their account some have wished to turn Patrick over entirely to the region of fable, banishing him out of history. But the notices of him in Irish poetry and the ascription of days

of fasting and like ordinances to him go back to such early times as to place the main features of his life and work beyond doubt. In the above a careful effort has been made by us to collect what is absolutely certain respecting him and his labors.—H. L.

LIFE II. COLUMBA OF SCOTLAND.

A. D. 520—A. D. 596. CELTIC LEADER,—BRITISH ISLES.

THE name of Columba in the Celtic, his own mother tongue, was Colum, or Columkill. Among the blessed men in the broad mission field of the earlier Middle Ages he is one of the most important and interesting. Distinguished by such excellences of heart and mind as belong to the greatest missionaries, he prepossesses us also by a humility, gentleness, and freedom of opinion which put him in contrast to the Romish monks, even as they were then. Adamnan's (704) detailed biography of him, written a century after his death, aided though it was by a work of Cumins (669), both disciples of Columba, is so disfigured by all kinds of exaggerations, and dazzling stories of miracles and visions, that it wants great care to separate the facts from the pious fictions. From Adamnan's legends, a few notices in Bede's history and in different chronicles, the following life-picture has been painted:—

Columba was of royal descent. His father Phelim, son of Fergus, traced his descent from the Irish king, Niell Naighiallach, that is, Niell of the nine hostages. His mother, Ethene, came of the family of Lorne, one of the oldest of the clans of Scotland [among the Dalriades of Argyle]. His birthday is not known, but was between 520 and 523. The annals of Tigernach may be followed, which put his birth in 520 and his death in 596. He evinced as a boy such talents as became his noble descent. At an early date he was committed to the presbyter, Cruinechan, for instruction, from whom he received his first impulse to study and monastic life. "From a child he was enrolled for the warfare of Christ." His piety was further promoted in the society of Finnian, the bishop of Clonrad, who taught him theology, giving him the title of Sanctus. The young deacon was also called a prophet, for when studying in Leinster, under the aged teacher, German (or Gemman), he rightly predicted the sudden death of a robber who had murdered a girl before their eyes. Columba was little over twenty-two when he entered the monastery of Cluan-mac-nois, now called Clon, or Clones, on the Shannon, founded by Ciaran, whose favorite pupil he became. Columba's fervent affection for the learned abbot appears in an ode on his death, in which he names him the light of the holy island, that is of Ireland. The death of Ciaran occurred

(in 549) seven years after the establishment of the monastery, when his pupil was twenty-nine. Columba left the school soon afterwards. The impress he received from Ciaran can hardly be overestimated. During his seven years' stay in the cloister, he formed the plan of his life, taking his master for his model. He imitated him in establishing the monastery of Dearmach (now Durrough, in King's County), no doubt on the plan of that of Clon. How he was esteemed appears in a description by Adamnan, of the reception once given him by his Clon brethren. The colonies that sprang from Durrough reached, it is said, to a hundred. Reflecting what time and labor he must have needed for all this, we can hardly imagine, as some have done, that Columba could have visited France and Italy before he went to Britain, which was in the second year after the battle of Culdrevan (562), and the forty-second year of his life.

The question here arises, how it came that a man of noble descent and high position renounced his rank and gave up earthly distinction, to go as a simple preacher of the gospel beyond the barren, snow-covered mountains of northern Scotland, to races decried by the Romans for their barbarity. An easy answer is furnished when we consider that already Ciaran had preached to the South Picts (the Attacotti or Dalriades of Cantyre), and that Columba's mother was from a noble family of the same stock. In resolving to carry the gospel thither, Columba continued the work of his master, and obeyed the call of kinship. Yet his strongest impulse to mission work was his living faith in Jesus Christ, for whose sake he, like Ciaran before him, would become an alien (as writers of the Middle Ages have named him), devoting himself to the conversion of the heathen.

Before we look more closely into Columba's mission, we must note that the apostolic and evangelic tendency of himself and Ciaran brought them into conflict with the majority of the ^{An anti-Roman-}Irish clergy, who were Romish-like in their ways. Columba kept Easter like the churches of the East. His disciples afterwards held strictly on this point with their master. Yet the Scotch-Irish church which he organized had at last to yield upon it to the Romish. Nor does Columba need to be credited with prophetic power (such as is ascribed him by Adamnan), in order to explain to us his saying on a certain visit to Cluan-mac-nois, that "many contentions would rise in the church of Scotland out of these differences respecting Easter." "For certain trifling reasons, as afterwards appeared," his biographer further writes, "he was unjustly excommunicated by his synod." Yet the accusations raised against him could not hurt the renown of his universally accepted devotness and even holiness. They were excited by divergencies of doctrine which contradicted the views of the Irish church. The differences may have been on the rule which Columba laid down for his in-

stitution in Iona, that "an abbot must not be a bishop." This was the view of his followers, also ; yet there cannot be argued from it any opposition to the office of bishop, as was held in the great contest in England on the form of church governments (1600-1700).

On account of the facts just stated, it must not be supposed that anger or unchristian feeling sent away from his home the great apostle of the Picts. One of Columba's captivating and lovable traits is, that with all his force of mind and untiring activity he was free from that passionateness and vanity which in some very noted saints have been the means of obstructing or frustrating great enterprises in the kingdom of God. By his divine gift of a sincere humility he disarmed the opposition of a savage king, and broke the power of a fanatic priesthood. For he encountered both as he landed, along with twelve brethren, on an island on the west coast of Scotland (Whitsuntide, 562).

The little island,¹ of hardly two thousand acres, was one of a group under the rule of Bride, son of Mailcun, the mightiest king of the North Picts, whose court was at Loch Ness. It was not chosen by Columba for his colony by accident. Before his landing, and afterwards, Iona, called by the Highlanders Druid Island (Inisnan Druidneach), was the ancient national shrine, revered as the burial place of the northern kings. The herald of the new faith pitched his tent in the midst of the camp of his foes.

Soon after arriving, Columba visited the king. The latter, perhaps, from superstitious fear of the priests of an unknown and mighty deity, shut the gates of his castle and forbade him entrance. The Druids, with their chief Broichan, the tutor of Bride, could no longer sway the king when Columba opposed them with a power that was more than human. In this connection the following story is significant in its pagan association. Broichan, who refused to give up a Scotch-Irish slave girl to Columba, in accordance with a prediction of the latter, was taken sick, but was cured by drinking of water in which there was swimming a white stone taken by Columba out of the river Ness, and blessed by him with the sign of the cross. After this the slave was liberated, and the opposition of the Druids died out forever.

Bride's conversion following soon after, there was nothing to prevent the extension of Christianity from Iona as a centre. The home of the mission was the convent set up by Columba and governed by him under a simple code of laws. Hither gathered to the Irish brethren the newly converted pagans and Christian pilgrims from afar, with not a few penitents attracted by the growing fame of Columba's holiness and miraculous power. The preacher carried the gospel, at first by an interpreter, afterwards by his own voice, far over the mainland and the islands. The

¹ The island was called in the Middle Ages Hy, Hyona, Iova, afterwards as now Iona, that is, Holy Island; also Columkill's Island.

extent of the work cannot be accurately told, nor can the order in which he founded a number of cloisters and churches (some of which Adamnan names). Among the places outside the district of Loch Ness, which enjoyed frequent visits from Columba, were the islands Hymbria, Hymba, Rechrea, and Sicia, now Skye. On all of them rose institutions which looked to the Iona cloister as their head. Columba himself hardly undertook distant journeys. But his disciples penetrated to the Orcades and sought hermit solitudes on the barren Hebrides. There gathered at times famed Scotch and Irish abbots to Columba. One such assembly is reported on the isle of Hymba. Legend, too, connects Columba with Columbanus (often confounded with the former), the evangelist in the land of the Franks; with Kentigern, also, the apostle of the South Picts. At the great council of Drimceat, Columba mediated between kings. Aidan, the Scottish king who vainly strove in the battle of Degsastan (603) to check the attacks of Ethelfrith, the pagan king of Northumbria, received anointing from Columba. The latter is found, soon after his settlement among the Picts, at the court of Conall, the son of Comgil. Rhydrich, chief of Strathclyde, was his relative, as were the Irish kings. But however important for the spread of the gospel this connection of Columba with chiefs and monarchs, it had never raised Iona to the condition of piety and culture that was the admiration of centuries. That distinction could have come only from organizations maintained carefully and long, and steeled in the conflict with paganism, and from tried faith. The correctness of this assertion may be seen in Adamnan's "*Life of Columba*," when one has assigned to the abounding miracles their true value.

Next to Columba's life of trust is the fact that he was a man of prayer. Everything he undertook, great and small, he began and achieved with prayer; and after he had finished, he forgot not to give God the thanks. He prayed for his friends in scenes of danger on land or sea, for brethren in need, in pestilence and death. On the lonely hill which towers above Iona (called by Adamnan *Colliculus Angelorum*), or on the solitary sea-shore, he would raise his hands in fervent petitions for the monastery, for the heathen, and all whose need was known to him; or he would suddenly call the brethren together to solemn prayer in the church, because he knew that trouble was about to fall on some beloved head in a distant but kindred monastery. When once his faithful servant, Diormid, lay deathly sick, Columba prayed that for Christ's sake his faithful helper might live and survive him. It was granted; for it was Diormid that afterwards closed Columba's eyes in death. He blessed everything that came to him, even to the pail of milk that was presented for his blessing. Often he uttered the blessing asked of him with such a fervor that the hearts of the people were touched, sinners made penitent, and the penitent brought to seek the remission of their sins. He saw a man's character at a glance, recognized the impure

though in the holy garb of a priest, and could discern the person, however common his appearance, who might be made a useful instrument of the gospel. Thus his prophetic reputation grew, and created such reverence for his power that robbers lost their courage and murderers their rage. Severe to the evil and impenitent, he showed gentlest sympathy to the sorrowful; he was ready for every service by which he could win to Christ the heathen, whom he pitied for their poverty of both body and soul. An inhabitant of Mull (Malea), who was starving, stole a seal from an island where they were kept by the monks of Ioua as valuable property. Columba secured the man's capture, reproved him for his sin, then presented him with some sheep that had just been killed, so that he might not again be tempted to steal, and recommended him further to his friend Baithen, then abbot in Campo Lunce. Once a pagan named Fridehan thought himself injured by Columba, in that the latter had ordered some loads of saplings to be cut on his ground for the building of a hut for wayfarers. Columba, hearing of his dissatisfaction, sent him six measures of barley, telling him to sow it regardless of the advance of the season. A rich harvest was the result, which gained the pagan to Columba and to Christianity. On the island of Rechrea, a violent dispute separated man and wife. The heathen husband applied to Columba, who persuaded them both to fast and pray with him for a whole day, when peace was restored. When a pestilence broke out upon the main land, Columba with his disciples failed not to meet it with the best remedies at their command. He took the victims of plunder and robbery into his protection, assisted the poor, and was everywhere benevolently active. Putting away self, he added sobriety and watchfulness to prayer and fasting. His piety wore the monastic character of the time, but was not self-torturing or unnatural. If we hear of him making the rock his couch, and the stone his pillow, we read of no inhuman scourgings, or systematic emaciations of the body. In the observance of the mass, which was rare, he introduced no attempt at miracle. He observed strictly the convent rules, as became its leader, yet was never arbitrary, but kindly subdued hearts by a noble, fervent eloquence. He persevered in his severe tasks, letting no moment be lost, praying, reading, writing, as well as laboring with his hands, putting forth great physical exertion. He taught the brethren to till the land and to eat their own bread (the baker of the convent was an Anglo-Saxon), and even made fruits grow on the hard soil. His care extended to the brute creation; as, for example, when he nursed a wounded crane for three days until it could fly; or when, on the day of his death, he caressed the faithful old horse that brought the milk to the monastery, while the animal seemed aware of his master's approaching end. He admitted the lowest and most despised to his presence. He went to the bedside of a pagan minstrel, whose calling to a Christian was especially odious, and by his

exhortation strengthened him for his last journey. With propriety could Colman (the abbot of the Northumbrian Lindisfarne, now Holy Island, founded by the men of Iona), at the synod of Streoneshalch (664), so fatal to the Scottish church, draw the attention of his Roman antagonist to the holy life of Columba and his disciples. God's Word, it was known, was the corner-stone of their faith and life. Their doctrines were founded, as Christ taught, on the testimony of Holy Writ. As true apostles, in simplicity, humility, sobriety, and self-sacrifice, they spread the evangelical faith on both sides of the Grampian Hills.

Columba had labored thirty-four years in Iona. The infirmities of old age were creeping upon him, reminding him of the journey home, which he had for four years been expecting. On Saturday, the 9th of June, 596, Columba, now in his seventy-seventh year, had Diormid, his faithful servant, lead him to the monastery barn, where he blessed the grain in store, thanking God that there was sufficient for the brethren after he was gone. His words grieved Diormid. But Columba bade him rejoice with him, for called by Christ on the Sabbath, he would go to his Sabbath rest at midnight. On his way home, he ascended the hill that overlooked the cloister, and with hands uplifted to heaven uttered a prophetic benediction over the scene of his labors. He then returned to the monastery, and went to the library, to continue a copy of the Psalms already begun by him. When he came to the words in the thirteenth Psalm, *Inquirentes autem Dominum non minuentur omni bono* ("They that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing"), he rose from his work, and said, "This ends the page, and I will cease here. Baithen may write what follows." (Baithen, long chosen by Columba as his successor, did really complete the copy.) It was now time for evening prayers, and he went with his brethren into the chapel. Returning, he lay down on his hard couch, and committed to his faithful servant his last wishes for the brethren: "This is my last commandment to you, my children, that ye should love one another sincerely, and be at peace. If ye follow the example of the good, God, who strengthens such, will surely be with you." These were Columba's last words. He lay silent till midnight. When the bell struck for the nocturn he rose, hastened in advance of the rest into the chapel, and sank on his knees before the altar in prayer. He was found in this position by Diormid, who hurried after him.

Death was already imprinted on his glorified countenance. Diormid tried to raise him up. His eyes opened but once, looking kindly and gladly on those around. His arm, as he tried to lift it for a blessing, proved too weak for the service. Diormid lifted the dying man's hand, its weak gesture declaring what his lips could not utter. So Columba died, in the act of blessing his brethren.

Three days afterwards he was buried. Three centuries later his remains were placed in the monastery of Dunkeld, fragments of his bones

being kept there in several shrines. The memory of Columba still leads many travelers to Iona, where the grand ruins and nine rows of graves and royal tombs would tell of him, though history were mute. The gospel is preached in Iona, as pure and free from error, ever since the Reformation, as in the time of Columba. Two churches, one Established, the other Free, with their respective schools, still make this small island the seat of living Christian faith, and of evangelic life. — B.

LIFE III. AIDAN OF NORTH BRITAIN.

A. D. 600 ?—A. D. 651. CELTIC LEADER,—BRITISH ISLES.

WHEN, in the year 600, Christianity was once more living and triumphant in the south of Britain, the north of England beyond the Humber was still in the pagan gloom of Druidism. The day was near, however, when, by a strange succession of events, Northumbria should be Christian. Edwin (son of Ella of Deira), robbed when a child of his father's throne, grew in exile to the stature of a hero, and at last was master of Northumberland. The pagan chieftain made his suit for the hand of the daughter of Ethelbert, the Christian king of Kent, and was not rejected. Along with her chaplain, the bishop Paulinus, a Roman missionary, she maintained Christian belief and life in the pagan court. Her endeavors at making converts were successful. Edwin, at the entreaty of his wife, urged on by the sagacious bishop, consented that his first daughter should be baptized. He himself soon followed (Easter, 627). The members of his court, the Druid priests, and thousands of his subjects received the new religion. Oratories and baptisteries everywhere arose. Northumbria was becoming a Christian country. Suddenly the promising field was trodden down. Edwin fell (633) in deadly battle against his hereditary foes, the Britons. Within a few weeks they burned down the churches, and proceeded to annihilate the English in North Britain. the Angles in Northumbria. But within a year the people ventured battle boldly for their salvation. They called Oswald, Edwin's exiled nephew, out of Scotland, rallied to the cross planted by him at Denisburn, flung themselves with irresistible valor on the pagan foe, and vanquished him. Christianity was saved, and the church of Northumbria, guarded by a pious king, began a new career of growth, in entire independence of the church of Rome.

Oswald had been won to the Christian belief in Scotland. He had received it in the form in which the brethren on the island of Hy or Iona preached it. They, it was said, held to God's Word alone, rejected men's statutes, and adorned their doctrine with a consistent, humble life. Very naturally Oswald was desirous of obtaining from them an apostle

for his people. First there was sent him Corman, a man of ardent zeal; but his strictness and sour severity of disposition failed to win the hearts of the Anglian seekers after salvation. Cast down by the unfruitfulness of his preaching, he returned home and bemoaned to the brethren his misfortune. They were filled with pain at Corman's failure, and at the same time with desire to send assistance to the heathen. Only Aidan, however, saw the reason why Corman failed. "Dear brother," said he to Corman, "it seems to me that you have gone to work with your ignorant hearers too severely, and have not given them first, as the Apostle has commanded, the milk of gentle doctrine, till they were gradually nourished and strengthened by God's Word to the reception of more perfect teaching and the fulfillment of the higher commands of God." Aidan's quiet words impressed the assembly. All eyes were turned to him. All tongues declared that he was the man to be the bishop. It was decided to send him to the infidel, ignorant people, for he possessed, above all the rest, the gift of discernment, the mother of all virtues. So Aidan was consecrated bishop of Northumberland, in the midst of his fellows (635). His devoted ministry justified the trust that thus was given him.

Ignorant of the Anglian tongue, but furnished with the gift of discerning spirits, with a gentle philanthropy and sincere piety, Aidan left the cloister of Iona and its Abbot Segeni, and betook himself to the court of Oswald. He found awaiting him a reception more than brotherly. He was kindly suffered by Oswald to choose Aidan goes to England. his own residence as bishop. Remembering his beloved Iona, Aidan made choice of a little island on the east coast of Northumberland, named Lindisfarne, but since then, even till now, called "The Holy Island." Lindisfarne is parted from the main land by but two or three miles of sea, and in the ebb-tide can be reached on foot, and by carriage at low water. Thence Aidan made his missionary journeys. He went afoot, in apostolic simplicity, to the hovel of the poor and the dwelling of the rich, carrying them the gospel truth. He was often attended by king Oswald, who acted as interpreter. The king's houses offered him opportunities for beginning mission stations. Aidan would stop in them for days, and from them undertake tours throughout the country. Soon the rising fame of his piety and winning gentleness drew crowds of pagans from the neighboring districts of Scotland and North England to his preaching. Thousands were baptized. Plain baptisteries were built; gradually grand churches rose above them. The king's bounty endowed cloisters with lands, to secure the rising generation the benefits of Christian training and education. Aidan began his school with twelve boys, one of whom, Eata, became abbot of Melrose and the successor of Colman in Lindisfarne. The teachers were brought from Scotland. They were mostly monks, drawn by Aidan from the mother convent of Iona or

some one of its daughters, to support him in his preaching of the gospel. Thus the cloisters were schools of culture and centres of church life.

The women were not behind the men in religious zeal. Hild, daughter of Hereric, an uncle of Edwin, who with her sister Hereswith had taken the veil in Chelles, was called by Aidan to come home, that with a few pious women she might join in convent life on the river Wear. A year later Aidan placed her over the cloister of Hartlepool, which had been founded by Hiu, the first lady of Northumbria set apart by him to this life. Out of this she established in the course of years the afterwards renowned Whitby, which became so wealthy. Thus early the devout custom rose among English lords and ladies of not only establishing and endowing religious houses, but presiding over and controlling them. Thus was a union constituted between religion and earthly influences that gave an especial character to the public life of England throughout the Middle Ages.

As often as Aidan had to do with the great of the earth, he was very seldom a guest in their castles. When he could not decline the royal invitation he would appear along with one or more of his clergy, then betake himself again as soon as possible to his religious duties, to prayer in solitude and reading of the Scripture, to which he earnestly invited every one about him. He took presents from the rich and mighty, only to distribute them at once to the needy; or he would redeem slaves with the money received, make scholars of them, and train them for ministers. He would never court favors from the rich, lest he should lose the liberty of speech with which he rebuked their vices. Yet he gave praises when deserved. Once when he sat at Oswald's hospitable board, as they were about to begin the meal, an officer of the court entered, and announced that a company of beggars were gathered on the street, beseeching the royal alms. At once Oswald sent out a silver dish, its contents to be given to the poor, with orders that, when this was done, the dish should be broken into pieces and these be distributed as alms. Aidan was touched at seeing such goodness, and taking the king's right hand exclaimed, "May this hand never grow old." Evidently he used the words of the king's liberality, but they were understood by the faith of that day as a prediction of the incorruptibleness of the arm. After the king's death in the battle of Maserfeld (642) it was borne from the battle-field as a relic, and preserved in a silver box in Bamborough. Oswald's last breath was a prayer for his people.

Aidan was not behind his royal friend in liberality. An example may be given. Among Aidan's princely adherents was Oswin, the meek, lovable, and remarkably handsome king of Deira. He lived in close friendship with his neighbor Oswald, king of Bernicia.

Aidan and the
kings.

When the latter had fallen, the relations between the two courts were disturbed. Oswiu, Oswald's brother and successor, took a mortal spite against Oswin, no one knew why. Aidan was pained at seeing it, and feared the worst for his favorite. The bishop had been presented by Oswin, out of sincere friendship, with a beautiful and splendidly equipped horse, to aid him in his long journeys and in his crossing of rivers. Aidan had used the horse but a few times, when, a poor fellow on the road asking him for alms, he dismounted from his horse and gave it to the beggar. Oswin heard of the excessive liberality of Aidan, and in a visit chided him in a friendly way. The bishop replied, "What say you, king: Do you estimate the son of a mare more highly than the Son of God?" The heart of Oswin was touched by the words. They remained in his mind during the chase in which he was engaged with his attendants. On his return he stood on the hearth to warm himself, gave a servant his sword, fell at the feet of the man of God, and begged his pardon. "In the future," said he, "I will never again sit in judgment, whatever or how much soever of my means thou givest to the Son of God." Aidan, in tears, raised him up. He was not merely melted by such willing humility in the prince. He had the thought forced on him that a prince so humble was too good for this world. Turning to the presbyters near, he said in Scotch, so that the others present could not understand, "I know the king cannot live long, for I never saw a humble king before. I conclude that sudden death will take him away; for this people is not worthy to have such a master."

Shortly after this occurrence Oswin fell under the fatal sword of Ethelwin, whom Oswiu had bribed to his murder. The foreboding proved a prophecy. Aidan survived his royal pupil twelve days. He died in the beginning of the seventeenth year of his episcopate (August 31, 651), at Bamborough, a royal residence, near Lindisfarne. Here he founded a church, and adjoining it a room, in which he lived when he left the island, as he often did for the sake of preaching. When he grew sick a tent was stretched for him on an outside pillar of the church. Leaning against the column, he quietly breathed his life out. His body was taken across to the island, and placed in the churchyard of his brethren. When Finan, his successor, also from Iona, builded afterwards upon Lindisfarne the cathedral of Saint Peter, made of oak, after the Scottish fashion, and covered with reeds, the bones of the first abbot were lifted and laid at the right of the altar. When the third abbot of Lindisfarne, Colman, along with his Scotchmen, left the island forever (664), he carried a part of the bones with him. That wonder working was ascribed to Aidan's remains was in accordance with the spirit of the age and of the church that had enjoyed his labors. Bede gives Aidan, as an apostle of Northumbria, the lofty and deserved

title of a perfect Christian and teacher. Yet he blames him and the rest of the Iona brethren in that they were schismatics about keeping Easter. — B.

LIFE IV. AUSTIN OF ENGLAND.

A. D. 545?—A. D. 605. LATIN LEADER, — BRITISH ISLES.

THE name of Austin (or Augustine), endeared to the world of Christian thought by the holy bishop of Hippo, is made precious in the world of missions, also, by the apostle of the pagan Saxons. Ever since 450 (or twenty years after the death of the North African Augustine), the Angles and Saxons had been coming from the Continent to Britain for purposes of conquest. The old Britons, Celts by race, whom Julius Cæsar first had invaded, had now, as subjects of the Roman Empire, been acquainted with Christianity for centuries. They had felt the Diocletian persecution, though not severely, yet the race had never been imbued with the religion of Christ. Rather, like the Celtic race on the Continent, it had been hurt intellectually by the Roman power. Its ancient vigor had been crushed. Now that the Roman Empire in the West was gone, its protecting legions withdrawn, they were unable to defend themselves against the wild tribes of Picts and Scots pouring from the north. Hence Vortigern, the king of Kent, called in the Saxon sea-kings to his assistance. They came, and in fierce battles, with fearful devastations, soon conquered Southeast Britain, naming it Angle-land or England. As Christianity had driven out Celtic Druidism, so now the cruel worship of Wodan spread everywhere under the heathen Angles and Saxons. This handsome, strong, blonde, savage people magnified one virtue, — that of bravery in war. Their fearless enterprise trod the waves in tiny barks and terrified peaceful communities, as they came on them with their battle-axes. They never thought of mercy. They vented their wrath upon their foes, even of their own race, by putting them to the sword or selling them as slaves. Yet they bore in their fierce bosoms a large heart, and, as was shown in their brave, handsome faces, were a race highly endowed by their Creator.

The British Christians were not so depraved as to be unable to communicate some of the blessings of Christianity to their conquerors. While the towns were corrupt, the people of the country and the mountains were more pure. Since the days of Patrick (430), those of the Scotch coast and of Southwest Britain had, through pious abbots and the cloisters they founded, been given new zeal for holy life and Christian knowledge. Of especial renown was the British convent of Bangor, to which thousands of monks gathered, working with their hands, fasting, praying, and laboring for souls. But between victors and vanquished there was

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land.

an enmity, ever kept alive by fresh wars, and hindering for generations any friendship between Britons and Angles. Far more natural were it for the latter to unite with the Christian Franks across the channel, especially after one of the kings of Kent, named Ethelbert, had married Bertha, daughter of the Frank king Charibert, at Paris (about 600). By the marriage contract the princess was allowed the practice of her religion under bishop Luidhard, who had accompanied her, and to set up divine service in a church which still remained from the Roman sword at Canterbury, then called Dorovernum. Not from France, however, were Christian missions to come to the Angles, but from Rome. The occasion of their rise is told by Bede, ^{How Austin came to be sent.} the Anglo-Saxon historian, rightly named the Venerable, in the following beautiful legend:—

Once upon a time there appeared some merchants in Rome with new merchandise, for which, as they offered it in market, they found ready purchasers. Among the passers-by was Gregory, who afterwards became pope and was given the name of Great. Seeing some youths of goodly form, fair face, and waving hair, who were exposed for sale along with the rest, he asked from what land they had come. He was told from Britain, where the people were of this appearance. He asked whether the islanders were pagan or Christian. The answer was made him that they were pagan. He sighed then, and said, "Oh, what a pity that men of such glorious looks should be ruled by the prince of darkness, that with such outward charm they should lack inward grace." He asked what the name of their people was. When told "Angles" (Angli), "Indeed," said he, "they have angels' faces, and must be made to be partakers with the angels in heaven." Further, he inquired from what province they had been brought. "Deiri," was the answer. "Indeed," he cried, "from wrath [*de ira*] saved, and to Christ's mercy called. And what is the name of their king?" "Aella,"¹ was the answer. At once he said, still with a play of words, "Then shall Allelujah, praise the Lord, yet be sung among them." He could not rest, but begged Pelagius, then pope, to allow him to go to preach salvation to the Angles of Britain. He obtained permission, and set out. But the people of Rome would not give him up, and obliged the pope to call him back.

Not long after that, Pelagius died, and Gregory succeeded him. He purchased in France English boys, of sixteen and eighteen years, who were captives of war, and brought them up in convents at Rome, to be employed for the conversion of their country-folk. But whether from the youths not proving fit for the work, or from his unwillingness to wait till they were mature, or from queen Bertha stirring him up, it may be, to take hold of the work vigorously and immediately, he re-

¹ Aella, king of Deiri, a little kingdom north of the mouth of the Humber, in the east part of what is now Yorkshire. He died 588.

solved to send to Kent a priest named Austin, his former comrade in convent-life, and with him forty monks.¹

In the year 596, the missionary, with his companions, took his departure. His task was not an easy one, yet his way over the land of the Franks was smoothed by testimonials from Gregory to the king and nobles, asking that needed help and interpreters be furnished him. The Franks, well acquainted with the life and manner of the Angles and Saxons over the channel, could hardly paint their rudeness and savagery in strong enough colors. They sought to dissuade him from a perilous enterprise, which would certainly be fruitless. The picture had truth in it, but was overdrawn. Possibly the Irish, Scotch, or British preachers and exiles, from the bitter hostility between the Anglo-Saxons and them, had portrayed their foes and oppressors to the Franks in the darkest possible colors. The evangelists were frightened. Austin returned to Rome to tell the news to the pope, and to move him to give up the enterprise and recall his envoys. But Gregory instilled courage into him, persisting in commanding him to go.

Austin was a man of obedience and prayer. He went, and in the year 597 landed not far from Dover, on an island named by the Britons Ruithina, by the Angles Thanet. It is on the east coast of His arrival in England. Kent, where the Thames mingles with the ocean. The spot, celebrated as fruitful and fertile, is hardly to be recognized as an island now, for it is separated from the main land only by a brook (Wantsum River), which flows between Ramsgate and Margate. Mark! On this Isle of Thanet, a century and a half before, the Saxons landed; at first as allies of the Britons, but soon as their destroyers! Here the messengers of Christ, coming from Rome, landed, bringing salvation, — though not indeed without human additions and corruptions, — the cause of future wars and sorrows. From Thanet Austin announced to king Ethelbert that he had come from Rome to bring him good tidings; whoever would heed and obey was sure of eternal joy in heaven, and an everlasting kingdom in the company of the true God. The king assigned him the Isle of Thanet for a residence, provided him and his companions with necessaries, but bade him wait till he had considered the matter and come to a conclusion. Not long after, he betook himself, with his retinue, to the island, sat down under the open sky, and ordered the messengers of Christ before him. He would not meet them in a house, for his people supposed that if the strangers were at all skilled in witchcraft, they could, in a confined room, more easily ensnare and overpower him.

¹ Some time before, Gregory, who was of rich and noble family, and had held high offices of state, had devoted himself wholly to church service, and turned his residence into a cloister, for the training of monks for the church. He had in his mind a school of preachers and missionaries, after the notions and needs of that age. His house is said to have been on Mount Coelus, in Rome, which looks down on the Colosseum, and where now is the Church of St. Gregory. There, we may imagine, Austin was trained and prepared for his work.

The monks came to the interview with all the pomp of the church in Rome. First came a silver crucifix, instead of a banner; then a picture of Christ; then the procession of monks, chanting litanies and prayers, commending themselves and the Angles to the mercy of God. The king bade them sit down, and listened to their discourse. He then replied: "These are beautiful words and promises which you bring; but as they are new and doubtful, I cannot at once give them assent, and leave the old faith which I and the Angles have so long accepted. But as you have come as strangers from so far, on purpose, as it seems to me, to tell us what you believe to be good and true, we will not harm you, but give you friendly shelter and the necessary support. Neither will we hinder your preaching and winning any you can as converts to your faith."

Everything afterwards was in keeping with this friendly and sensible reception. The capital of Kent (*Dorovernum*, afterward *Cantwaraburk*, now *Canterbury*), which was near by, was indicated as a residence. Into it the missionaries from Rome entered with the same solemnities which had been observed at the first interview. At once they began amid fastings, prayers, and vigils to proclaim the gospel, receiving only the necessities of life, and showing themselves ready to meet everything, even death, for their belief. They were allowed to celebrate divine worship publicly in the church of the queen. Before long they won the king by the sweet promises of the gospel, by their holy walk, and by strange things that came in answer to their prayers. With many of his people he gave himself to be baptized. A great awakening followed. The king, rejoicing in the increase of the church, refrained from every show of compulsion, but welcomed the believing with hearty love as fellow-heirs of heaven. He had learned from Austin that Christ's service must be voluntary and not forced.

Ethelbert's baptism took place in the year 597 (at Whitsuntide). By the close of the year near ten thousand of his people had followed him; Austin, by Gregory's instruction, now went to the archbishop of Arles, to be made a bishop. The old church of St. Salvador at Canterbury, dating from the time of the Romans, was repaired and made a cathedral. Outside the city walls was builded the cloister and church of Peter and Paul; here and there arose Christian chapels. Austin sought from Gregory, to whom he reported everything, fresh assistants and instructors for his rapidly enlarging field. The latter did all he could, warning him, at the same time, against pride at his success and the wonders wrought by God through him. The Lord had let the unrighteous do wonders, and had said to the disciples: "Rejoice not that the spirits are subject unto you, but rather rejoice because your names are written in heaven." The new bishop used excellent judgment in his work, yet was hardly prepared for the questions of church worship and order that were presented, nor had he any one near

He christianizes
southeast Eng-
land.

him to consult. He perceived the importance of every detail in his field of labor. He had noticed differences in the services of the Roman and Gallic churches, although they both held the same belief. He inquired of Gregory whether he should bind the new English church strictly to the Roman usage. The answer was: "You, my brother, are used to the Roman way, in which you have been brought up. But I advise you, wherever you find anything pleasing to Almighty God, whether in the Roman, Gallic, or any other church, judiciously to accept it, and order the English church, so young still in the faith, after the very best way, embodying in her the choicest results you have obtained from many churches. For it is not the place which consecrates the service, but the service which consecrates the place. Therefore, choose from each church what is pious, right, and helpful to devotion, bind them together like a nosegay, and incorporate them into the church laws of the Saxons, to be received by them into their hearts." In this way the door was opened to the new bishop to accept many good things from the oppressed British church. Also the command of Gregory to destroy the idol temples was withdrawn, and Austin was advised to arrange them for Christian worship, and to dedicate the places of sacrifice dear to the heathen to the service of the living God. The day celebrated by the pagans with sacrifices of oxen and banquets, in honor of their gods, was to be an annual church festival for the glad remembrance of the saints, with sacred songs, and suppers in huts erected around the churches. Thus had the Lord condescended to Israel; for it was impossible to withdraw their hard hearts at once from their cherished customs.

No sooner was a beginning fairly made in Kent than Gregory wished all the Anglian part of Britain to be inclosed in the gospel net, to be incorporated with the Western church. Two archbishops were provided for, each to have twelve bishops. Their residences were to be in London and in York. The two cities were still under pagan kings. Yet the plan so full of faith was realized. Before one hundred years the entire nation was won to the Christian confession; but the archbishopric that Austin filled was connected for all future times with Canterbury. Two of the later assistants in the mission were made bishops: Mellitus in London, ordained by Austin himself, and Justin in Rochester.

When Austin was made bishop, he was charged to take an oversight of the surviving British church. Though weak in numbers, by the help of holy men, in cloisters closely united and prosperous, it had maintained its existence and preserved its independence entire, until that day. It was right in not considering itself a part of the church of Rome. Its tradition of Easter, its tonsure, which was not in the form of a circle but of a crescent, and many another peculiar custom indicated a different origin and also an independent growth. It

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Celtic church.

was conscious of its own unfettered spiritual power. On the other hand, it had to admit that it did not differ from the Roman church in essential doctrine, and that it belonged to a nationality hopelessly declining; nor could it deny that it used the Latin as the universal church language, and needed union with some larger body. It had gone to South France, even in the fifth century, for help in its religious life, and for doctrinal training. But the gloomy consciousness of an unpleasant truth only whetted its opposition. A meeting was arranged by king Ethelbert (601) between the abbot of Bangor monastery (in West Britain, on the Isle of Anglesea, near Chester) and archbishop Austin. It was to take place at the half-way point between their homes, in the neighborhood of Worcester, under an oak, which was for this reason named Austin's oak. The abbot of Bangor, Dinooth by name, is said to have met a written proposition for his submission with a declaration in the old British language, as follows: "Be it distinctly known, that we, all and severally, are obedient and subject to the Church of God, the pope at Rome, and every true and devout Christian; are bound to love each one in his place with perfect love, and by every manner of help to prove ourselves, in word and deed, the children of God. Further than this, I am not aware that there is any obedience owing him whom you name pope, nor that he rightfully can or should ask to be called the father of fathers. All proper obedience we are always ready to render him and every Christian. Moreover we are under the direction of bishop Caerlio of Osca, who is our overseer, under God, in all spiritual affairs." These words, even though their authenticity be doubtful, fairly express the spirit of independence which possessed those men of God. They did not resign it, in the negotiations under Austin's oak.

Austin effected nothing, though he held long conferences, and with his companions poured out entreaties, warnings, and reproaches. The Britons stood by their traditions. At length, to put an end to this long and painful dispute, Austin proposed an ordeal, quite in accordance with the spirit of the times. Let a sick man be produced, and he whose prayers cured him would be the one whose faith and practice should be judged pleasing in the sight of God and deserving of general acceptance. The other side agreed, though reluctantly, and a blind Angle was brought in. The Britons in vain attempted his healing. Austin cured him by his prayers. The Britons acknowledged that Austin's way was orthodox, but yet could not give up their old customs without the consent of their brethren. A second meeting was agreed upon, in which their side was to be more largely represented. In this second meeting (603) Dinooth appeared with seven British bishops and several of their best scholars from the Bangor monastery. On their way they visited a hermit, famous for his piety and wisdom, and inquired whether they should leave their traditions for Austin's doctrine. He replied, "If

The Celtic bishops and Austin.

he be a man of God, then follow him." "And how shall we know that?" said they. He answered, "The Lord says, 'Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart.' If Austin is meek and lowly of heart, we may believe that he bears the yoke of Christ, and teaches others to bear it. But if he is hard and proud, he is not of God, and his words do not concern us." Then they inquired further: "And how may we best know this?" "Arrange it," said he, "that Austin, with his company, shall arrive first at the place of meeting; then if he rise at your approach, know that he is a servant of God, and lend him a willing ear; but if he condemn you, and do not rise, you having the greater number, then you may condemn him also." The advice was taken. Austin did not rise, wishing not to yield aught of his dignity as archbishop. They took offense, accused him of pride, and set themselves to contradict him. Austin answered gently, "Though in many things you oppose our customs and those of the church universal, I will put up with everything, if you will agree with us in three particulars: 1. Celebrate Easter at the proper time. 2. Administer baptism, the sacrament of regeneration, according to the usage of the Holy Apostolic Roman Church. 3. Join us in evangelizing the Angles." But they refused everything, saying to one another, "As he would not rise at our approach, he will look down on us the more when we have made ourselves subject to him as our archbishop." At last Austin closed the discussion with these prophetic words: "If you will not accept peace from your brethren, you will be forced to accept war from your enemies. If you will not preach to the Saxons the way of life, you will suffer at their hands the penalty of death." To predict this required but a careful look into the condition of the Britons at that moment. The fulfillment came so strangely as to be regarded as by the hand of God. Austin died in 605. Eight years later, or ten years after the fruitless conference, the pagan king of Northumbria, Ethelred, fell on the Britons with a great army. The British priests and monks of Bangor fasted three days, gathering in the open air and praying God for victory. The British army was beaten. When it was told the victor how the monks prayed against him, he cried, "Then if they pray God against us, they fight us, even if they bear no weapons!" He caused, therefore, that they should be all slaughtered together, some twelve hundred men, and Bangor destroyed.

At a later day this cruel deed was repaid by British monks from the isle of Hy (Iona) preaching the gospel to the Northumbrians, and to king Oswald. In the year 664 came the peaceful union of the British and Roman churches. The gospel bore fruit among the Anglo-Saxons; yet a few centuries later they had to take from the Normans what they had visited on the ancient Britons.

Those who are disturbed in their minds at the history of God's kingdom not falling out exactly according to their ideas seek to detract

from the merit of Austin's work among the Angles, because he brought the Anglo-Saxon church into subjection to Rome. They do not reflect that the combat with Rome contributed ^{What Austin achieved.} greatly to strengthen and elevate the English people. Let us be vexed with sin, on whichever side we find it; God will judge. But blessed is the man who brings a pagan people to believe in the world's Saviour. Blessed truly is the name of Austin, the first archbishop of Canterbury. "He hath done what he could."—H. E. S.

LIFE V. BEDE THE VENERABLE.

A. D. 673—A. D. 735. SAXON LEADER, — BRITISH ISLES.

THE first centuries of the Middle Ages were to West Europe a dark and unproductive period. The entire Middle Ages may not be thus characterized; their beginnings may be so styled with perfect correctness. The Roman Empire of the West had been destroyed during the migration of nations by the Gothic races. The last remnants in the provinces were gone. The new Germanic states of Middle and West Europe were only beginning to develop. They did not indeed lack in the strength of young life, certainly not in its rudeness. The light of classic learning and art was extinguished, with but a glimmer here and there visible. A new life and activity in science and art had scarce begun in the nations lately possessed for the first time of Christianity.

When, in the midst of such an age, a man appears who not only faithfully guards the acquisitions of the past, but with sincere piety and warm zeal for God's cause makes his light shine among his fellows, he gleams with a double radiance against the dark background of his period. This was the case with the Venerable Bede.

He was of Anglo-Saxon race. What was the situation of his people and country? Divided in the several provinces of England, after the tribal divisions of the German conquerors, into Saxons and Angles, Jutes and Danes. The so-called Heptarchy still existed; of all the seven kingdoms (Kent, Sussex, Wessex, East Saxony, East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria), the most extensive by far was Northumbria, Bede's native country. At the time when, in the middle of the fifth century, the German tribes possessed themselves of the land, and drove the Britons, already adherents of the Christian church, to the western borders, they were themselves devoted to the Teutonic paganism. A century and a half later came Austin and his monks, sent by Gregory the Great, as missionaries. Three generations pass and Christianity is triumphant, though not without having first met many a severe discomfiture.

Bede was born at this epoch. The year of his birth can be told very nearly from his own statements. They are altogether the safest to go by, for the Middle-Age accounts of him are of little importance, and his own words tell us too little in reference to his circumstances. In a chronological table, which Bede has appended to his "Church History of the Anglo-Saxons," he says: "This is the present condition of Britain, about 285 years after the arrival of the Saxons, and 731 years after the birth of our Lord." The author mentions, in this same appendix, that he has attained his fifty-ninth year. He seems to mean the beginning rather than the end of his fifty-ninth year. This makes 673 A. D. the year of his birth. This is also Mabillon's reckoning. It was the third year, then, of the reign of Egfrid, the first king of Northumberland, after the provinces of Deiri and Bernicia were united in one kingdom. The dominion of this Saxon king was from the river Humber, its boundary on the south, as far north as the Frith of Forth, on which Edinburgh now stands. In other words, it included the south of Scotland and the north of England. One of the chief men of the kingdom was Biscop, who became a monk with the name of Benedict, and builded two monasteries on land given him by the king. The one, dedicated to St. Peter, was upon the north shore of the river Wear, near its mouth, therefore called Wearmouth. The other, called St. Paul's, a few years later in its origin, was at Yarrow, on the south shore of the Tyne, four or five miles northwest of the former. Both were under the rule of one abbot, and one set of laws. Because of the good understanding existing between them, they were, as Bede says, "like one monastery, builded in two places." Wearmouth is now known as Monk-Wearmouth, a town of twelve thousand inhabitants, opposite the busy seaport of Sunderland, in the County of Durham. Near its old church may be seen the remnants of the former monastery. The present village of Yarrow, in the coal district of Newcastle, possesses some old pillars and tombs near its church, upon which the convent monastery abutted. Somewhere in the neighborhood of these two monasteries, Bede must have come into the world, probably in the village of Yarrow.

Of his parents nothing is known. From Bede's short account of his life, we gather that when a boy of seven he was sent by them to the monastery of Wearmouth, to the care of the abbot Benedict. Yarrow did not then exist. When established (this was not till 682), Bede went thither, and remained in that convent the whole of his life.

No place could have been better suited to his untiring industry and thirst after knowledge. The founder and abbot of the twin cloisters, bishop Benedict, was indefatigable in his efforts to promote everything that concerned art, science, and letters. He had returned from frequent journeys to Rome, not only with stone-cutters and glaziers for the furtherance of his building, but with a taste for the liturgy and singing in

the Roman churches, as well as with valuable books, relics, and treasures of art. His collections were well guarded by succeeding abbots, and greatly enlarged. Thus a richer collection of books was at the command of the young student than was known this side Bobbio, Italy. Nor were good masters and teachers wanting. Singing, as it was practiced in Rome, he learned of John, the chorister of St. Peter's, Rome, who with pope Agathon's permission had (in 678) accompanied bishop Benedict to Britain. This man made such a sensation with his singing, that a great multitude from the country around poured into the cloister-church of Wearmouth to hear him. The monk Trumbehrt, who in his turn had been indebted to Ceadda, bishop of Litchfield, for what he knew, was Bede's instructor in the Holy Scriptures and in theology. Latin and Greek Bede had learned thoroughly. The knowledge of the latter language, in England, was due to the learned archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore, who came from the East, from the native town of the Apostle Paul. That Bede was well versed in Greek, we conclude from rhymes of his in that language that have come down to us, and also because he corrected the existing imperfect translation from the Greek of the Life of Anastasius, and republished it. He even seems to have had some knowledge of the Hebrew. But Bede achieved most through his own diligence and personal effort, and that in spite of the little leisure afforded him by his duties as monk and member of a cloister. He says of himself, "I have passed my whole life in the same convent, have studied Holy Writ with all diligence, and, along with my strict attendance on monastic rule and the daily singing, have ever deemed it a sweet occupation to teach, to learn, or to write."

In one spot all his life.

This record indicates how monotonous was his external life. Its eras were his successive ordinations as he rose in official dignity. The deacon's office, he tells us, was given him in his nineteenth year; the priest's office when he was thirty, both at the hand of bishop John, at the request of abbot Ceolfrid. This John was bishop of Hagustald, now Hexham, in Northumberland. He is known under the name of John of Beverley, as the learned pupil of the archbishop Theodore, before mentioned. Bede's early promotion was a marked exception to the rule, which prescribed that no one should be made deacon under twenty-four or twenty-five years of age. The youth of nineteen is shown thereby to have excelled in knowledge and behavior by the judgment of both abbot and bishop, the latter a man of learning.

He had, however, arrived at the prescribed age of thirty when he was made priest. He was a priest in full orders. He could read mass, hear confession, bestow absolution, baptize, administer extreme unction, and preach. Higher than this Bede did not rise. He refused the abbot's office, it is said, fearing lest this distinction with its many cares might distract his mind from his studies. For as he himself avers, learning,

teaching, and writing were his best and most loved employments. He wrote a series of sermons on the Gospels, also numerous expositions of Scripture, among them sixteen commentaries and treatises on the Old Testament, and eight on the New. In his explanations he had to rely, as did all who lived in that age, on the works of the Greek and Latin fathers. These he interspersed with remarks, the results of his own close studies. Thus, after he had explained Luke's Gospel, when he had compared it some years later with a Greek manuscript of the New Testament (probably the one known since 1600 as Codex Laudianus or Uncial MSS. E.), he wrote a supplement, calling it *retractatio*.

Still he did not confine his attention to the Bible or to Bible lore, but extended his research to every department of knowledge, so that for the age in which he lived, he was a scholar in the very widest sense of the word. He studied and wrote upon Philology and Poetry, Physical Sci-

ence and History. Of his poetical works he names two, in Bede's books. the catalogue of his writings, at the close of his "Anglo-Saxon Church History," a book of hymns and sacred songs in different metres, and a book of epigrams. Both are lost to us. The hymns inserted in his works are not his. Except the Life of the holy Cuthbert in hexameters, the specimens of his poetical powers left us are insignificant. His treatise on the art of poetry remains, but contains little save selections from ancient authors. Several essays of his on philology may be named: as that "On Orthography," quite a little dictionary; one "On Tropes and Metaphors," unfortunately confined to those in the Bible. His treatise on physical science, entitled "Upon Nature," embracing astronomy, physics, geography, and the like, or as much as was then known of them, may be named as a part of his works.

Bede's most distinguished efforts were in history. His chronological work "De Temporibus" and still more his "De Temporum Ratione" contain, for the age in which they were written, a truly marvelous system of chronology and survey of universal history. Bede, let it be noted, took up the reckoning of time from the year of our Lord, introduced by Dionysius the younger, a Roman monk, and by his authority caused its general adoption. Then he wrote the lives of several saints, among them of the pious bishop Cuthbert of Lindisfarne, and of the three first abbots of the double convent, Wearmouth-Yarrow, in which he resided. Thus he began with what lay nearest him, his own monastery and its twin sister, their first abbot, and the revered bishop of the diocese in which the convent lay. These he first treated. So when he decided on a church history of the whole country and people, he merely widened his vision. He made his "Church History of the Angles" a popular history of his land, considered throughout from the Christian standpoint. The book is a treasure for more reasons than one. While it embraces English history from the earliest times, it becomes of real value in treat-

ing of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, or of the period between 596 and 731 when Bede brings it to a close. He is to be especially depended upon in the closing period, from the end of the seventh century to the year in which he wrote, for he could speak then either from his own knowledge or from the abundant evidence of his contemporaries.

We have been losing sight of the man himself, in the midst of his learned productions. Yet we want especially to know Bede himself and his very soul. For we must not regard him as a mere scholar, having no other interest in life but books and learning. He was altogether too Christian for that. He led a life of prayer. He honestly purposed to be a true follower of Christ, that to him might one day (to use Bede's own words in a letter, the one described below) be addressed the sentence: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." The clearest insight into Bede's inmost soul is in a letter, which as seems to me has been far too little noticed, addressed by him to Egbert, the archbishop of York. Lately a monk, he had now been made bishop of that populous diocese. It was in 734, or perhaps 735, shortly before Bede's death, that the bishop asked the monk, his special friend, to pay him a visit. Bede was not well enough to do so, and excused himself to bishop Egbert in a long, characteristic letter. He speaks in this truly pastoral letter to his superior so modestly and affectionately, yet so convincingly and heart-searchingly, as to impress every reader deeply with his sincere piety. How does he exhort his bishop to magnify his office by his life and teaching, to keep his tongue from needless gossip, and to preach God's word in ^{Bede magnifies preaching.} his diocese, whithersoever he goes; and since it is not possible for the bishop, even once a year, to preach in every village of his charge, he shall appoint worthy pastors, who are to see to it that every member of the community learn the Apostle's Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, if not in Latin, certainly in English. And here Bede mentions, in passing, that he had himself given to several priests, who were ignorant of the Latin, the Apostle's Creed and the Lord's Prayer in an English translation. This letter is a striking proof of the watchful care which Bede bestowed on the church of his land, and his zeal to remedy her faults and defects. He laments that the number of bishops in the Northumberland kingdom is far too small, and calls on bishop Egbert, along with king Ceolwulf, to remedy the evil by creating other sees. He regrets that so many convents have passed into the hands of lay brethren, and been secularized and ruined. As the springs of all the abuses in the church, Bede plainly designates greed and covetousness. He presses on the bishop with emphasis the Lord's words: "Freely ye have received, freely give." In the whole letter the Scripture is mag-

nified. Not only does Bede refer the bishop to the Bible, recommending him especially to study Paul's pastoral epistles, but he cites him examples from the histories of Old Testament and New, and pours texts forth so freely as to assure us that he is completely versed in the Holy Scriptures. That he places the pastoral rules of Gregory the Great next the Bible, and makes a great deal of the sign of the cross as a means of grace and a defense against evil, does not change our judgment of him. We must consider the age in which he lived. We are impressed deeply, however, with this thought; if, in following centuries, his purity of mind, his watchfulness against the faults and sins of the day, his zeal against everything ungodly, and his fidelity to the Bible, had but been preserved, the church of the Middle Ages would not have gone so far from the true path as we know was the case.

Before Easter, 735, Bede's health visibly declined. On the Ascension day following, May 26th, he died. A favorite pupil of his, Cuthbert, afterwards abbot of the double convent, Wearmouth-Yarrow, gives an account, in a letter to the monk Cuthwin, of the last weeks of the life of Bede, and of his death. From the simple narrative rises such a touching and effective picture of the holy man, that it is worth while to contemplate it more closely.

For several weeks Bede had complained of difficulty in breathing. When this somewhat abated, he was in such a cheerful, joyous state of mind, that day and night, yea every hour, he poured forth thanks to Almighty God. He daily instructed his students, among them the writer of this letter. His leisure he spent in singing psalms. Even the night, save the short time when he could sleep, he spent in glad songs and in thanksgivings. As soon as he awaked, with outstretched hands he gave God thanks; and Cuthbert affirms that he had never seen any one who continued so fervently and incessantly in thanksgiving. He sang such words as "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God," comforting himself, however, with the later words: "God scourgeth every son whom He receiveth." He also sang a verse of a hymn, which he, an adept in his own nation's poetry, had put into metre, and which his pupil has preserved for us in Anglo-Saxon as well as in Latin. It may be rendered thus: "None, ere he goeth yonder, considers as wisely as he ought, before his departure hence, what his spirit has done of good or evil, and that sentence must be rendered accordingly." As Ascension day was near at hand, he sang chants appropriate to this church festival, as for example, "O King of Glory, mighty Lord, who didst this day ascend in triumph into heaven, leave us not orphans, but send us the promise of the Father, the Spirit of truth! Hallelujah!" On coming to the words, "leave us not orphans," he burst into tears, and wept long. After an hour he repeated the words as before. His disciples grieved along with him, now reading, now weeping, for at best

they could read only through their tears. But most of the time Bede was very joyful, and thanked God for his sickness, repeating, "Whom the Lord loveth, He chasteneth," and other similar texts. Besides singing psalms and imparting instruction, he was busied with two other tasks at this time: one the translating of John's Gospel into Anglo-Saxon; the other, the making of selections from Isidore of Seville. The day before Ascension day, his breath became shorter, and his feet began to swell. Yet he continued cheerfully saying to his disciples: "Learn as quickly as you can; I know not how long I may be spared, and whether I will not be soon summoned by my Creator." From this it was seen by them that he knew right well that he was soon to die. He passed the night wakeful, but full of thankful praise. At daybreak on Ascension day he urged his pupils to write with utmost diligence what they were engaged on. When, according His last day. to the custom of the day, they left him at nine o'clock of the forenoon, to take part in a procession, only one remaining, the youth said to him: "Dear master, there is now only one chapter left. Will it trouble you too much if I ask you questions?" "No!" was the answer, "take your pen and write with all dispatch." This he did. At three in the afternoon he sent Cuthbert, who wrote this account, to summon the priests of the convent to take leave of him. He divided among them his few worldly goods, pocket-handkerchiefs, incense, and the like, bidding each one separately to pray for him, and say masses for his soul, which they, weeping all the while, promised faithfully to do. He said, "It is time that I return to Him who made me, fashioning me out of nothing. I have lived long. My righteous Judge has ordered all my life well. Now the hour of my release is at hand. I desire to depart and to be with Christ." With such language as this he passed the day cheerfully, till eventide. The youth named before said to him, "Now, dear master, there is only one sentence more not translated." Bede replied, "Write quickly." Soon the youth said, "The sentence is finished." To which Bede rejoined: "It is well; you have said the truth. It is finished. Lift me up and hold my head in your hands, for I am greatly joyed when I sit opposite the holy place where I have been wont to pray, that sitting there I may call on my Heavenly Father." Seated on the floor of his cell, he sang: "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost." As he uttered the name Holy Ghost, he yielded up his spirit, and entered the heavenly kingdom. All who witnessed the passing away of the sainted father said they had never seen any one die with such devotion and so peacefully; for as long as his soul remained in his body, he sang "Glory be to God," and other holy words to God's honor, and praised the true and living God unceasingly, with uplifted hands.

Thus narrates his devoted disciple, Cuthbert, soon after the death of his honored master, which, as we have seen, took place Ascension day,

May 26, 735. His remains were laid in the convent church of Yarrow, where he had lived and labored. Soon after his death, his fame as a teacher, and as an example of genuine piety, spread far and wide through Western Christendom. Winfrid, who was his junior by only a few years, had the greatest reverence for him; in a letter from Germany, asking for some of Bede's writings to be sent from England, he calls him the light of the English church. Lull, Winfrid's pupil and successor in the see of Mentz, also begged copies of Bede's works, and sent Cuthbert, the chronicler of his master's death, when he was made abbot of Yarrow, a silken robe, then a princely gift, to wrap therein the remains of the holy father. Before the close of the eighth century, Bede was counted a saint; altars were erected in his honor, and May 27th kept as his feast day. In the ninth century the name "venerable" was bestowed upon him.

Many legends, which fastened on his memory, witness the profound veneration in which the Middle Ages held him. The following is one of them: When Bede had attained a good old age, his sight grew dim. One of his scholars was leading him. On coming to a place where a number of stones lay, his guide wantonly said that there were there a great many people assembled and waiting in utmost quiet that he might preach to them. And sure enough, the holy man preached a beautiful sermon, full of his wonted fervor. On his concluding with the words, "For ever and ever," the stones answered, "Amen! venerable priest." Therefore, the name venerable was given the sainted man. Later on in the Middle Ages the report went that the Roman bishop Sergius had written Ceolfrid, the abbot of Yarrow, to entreat him to send Bede, whose learning he esteemed greatly, forthwith to Rome; and that he did so, and Bede went to Rome. This rests, however, on utterly unreliable grounds. The fact is that Bede, his life long, hardly went beyond the precincts of his cloister, much less ever left his native island for a long space of time.

Very significant of the spirit of the middle centuries was the fate that befell his remains. The relics of one so generally and deeply esteemed were immensely attractive. Thousands journeyed to his shrine. It was a mine of wealth to the monastery of Yarrow. No wonder that the clergy of the neighboring cathedral of Durham grew jealous. So a priest of Durham, Alfred by name, between 1021 and 1041, succeeded in abstracting the bones of the venerable Bede from the church where they lay, and transporting them to the cathedral church of Durham. Somewhere about a hundred years later, a bishop of Durham, Hugh Pudsey, erected a magnificent shrine of gold and silver and precious stones, in which, with the bones of other saints, were laid those of Bede. In the sixteenth century, at the command of Henry the Seventh, this shrine was removed; whither Bede's bones were taken, no one knows. The

stone alone is left on which the shrine stood. To-day there is due a memorial from us, even unfeigned honor to this man, truly venerable, this unwearied teacher, this simple, childlike, pious soul. — G. L.

LIFE VI. ALFRED THE GREAT.

A. D. 849—A. D. 901. SAXON LEADER,—BRITISH ISLES.

THE king of Little Wessex is justly honored by the title Great, for he achieved as much in his sphere as Charlemagne in the whole West. He prevented his kingdom relapsing into savagery, saved a flourishing Christian civilization from ruin, and, by personal exertion beyond that of Charlemagne, sent broadcast the seeds of knowledge, at home and abroad, to his own and succeeding generations.

Alfred's race was royal, and, like many another of German blood, traced its descent proudly back to Wodan, the chief of the gods. Since his family arrived in Britain it had enlarged its little dominion by incessant wars. Only of late, after many vicissitudes, had it put away its paternal gods. Now, full of hearty reverence to the faith, it protected churches and Christian preachers, yet kept restlessly intent on enlarging its territory by annexing the small neighboring states. It was to Egbert, his grandfather, that Alfred, greatest of the Cerdikings, owed his position as the foremost prince upon the island. This same Egbert, once the guest of Charlemagne, could truly call the land which he had brought beneath his sceptre, England. He included in his kingdom the archbishop of Canterbury, the highest official of the British church. Bishop and prince together continued the noble efforts which Canterbury had made for two centuries to christianize the contending neighbors. Thus they succeeded in allaying the jealousies and strifes of the petty Anglo-Saxon tribes and dynasties. The kingdom of Wessex in the year 800 was the strong refuge of that blessed school of the gospel which produced a Bede and a Boniface. But under that same prince, Egbert, came pouring over the sea, upon the island, great swarms of untamed and pagan Northmen. They fell upon the sacred places of Northumbria, East Anglia, and Kent, allured by the church treasures and the precious spoils of established civilization. The Germans, now three centuries on the island and two centuries faithful servants of Christianity, were in danger of being plunged again into their old heathenism.

Ethelwolf, Egbert's son (838), was very unlike his father. He weakly suffered himself to be ruled by others. He let clerical greed and ambition take the reins, when prince and people needed most a valiant sword. For the Vikings were already, from their strong camps, extending their attacks into the interior. In the king's family there was a ray

of light, for there his wife, the pious and virtuous Osburg, held the sway, the daughter of an old Jute family in the Isle of Wight. In true womanly retirement she was devoting herself to the care of her children. After having had three sons and a daughter, she was given Alfred, her youngest. He was born (849) at Wantage, a royal estate, in what is now Berkshire. His name, Alfred, or the elf-instructed, points back to the old belief in elves and fairies. The parents lavished their love upon this child. One day, as the old authorities state, the mother was reading a book of Saxon poems, whose beautifully painted initials attracted the notice of the boy. "Whoever first learns to read it," said Osburg, "shall have it." Alfred took the book, carried it to his teacher, and read it the first. The mother, who gave the best of her being to this child, it seems, died soon after. The father, full of tenderness towards Alfred, took the boy with him (855) on a pilgrimage to Rome.

*Travels on the
Continent.*

The pope there blessed and anointed Alfred, adopting him as a child. An abiding impression was then made on the youthful heir of a long line of ancient kings. Yet that journey brought extremely mischievous consequences to the grievously oppressed kingdom. Ethelwolf was foolish in spending months in praying among the tombs of the saints, and in founding institutions by royal charity, instead of exerting himself to maintain at home his rule and his religion. Then on his way back, he visited Charles the Bold of France, and married his daughter Judith. Her coronation was celebrated there in a strange land, a thing not before known to the West Saxons. This made Ethelbald, the king's eldest son, left as governor by his father, rebel before the return of the latter. He proved the stronger, as appears from the division by which the bad business was ended. The son held the heart of the land, perhaps with a view to the attacks of the Danes. The father had to content himself with Kent, heretofore the portion of the heir apparent. Ethelwolf, a wretched ruler, died (January 13, 858) with spirit crushed, yet resigned to God's will. Immediately his coarse, wicked son took his stepmother to wife, but as he died (860) without children, his brother Ethelbert succeeded him, amid growing distress, the Northmen ever taking firmer hold upon the island.

Alfred had received his patrimony and was advancing to man's estate. He strengthened his body by hunting and military exercises. He could hardly obtain for his active mind more than the rudiments, since the last remnants of the noble schools of Wearmouth and Canterbury had been swept away. With great pains he mastered the simpler elements. When the third brother, Ethelred, ascended the throne (866), Alfred did not take a separate rule in Kent, but remained by the king, as his first nobleman. The storm from over the sea grew fiercer. Mighty fleets, under giant-like commanders, landed their crews on the east coast. The last independent principalities of Northumbria and East Anglia fell

churches and cloisters disappeared. Their inhabitants scarce brought away their bare lives, with hardly ever a book or other help to science on their flight to the interior.

The king of Mercia, Burchred, in his sore distress, called for help to Ethelred, whose sister he had married. Possibly his request was discussed at Alfred's wedding, when he married (868) Ealhswith, daughter of a worthy alderman of Mercia. While at the feast, the prince was suddenly taken with an insidious disease, beyond the knowledge of the physician, which was to consume him the rest of his life. Yet with admirable self-command he rose above his pains, and stood by the king, his brother, in defense of their neighbors' inheritance. Soon, however, the savage enemy coming up the Thames, into the very heart of Wessex, the brothers had to exert all their strength to hold their own. They made gallant resistance in several hot battles, particularly at Escesdune (871). The preservation of the kingdom was still in suspense when Ethelred died (April 23, 871).

Alfred's anointing at Rome attained fulfillment in a gloomy hour. He took the throne only on sufferance; two of his brother's children still under age had, as was then often the custom, ^{Alfred is made king.} to give way to their uncle. The prince got neither joy nor blessing with his kingdom. Pains lashed his body; ruin threatened his land and people; the tottering kingdom of Mercia disappeared. For years Alfred struggled on in a doubtful contest skillfully and perseveringly. His means of defense continually dwindled, while the foe on every side gained a stronger footing. What could he achieve by a few victories by land, or sea, or by solemn treaties? His weary people were laying down their arms and submitting to the conqueror. But here and there a brave band abode in the forest, or some natural fortress, determined to sell their last possession, their lives, as dearly as possible.

The quarrels of the Saxons themselves, says a doubtful authority, caused their overthrow. Possibly the differences of Welsh and German or of the different Saxon tribes may have divided those who had held together so bravely. Certain charges against Alfred himself rest on still more doubtful authority. For deeds of violence against Abingdon monastery, the monks, it is said, wished him the fate of a Judas. In a letter of pope John Eighth (877), the king and his people are charged with debasing their land by corruption of manners. In an old legend it is asserted that the troubles were aggravated by Alfred's conduct; in a Welsh story, he expiates his guilt in the cell of a hermit. Be this as it may, from him came the decisive blow which effected his country's deliverance, the sword having never left his hand, nor hope his heart.

In the beginning of the year 878, he turned to the west, to well-watered Somerset. In Athelney, an island-like height, almost inaccessible from surrounding marshes, he easily established a fortress, and hid

there the wives and children with some little property. Thence he sallied out with a small band of brave companions in sharp attacks, depriving the robbing hordes of their booty, and waking in many a cottage the thought that their king was still alive. No wonder, then, that common report and legend spun many a colored web around his early years. A much safer witness than all the stories of the hair-breadth escapes of the king is the remarkable jewel found on the very spot where stood the refuge of Athelney, and still preserved in Oxford. It has this inscription worked in filigree, an unmistakable evidence of its age: "Aelfred mec heht gewyrcan" (Alfred commanded me to be made).

As spring drew near, a stronger body of men marched out of the little camp; on the skirts of a forest the old standard fluttered once more; the men from neighboring districts hastened with revived courage to the side of their prince. In May, Alfred attacked the pagans at Ethandune; the enthusiasm and fiery courage of his little band bore down all before them. A few weeks later he took Chippenham from the Danes, one of their strongholds, whence they had inflicted much damage. In the summer, Alfred, by a treaty at Wedmore, obliged his terrible foe Guthorm, whom he had already deprived of Wessex, to receive baptism under the name of Athelstan, and settle in an Anglo-Danish state, on the farther side of the river Thames. Thus in a few months Alfred won back his land with a part of Mercia, the counties of Worcester and Warwick. But the greatest victory was that of Christianity over paganism. She alone had upheld Germans against Scandinavians, civilization against barbarism. For years, however, the danger was not over, for plundering hordes infested the country; the ravagers of the French coasts sailed up the English rivers. The baptized Vikings were such inveterate robbers that they many a time broke their oaths. Yet they were so chastised by Alfred that they feared his very name. A respite was thus won, which was employed by him in providing lasting defense. Alfred chose as governor of his new territories Ethelred, alderman of the Hwiccas, the husband of his noble-hearted daughter, Ethelfleda. These two, with the efficient bishop Werfrith of Worcester, unremittingly strengthened their frontiers against the Celts and the Danes. Like Alfred, they rebuilt the ruined towns. To the bishoprics of Canterbury, Winchester, Sherburne, and Worcester, was added London in Wessex. Several royal seats were turned into castles for the defense of the country.

Alfred's days of rest were given not only to removing the scars of war, and providing defenses for the future. He was, if possible, more intent on restoring form to the state and planting anew the germs of education and Christianity. In his time of splendid activity (884-892) he was influenced not simply by the traditions of his house, but by the precious Christianity of his nation in the past, and by the welfare of

the church of the future. His early visit to Rome had not been made in vain. Alfred, as his country's deliverer, raised the kingly office to something beyond what it had been under former monarchs. This was natural, since former relations had changed, and all other Anglo-Saxon rulers had disappeared. The aldermen (of Hwiccas, Somerset, Kent, etc.) became great rulers, high in rank, but not hereditary in their offices. The increasing power and dignity of the royal service added consideration to their titles. Distinctions of rank above the commons begin to arise. The *witena-gemot*, in which all freemen might appear, exists in its old importance. Its reports and decisions show that there were state as well as district assemblies called by the king and his governors, especially in Mercia. Alfred's lawbook, as the introduction tells, was compiled after consultation with the *witena-gemot*. It is noteworthy that these laws are based on those of Alfred's ancestor, Ina of Wessex. There were added, by reason of the extension of the kingdom, some from the statutes of the old kings of Kent, and of Offa of Mercia. There was much also that was new. Besides the old penalties and fines there was imprisonment. Treason against the king was visited with death. The bishops took a high position in the national council. An ecclesiastical element was thus added to the common law of the nation. Alfred himself having a high sense of his royal authority, and of the propriety of the act, placed the ten commandments, some Alfred's Bible laws. extracts from the laws of Moses, and the fifteenth chapter of the Acts (on the institution of the church of Christ) in the front of his lawbook. To superficial view this may seem very heterogeneous matter, but really there was essential progress attained by the Saxon state by its close alliance with the church.

With a strong hand Alfred, by his laws, gave new life to the execution of justice, sharply roused idle or corrupt judges, and dismissed those whose courts were disorganized. He elevated the clergy, whose degradation had helped on the general ruin. How had they lost their former inspiration, their ancient culture! Alfred calls up the past, sadly, in his beautiful preface to his translation of Gregory's "Pastor." He complains that now the Anglo-Saxons must seek help from abroad. Very few clergy, north or south of the Humber, can conduct a church service, or read Latin at all; south of the Thames he remembers, since his accession, not one. To supply the religious need, Alfred, as soon as he had a little rest from the Danes, communicated with the church at Rome. Royal presents and offerings were sent by ambassadors, which led the pope (Marinus) to exempt the Saxon school in Rome from future taxes. The messengers, also, brought about intercourse with the patriarch of Jerusalem. Interchange at this same time was sought with the old Celtic Christians, in the interests of intelligence and religion. Alfred had great trouble to find men fit to be bishops. Besides Werfrieth we know

only of Denewulf, of Winchester, and Plegmund, of Canterbury. So the king sent across the channel for men of worth; for in France there was some culture. Grimbold came, probably, from St. Omer; John, the old Saxon, from Corvei on the Weser. Both served as priests and teachers of the schools just started. Grimbold became abbot of Newminster near Winchester. John was over the institution founded in memory of the noble deliverance at Athelney. Above all of them the monk Asser, from St. David's in Wales, is remarkable, for his relation to the king. The precious fragments we have of the king's life we owe to him. Allowed by his superiors to be away but six months of the year, he yet became the friend and teacher of the prince above others, and was presented with rich livings, and at last a bishopric.

With helpers like these, there rose a school of learning in the court itself. There, as in Charlemagne's, the royal children with their comrades were taught Saxon and Latin, reading and writing. It was a model school for the nation. Alfred, in the preface already named, wishes "that all the freeborn youth of the country be kept at study till they take up some business." They could make a play of what was toil to him, since his thirst for knowledge had to contend with advancing years, bodily anguish, and a suffering country. They had in him a grand example, for like a hero he overcame all obstacles, and sat at the feet of

Asser, a most diligent scholar. Besides the Saxon songs
His books. and prayers which he collected and read, he took up Latin authors; he made for himself a common-place book. Possibly in this were those notes of the history of his house which were so often quoted by Middle-Age historians. Thus the royal pupil soon grew to be an author.

It is worth while to note the books translated by Alfred into Anglo-Saxon: Boethius on Consolation (more than any book of its age kindling sparks of lofty thought in the times succeeding), several works of Gregory the Great, the benefactor of Britain, and especially his "Pastor;" the "Chronicle of Orosius," friend and contemporary of Augustine of Africa, and the Venerable Bede's "Church History of the Anglo-Saxons," by far the best history of his own nation. All these books were carefully adapted as school books for that eager Saxon people. Nowhere does the king slavishly confine himself to the text; but introduces throughout, with naive changes, his own original views. He exhibits a spirit of reflection and earnest scientific inquiry, and adds long comments which are undoubtedly his own. His essay on the ethnology of the Germans, inserted in his translation of Orosius, and his two essays in the same, on the voyage of some Scandinavians around the North Cape, are of imperishable value to geographers. His preface to the "Pastor," that fresh, heartfelt effusion, easy yet concise in style, vividly paints the neglected land which Alfred would relieve, and is the grandest illustration

of his style. (The book was sent to all the bishoprics of his kingdom as a guide to the clergy.) One is surprised that in that age a prince so mighty with the sword excels thus as a student and author, makes himself the first prose-writer in one form of the German language, and, above all, the instructor of his subjects and of their children.¹ Alfred, to his people, when oppressed by the Normans, became "the Englishman's Shepherd and Darling." He cultivated the fine arts, especially in building up many ruined towns, churches and cloisters, halls and castles. Traces of the style and taste shown are, however, very scanty. Of the precious metals used for decorations or for vessels, the jewel already described is the only existing evidence. We have, instead, a circumstantial account of an ingenious lantern, made by Alfred to mark the time. Its sides were transparent horn, with wax tapers within, carefully weighed and marked off in inches. A practical inventive genius was one of Alfred's characteristics developed in the stern school of adversity. Joined to a fertile imagination and shrewdly applied, it exalted this Saxon chief above his kind as the harmonizer of varied civilizations.

From the acts of peace, never forgetting to strengthen his realm against the Danes on the east, and the Welsh on the west, Alfred was summoned again to war. Danish risings took place in East Anglia after the death of Guthorm-Athelstan. Defeated across the channel (by Arnulf, September 11, 891), the Danes poured in great numbers on the coasts of England. They sought to ascend the rivers, to winter and inflict damage as of old. But the Saxons met them, ^{His last victories.} very differently trained and equipped. Led by Alfred with his oldest son, and Ethelred, his son-in-law, they made successful defense. They dexterously divided the forces of the dreaded Hastings, beat him in the field, and stormed his intrenchments. On the sea, also, Alfred met them with his ships, as large again as theirs and manned by Frisian sailors. "Thanks to God," says the old Saxon Chronicle (896), "the pagans, this time, have not so utterly put the English to shame." In fact, the lesson they received lasted them as long as Alfred's spirit survived, or for an entire century. The king's death was due probably to the exertions which he had to make in his weak condition. Its date by the Anglo-Saxon Calendar was October 28, 901, when Alfred was fifty-two. His remains were interred in the family vault at Winchester, then taken (903) and laid within the walls of the new Winchester Cathedral. His will, witnessed in 885 in a state council, exhibits the attractive features of a refined and noble mind. To his queen Ealhswith he gives Wantage, his birthplace, and Ethandun, the scene of his first decisive victory. To his second daughter Ethelgeofu, suffering from her father's incurable

¹ His extended efforts have gained him the credit of other books; for example, the celebrated Chronicle of the Anglo-Saxons, begun perhaps in his reign, with certain Bible translations, proverbs, fables, and epigrams.

malady, he left the cloister of Shaftesbury. All his children, and those of his elder brother, had separate estates left them, his faithful servants in church and state had legacies, his serfs had their freedom given them. How his son Edward, and grandson Athelstan, reigned after him; how his granddaughter Edgitha became the beloved wife of Otho the Great of Germany, and his line continued in the rulers of France and Flanders, the history of the nations tells. Few kings can be compared to Alfred. In him nobleness and devoutness of soul are matched by energy; a loving heart by a far-seeing vision of God's purpose for his people and for mankind.¹ — K. P.

LIFE VII. REMY OF FRANCE.

A. D. 435—A. D. 530. LATIN LEADER, — FRANCE.

THOUGH we cannot call Remy, or any other, by the high title of saint, as Romanists do, we believe that he should live none the less in the memory of Christians. He was bishop of Rheims. He rises over a dark period, a man of talent and devotion; a chosen agent for a deed which was to begin a new era in our world's history. At a turning point, when the old Roman empire was going down forever, by his baptism of the mighty king of the Salic Franks he secured the adoption by the Germans of Roman and Christian customs; he gained a triumph in the West for the orthodox faith over paganism and heresy. His surroundings are imperfectly known; his story is obscured by legends and traditions; yet enough is told of him to furnish, when put together rightly, a fair portrait.

Remigius, or Remy, was of Gallo-Roman family; his parents, Emilius and Cilinia, were noble. They are described as devout persons and friends of the learned bishop and poet, Sidonius Apollinaris. Their home, as that of most Gallic nobles then, was in the district of Laon, where (at some country villa, no doubt) Remy was born, about the year 435.² He probably received his training in Rheims, where he lived, quietly devoted to study, till the death of bishop Bennadius (457).

Though just twenty-two years old, he was then proclaimed
His early ordination. by the people the head of their church. After the still prevailing fashion, it was declared, in the public congregation, that he and no other should be bishop. He was worthiest by reason of his learning and his piety. He refused the office, for he was not of the age required for

¹ "There is an admirable modern life of Alfred ('King Alfred and his Place in English History'), by [this writer] Dr. Paul." (Green's English History.)

² Later tradition has surrounded the birth of this famous man with wonders. His future position and importance were declared to the pregnant mother by a monk, Montanus. His nurse, Balsamia, is honored in Rheims as *Sainte-nourrice*, in a church of her own.

ordination; but the popular voice compelled his acceptance.¹ The eloquence and power of his sermons, and his virtues by which he obtained the love of the people, are celebrated by Sidonius Apollinaris and Gregory of Tours.

Of more truth and interest than the features with which legend paints him, which must all be put aside, are the relations between him and the king of the Franks. Since the year 486 the Franks had almost subdued Gaul. After Syagrius had been defeated by Clovis, near Soissons, and the Roman power thus ended, Rheims, the second city of the province, fell under Frankish control. It had been long famed for its power and wealth. Christian churches adorned it. The government, civic and municipal, was inherited from the Romans. Here, as elsewhere, the defender of the citizens and their threatened interests was their bishop. When the enemy were plundering the churches Defender of his people. and distressing the people, Remy courageously met them. As the leader of the church, he maintained liberty and right against pagan violence. One circumstance helps us decide how little the bishop was influenced by fear of the barbarians. When he could not get back all that had been taken from the churches, he insisted on the restoration of a very precious vessel. Clovis assented, and in the division of the booty asked it for his share. A single Frank warrior opposed, and demanding that the booty, according to their law, be divided among all, king or no king, shivered the vessel with his battle-axe. Clovis said nothing. He took his revenge at the next review of his army, when he slew the warrior with his own hand. From Clovis's readiness to gratify the bishop, it has been argued that he was then not uninclined to be a Christian, and was a personal friend of Remy. There is nothing to favor the latter, and his inclination to Christianity is opposed by his bloody revenge on the Frank who maintained his people's right. Only this is proven, that the Christian religion was then not wholly unknown to that people. In many a way they had gained some outward knowledge of it. German captives returning to their homes, and Roman prisoners of war carried the news of the cross and the church to different parts of Germany, but the Franks got their knowledge chiefly by their conquest, for Gaul had long been a Christian land, with a prevailing Roman civilization and church worship. The church of Gaul was flourishing and powerful. In the ruin of the empire it alone may be said to have kept its position. Its bishops enjoyed marked esteem, not only in the church, but in civil and political affairs. Naturally German barbarism had to yield to the manners and the language of those whom they conquered. When we con-

¹ To rectify the transgression of the church law, a miracle is here introduced by the legend. A heavenly light fell on the head of the youth, and supernaturally consecrated him before all. Miracles are ascribed to him, such as the healing of the possessed and blind, quenching of a conflagration by prayer alone, and other works such as the fantastic faith of the Middle Ages ascribed to those whom it accepted as especial instruments of God

sider the effect of a showy worship, of the splendid pomp of song and litany, of the already richly decorated churches, upon the fresh imaginations of the conquerors, coming from their dark woods; when we reflect on the effect of the aspect of noble men like Remy, excelling their own chiefs in knowledge, and made courageous and steadfast by their trust in God, and also upon the dispositions of the approachable barbarians, we can easily understand the influence which the bishop of Rheims, after the conquest, exercised upon Clovis and his followers.

His influence was facilitated by the king's wife, Clotilda, a daughter of the kings of Burgundy and an orthodox Christian, though her people were still Arians. She had already exercised herself to persuade her husband to accept Christianity. Strangely enough, while he refused he allowed his son to be baptized. One of his sisters, also, Lantechild, was a Christian, but an Arian. We may judge from these facts that he held heresy and orthodoxy, Christianity and paganism, about alike. It is possible that after his taking of Rheims, and making acquaintance with its bishop, the purpose rose to become a Christian after a little, and that he only delayed its execution in his doubt of its effect on the Franks who still were pagans. In his fight at Zulpich, when his hosts were giving way before the Alemanni, he for the first time vowed to change, if his wife's God, represented as so mighty, would only give him the victory. He won the day, and performed his vow, no longer doubting the power of the Lord. Even on his way back from his campaign, he received instruction from Bedastus, whom he met at Toul, and took with him to Rheims. Clotilda then begged Remy to be the king's teacher. Clovis said to the bishop: "I will gladly listen to this good father, only one thing makes me doubtful: my people may refuse to give up their gods. Nevertheless, I will tell them what I hear from thee." His example was fol-

Baptizes king
Clovis.

lowed by many of his comrades. They were prepared by Remy for their baptism. This came on Christmas of 496. Remy used every means, even of outward show, to exalt the sacred act in the eyes of the Franks. Mary's church was adorned with painted cloth; the odor of frankincense filled the room; many tapers burned upon the altar. A procession went from the king's house to the church, Remy leading the conqueror by the hand, amid the sound of hymns and the shouts of the citizens. A question which Clovis is said to have asked the bishop on the way shows how imperfect and sensual his Christian views were still. "Is this," he asked, "already that kingdom which you have promised me?" "No," answered Remy, "this is only the beginning of the way that leads to it." Yet the baptism proceeded, in spite of the imperfect knowledge of the royal candidate. Along with the king, his pagan sister Albofledis and many Franks were baptized. Lantechild, also, renounced her Arianism. During the baptism, the bishop addressed to the king the well-known words: "Bow thy head hum-

bly, O Sicambrian prince; honor what till now thou hast burned; burn what thou hast honored!"¹

What were the hidden motives that impelled the Frankish leader to abjure the old paganism of his people? Possibly, as with Constantine the Great, they were manifold, though hardly the same as with the highly educated Roman emperor. Political considerations, the expectation of gaining support in his further enterprises through the bishops, the hope of a more secure possession of the conquered Christian country, were no doubt weighty. Yet they are not enough to explain the notable resolve; nor could it have proceeded from a definite and full persuasion of saving truth. For that Clovis was far from being prepared. But in his home listening to Clotilda, in the battle with the Alemanni, and in the moment of baptism when the mighty Sicamber fell on his knees before Remy, his peer in strength of soul, the foreboding was uppermost in him that Wodan's kingdom was ended, the old gods must vanish before Christianity. The Franks bowed before the imposing figure of the bishop, whose height, it is said, was seven feet; barbarism bowed to the church. The latter won the race, through whom the West was to be born again. True, the Franks worshiped the God of hosts, more than the God of grace. But a beginning was made, from which, by the help of the Holy Spirit, everything would come in due time.

The zeal of Remy for the king's conversion has been explained on political grounds. No doubt he was thinking of the extension of the church. He rejoiced with the rest of the Gallic bishops, hoping by the baptism of Clovis to gain the victory for orthodoxy over the Arianism of the Burgundians and Visigoths. Bishop Avitus of Vienne, in Burgundy, along with others, wrote to Clovis, "We are victorious in your wars." But it were neither historical nor natural to ascribe to a man like Remy nothing higher than worldly motives. This is supported by the few letters of his that are preserved. When Albofredis

died, after her baptism, Remy sent a letter of consolation to ^{His letters.} the king composed in a Christian spirit. When Clovis went against the Goths (507), he wrote him on the duty of a Christian prince, earnestly recommending gentleness, moderation, and justice towards all. The gospel, no doubt, was still strange enough to the rude German. He scarce knew what sense of sin and need of a Saviour signified. He committed his cruellest acts after his baptism. Yet, at moments, the better spirit ruled in causing him to submit to the representations and entreaties of his Christian adviser. He promised the bishop, after the Gothic campaign, to treat his captives kindly. Further, he showed his gratitude to

¹ According to the legend, the bearer of the anointing oil could not approach the throne for the crowd of people. At the prayer of Remy a dove appeared, bringing a vial of oil in its beak from heaven. This, it is said, was the origin of the sacred flask, the *sainte ampoule*, of which, however, mention is first made about the year 950, which served for the anointing of the French kings in Rheims Cathedral, till it was broken in the Revolution.

him by considerable presents. Remy still labored many years, seeking the conversion of the pagan Franks and also of the Arians, whom Clovis had subdued. He exerted himself to regulate the extending church. He trained apt scholars, who should abolish evil customs and establish beneficent institutions. He zealously guarded the rights of metropolitan rule, long exercised by the bishops of Rheims, and enlarged the possessions and liberties of the church. He died at a great old age (13th January, 530), having held his office seventy-three years. There are different dates for his birth and death; we have taken the most probable. He was buried in the Church of St. Christopher, which soon got a reputation for its miracles and was made an abbey. Pretended remains of Remy, teeth, hairs, etc., were revered in various places in the Middle Ages. They prove how he was kept in grateful remembrance for his long, blessed labors, though in superstitious fashion. We are more interested in his literary remains. Of his sermons none is extant. Of poetical writings there is only an epitaph on Clovis. This and the two letters already named are all we have. The testament under his name in which he makes the church of Rheims the chief heir of his property is hardly genuine, neither is the commentary ascribed to him upon Paul's Epistles. — C. S.

LIFE VIII. ALCUIN OF FRANCE.

A. D. 735 — A. D. 804. SAXON LEADER, — FRANCE.

THE man who is intended to be widely useful will seldom be found wanting either in natural talents or in opportunities of education. Alcuin, the son of a noble Anglo-Saxon family, born (sometime before 735) in the county of York, in Britain, was of fertile genius, and in the York school, the best then in England, was favored with a thorough training. His teachers were Egbert and Albert, who successively filled the office of archbishop. Through them the youth's ardent mind and aspiring powers were well nourished and directed. While bishop Egbert explained the New Testament, Albert taught almost every known science, and also the Old Testament. To him Alcuin, perhaps, owed most, even before Egbert's death. Yet he was like a son to Egbert, was kept near his person, and intrusted with his treasures, especially with the convent library, the increase of which, even at great cost, was the archbishop's great ambition. By Albert, however, he was taken as a companion in a journey which he made abroad, for the sake of bringing whatever he found that was new, in ideas or books, back to England. So Alcuin, when twenty years old, beheld the centre of the earth, as it then was, the city of Rome. He had a highly excitable and

A traveler.

every way susceptible nature. He yet silenced his passions by watching, fasting, and prayer. His natural man yielded under such discipline. His wild, impetuous impulses gave place to obedience and humility. He excelled his fellows in knowledge and penetration, in skill and activity, and also in disposition and manners. His mental activity, along with his quick appropriation of the ancient languages, especially Greek and Hebrew, eminently fitted him to be the teacher of others. Albert, prevented by his office as bishop from teaching as formerly, committed to him the control of the entire school, and the oversight of the existing library. Alcuin labored for years in the education of pupils, many of whom became renowned. Of all of them the best known, perhaps, is Liudger, bishop of Münster, the apostle of the Saxons. In this blessed but obscure position he was not ordained by God to remain. Apparent accident confronted him with his higher vocation. Albert died (780). His successor, Eanbald, a pupil of the York school, sent Alcuin to Rome, to obtain for him the pallium. He was obliged, on his way back through Lombardy, to make the acquaintance in Parma of the great Frank king, Charles, who had returned with his family from a winter in Rome. The latter burned with the warmest desire to bring the treasures of learning and devotion which he perceived in Alcuin out of the quiet cloister, and secure them for his court and kingdom. Alcuin now was nearly fifty. His life, devoted to study and reflection in perfect quiet, was little fitted for the bustle of the court. Nor were those propitious times in the midst of Charles's expeditions against Saxony and Italy. Nevertheless, he promised to come, after he had finished his errand.

He came to the Frankish court as he promised, three of his pupils following as his assistants. Charles at once appointed him a superintendent of the new school of the palace. Here, along with the training of the clergy, he devoted himself to popular instruction. The results of his efforts were soon seen. He brought around him a rare class of men, eagerly desirous of every kind of knowledge. Their association has been called an academy, though hardly so in reality. Under Alcuin's guidance the great emperor entered into a deeper understanding of the Scriptures, nor disdained to tread the thorny paths of rhetoric and logic. Alcuin instructed Charles's sons and daughters, also. A pleasant intimate relation thus sprang up, as appears in their correspondence afterwards, which is still in existence. He was less attracted by Charles, the oldest son, the image and darling of his father, who was devoted to a secular life, than by the retiring and thoughtful Louis. By Pepin, the second son, Alcuin was supported once in an effort for the liberty of some captive Avars. In a letter to him, he speaks thus frankly and trustfully: "Try to adorn the nobleness of thy lineage by the nobleness of thy manners. Be careful to promote the will and honor of God, for his precious favor can exalt the throne of thy kingdom,

widen thy borders, and bring the people under thee. Be bountiful to the poor, kind to strangers, devoted to Christ's service. Reverence the church and her servants, whose prayers will sustain thee. Listen to old men's counsel, and employ young men's help. Let sober thoughts be in thy heart, words of truth in thy mouth, and exemplary conduct mark thy life, and the grace of God will ever exalt and defend thee." Alcuin's instructions, enjoyed by the princes, had to be shared with the children of the nobility. The learning imparted was solid, and for that age extensive, though partial and restricted in some departments. Besides the Scriptures the classics were taught, in a formal way, however, chiefly in verse-making. Logic, rhetoric, and grammar were made introductory studies. Mathematics and astronomy were cared for, and put to use in observations. Everything was subordinate finally to the greatest science, theology.

In spite of all, Alcuin was not at home in the military bustle of the court, and longed for his quiet English cloister. Charlemagne perceived his state of mind, and, not to lose him forever, gave him the oversight of two convents, though expecting to feel sadly his absence. Even thus his longing for his dear country was not quieted. The rudeness of the Frankish monks, and their want of receptiveness for science and art, disturbed him. Charlemagne had to allow him a trip to York, where, far from the Frankish court, he passed two entire years. Alcuin had forced upon him there the trouble at home, and the serious results of the civil commotions. Not only for this reason was he glad to return to the Continent; his conscience loudly summoned him thither to a conflict upon a matter of faith. Since the year 783 the Nestorian dispute had again risen. Should Christ, even in his human nature, be called God? Was He God's Son save by adoption? It was hotly discussed. Two bishops had taken the negative side. Even though a church council in Narbonne (788) pronounced their view heretical, the strife went on. King Charles wished the matter openly discussed at a German church-council, and his Alcuin, so versed in Scripture and in debate, to be the champion. Alcuin recognized a yet higher guidance. When in Britain he had been warned by a devout seer, as he himself attests, and also by his old teacher, that wherever he should hear of movements opposed to the apostolic doctrine, he must enlist to defend the truth. He hastened to the place of conflict, and justified the confidence felt in his skillful use of spiritual weapons. At two councils, held in Regensburg (792) and Frankfort (794), one of the opposite leaders, bishop Felix, was vanquished. The other, archbishop Elipandus, of Toledo, was away in Spain, then under the Arabs. He was not to be reached, and, judging from the abusive writings of the old man, he was not to be affected by any arguments. Still Alcuin, to prevent the weak being led astray, wrote a refutation of his opinions. He would

Glad to leave
England.

thus preserve the pious king from heresies. He would also make his logic (which Augustine judged indispensable in attaining definite conceptions of divine things) of advantage to the princes, in keeping their souls from manifold errors. Another contest, of about the same period, was not without influence on the king, nor without interest to Alcuin. This was the dispute concerning images, excited by the court of Constantinople, which maintained that the decrees adopted by the second Nicean council were necessarily valid in the West. Charles declared against them, and thus promoted the spirit of independence in the Latin church.

Alcuin was now persuaded to forego his old home. He found in France leisure for literary efforts, and a circle of experienced and cultivated men who gathered about him. He entered the convent of Tours. The monks were destitute of moral control and strict discipline. Even the abbot, the high chancellor of the imperial palace, was inclined the same way. On his death (796) the abbey fell into Alcuin's hands, just as he was then thinking to withdraw to the convent at Fulda. He at once instituted a different order of things. ^{Sets up a new school.} He set up a school, for he found teaching a necessity of his existence; in it he could exercise his gifts most actively and gladly. He brought the monks, who had been clearing the forests, planting vineyards, and cultivating fields, to attend to the field of the mind and to letters. They could also exercise their vigor in copying books. He felt the want of these sorely. He would fain bring the attractions of his native country to the land of France. How alive he was with anxiety for the prosperity of his school is shown by his reports to his friend, the king. In one of them he says: "I am offering to some the honey of the Holy Scriptures. Others I bring to quaff the pure wine of ancient knowledge. I nourish a third set with the fruits of grammatic art; and not a few I would enlighten by help of the stars. I am many things to many men, to bring very many to help God's church and adorn your kingdom. Then God's grace to me will not have been in vain, nor your liberality without result." At the same time he says of his desire for higher culture: "On every page of Scripture we are exhorted to attain wisdom; there is nothing by which we may better reach success or enjoy it when obtained; there is no defense against evil so effective, no possession so honorable, and in the judgment of philosophers no talent so necessary in ruling a nation, as well as nothing so helpful to pure conduct, as the ornament of wisdom, the renown of learning, and the influence of culture." Alcuin's wish for a greater library was satisfied. Agents went to York to secure copies; these were multiplied in Tours, and thus the chief library of France was furnished.

To his zeal in teaching was joined activity as an author. He wrote text-books on most branches of science, of which some remain. Expo-

sitions of Scripture, edifying reflections, life stories of good men, letters and poems in great number, fervent in spirit and pleasing in thought, all testify to his extraordinary activity. In his expositions he aims to show the profound connection between the Old and New Testaments. He was fond of the allegorical style of explanation, even to finding symbols in numerals. In classifying the sciences he blended the ancient and mediæval modes. He made three principal divisions, theology being one of them; the seven liberal arts he classed under ethics and physics.

When Charles the Great, preparing for a long absence in Italy, visited the shores of his kingdom (summer of 800), he came to Tours, and visited Alcuin. He must have discussed with him the most serious questions.¹ His stay was prolonged, for his wife Luitgarde, who was with him, fell ill there and died. The letters which Alcuin wrote to the king, still in existence, supported him in his affliction, with deep sympathy. The king sent him word from Mainz to accompany him, but Alcuin steadily declined. Charles proceeded to Italy, defending the papal dignity and punishing offenders, entirely after Alcuin's own heart. The youthful glowing desire with which he awaited the king's return

is a clear evidence of his intimate participation in his enter-
Helps make an emperor.prise. One of his presents for Christmas, which he sent on to Rome, was a Bible, with the inscription that it was intended to honor his "imperial" station. He prophetically fixed the day (Charles was crowned emperor Christmas, 800) when the pope, restored to his office, would confer the imperial dignity. He was not aware that he was promoting such papal predominance as was afterwards established.

Thus Alcuin, so calmly devoted to religious work, was called to a part in political affairs, counseling and adjusting. This is further shown by the visit instantly paid him by the emperor on his return, when Charles saw Alcuin for the last time. Their constant correspondence proves the

¹ Alcuin was familiar with the political acts of his princely master. He healed the severed friendship with the states of England. He took an interest in that most important step, the assumption of the imperial dignity. He often freely called the papal power the greatest on earth. The Church of Christ was above earthly empire. Peter's chair was above a throne. Next, the Roman emperor of the East possessed the loftiest authority. Kingly dignity ranked below it. Alcuin was constrained to extol the Great Charles for his personal qualities. He revered him for his ability, wisdom, and renown. He would not hold him back, but rather gave him new incitement. This awakened the thought in Charlemagne of separating Rome and the papal office from the East, and binding it to his own empire! At the same time, the dominion of the Roman empire might be added to the Frank nation, by renewing the imperial office in the West. Such ideas agreed with Alcuin's opinions and desires. When, after the death of Adrian First, the hastily chosen Leo Third, hardly spotless in his conduct, was attacked in a solemn procession (April, 799) by an armed mob, and left for dead in a convent, Alcuin, who saw the church degraded in the pope, her representative, urged eloquently upon Charles to do his duty as protector of the church, and to restore her rights and dignities. When the pope, then under the protection of the Frankish duke of Spoleto, accepted Charles's invitation to his camp at Paderborn, Alcuin did not go to him because his health forbade his leaving home, but sent his counsel in the matter, by letters and trusted friends, and especially opposed the view that the pope's affair was rightly settled, until he had obtained for him the permission to clear himself, by oath, of the charges made against him. The result of this agreement between pope and king, kept secret for a time, soon became apparent.

same. There arose only one quarrel to threaten the weakening or dissolving of this beautiful friendship. There was a clergyman in Orleans whom his bishop sentenced, for some fault, to imprisonment. He escaped and found asylum in the monastery at Tours. The bishop had full power given him by the emperor to exercise force, and with an armed company entered the church. But the monks hurried to the defense of their asylum and sanctuary. The bishop's men escaped the populace, then, only by the monks succoring them, and taking them into the convent. Alcuin, when he heard of the result, was not displeased, but earnestly took the side of his monastery. When the emperor sent an agent to punish the participants and demand the man's surrender, Alcuin refused obedience. The emperor made the abbot and his entire convent feel his displeasure in a severe letter. While he condemned only the disorderliness of the brethren, he indirectly attacked and blamed the abbot. Alcuin was sensitive respecting that which he had made his chief care and greatest honor. Nor did he ever get over this grief. He died of an illness which he thereby brought upon himself, on the 19th of May, 804.¹

His life so blessed won him universal love and reverence after death. Throngs pressed to his dead body as though it were possessed of miraculous power. He was solemnly buried in St. Martin's Church, in Tours.

F. L.

LIFE IX. *CLAUDIUS OF NORTH ITALY.*

A. D. 750 — A. D. 839. *LATIN LEADER, — NORTH ITALY.*

CLAUDIUS, bishop of Turin, was born in Spain a little after 750. Half a century before, the very existence of Christianity there had been imperiled by the dreadful battle of Xeres (711). The Moslem troops had even come over the Pyrenees (719). There, at Poitiers, they met a complete defeat at the hands of Charles Martel (October, 732). They were pursued over the mountains by Charles the Great, who added a province in Spain to his realm, under the name of Godolaunia (Catalonia). In this north part, probably, Claudius was born. Here, certainly, he received his education. He was a pupil of Felix of Argel.² That he was influenced by him, however, is not told us; he speaks of his teacher

¹ The night he died, there was said to have been such bright light over the church as if it was in flames, or as if the heavens were opening to receive the departing soul of the devoted man. A hermit in Italy, it was said, saw at the same time a company of holy angels, and Alcuin in the midst of them, beautifully arrayed, making his triumphant entrance into heaven.

² On the banks of the Segre, which flows from the Pyrenees southwest to the Ebro, there still stands the fortress of La Seu d'Urgelle. Here in Argel Felix was bishop, a man not afraid of domestic strife, even in the midst of the afflictions of Christianity from her external foes, a suitable comrade of Elipandus (see p. 154). Deposed by the Frankfort Synod (794) from office, he found his life closing with neither position nor respect.

now and then, only to refute him. They had chiefly this in common, that they disputed traditional doctrines and usages. His master's favorite notions that the Saviour was God's son only by adoption, and that He was finite in knowledge, were certainly not held by Claudius. When Felix was living retired at Lyons (816), Claudius is found (the last year of Charlemagne's rule) dwelling in Auvergne, some ninety miles west, probably in Ebreuil, on the Allier, one of the four royal strongholds in Aquitania. Here he held the office of presbyter, and gave lessons in the Bible in the palace-school of king Louis. He found the culture of the Carolingian age at its full bloom. Fragments of the ancient Aquitanian learning, from the times of Hilary, were possibly to be found also, preserved through the ravages of the migration of nations on this ancient soil. After Charlemagne's death (814), Claudius acquired historic note.

Finds Turin his field. Under Louis, his old patron, he became bishop of Turin (820). Not only was he promoted by the pious king as a faithful servant, but was selected for Turin, with especial reference to the needs of the place. Claudius was to be there a man of war. The Italians were image-worshippers. Claudius was to help carry into effect the views upon images prevailing among the Franks. This was the starting-point of his reforms. His study of the Bible on his own account, far beyond most of his contemporaries, and the whole course of events around him, helped make him eminent as a reformer.

The anathema against rejecters of images (at Nice, 787) had been met in independent spirit in the Carolingian books. No doubt the saints whose images are the subject of debate pray for believers, therefore the latter should show them reverence; but no reverence is due their images, much less any worship. This doctrine of the Carolingian books was fully ratified by that Frankfort Synod which condemned Felix of Argel. It was attacked in Italy, but was now to be carried out by Claudius on the banks of the Po. The Turin churches were found by him full of images and votive offerings. Relics and crosses were worshipped. Pilgrimages were made to Rome. Claudius not only preached against them; he went further, and cleared the images and crosses out of the houses of God. The news of his enterprise spread away to France. His course was warmly discussed, and of course raised him up opponents.

Claudius, at the same time, had to be a soldier, even as Zwingle of Zürich, after him, of whom he reminds us also in his decided aversion to images in churches. There was a famous haunt of Saracenic robbers, in those lawless days, sixty miles out of Turin, in Fraxinetum (Frassinetto), a little town on the Po, opposite the mouth of the Sesia, now the centre of a network of railways. By them the whole vicinity of Turin was made unsafe. And so, like the children of Israel when they rebuilt the walls of their city, the bishop

A soldier.

Claudius took in one hand his sword, while he held, not a trowel, but his pen, in the other.¹

We may here take a glance at his literary work. A large part of it was performed by him in Aquitania. He wrote three books on Genesis, in 814; the next year a commentary on Matthew. He gave an exposition of Galatians (816), dedicated to the abbot Dructerannus. He sent to king Louis, in 817, his work on Ephesians. In 821 he published his work on Exodus; in 823 on Leviticus. His style shows his nationality. His Latin is not pure, for there was approach already in Spain to the modern dialect. His exposition is largely allegorical, and so of little value to ourselves. He intends to find great truths; but he brings along with him his notions of what they must be, and so forces upon words lofty spiritual meanings, very different from the literal. He says, "As the Word becoming flesh was inclosed in a mean body, so is the word of Scripture limited by the pitiful form of literal expressions." He will not make use of profane literature: he has never mastered it. But he employs the writings of the fathers, whose utterances he strings together, one after another. His favorites are Jerome and Augustine. Knowing how much he owed to them, he tells Louis that he is a beggar, who has no harvest of his own, but gets his subsistence behind the backs of the reapers, out of the labor of others. He does not give his authorities as he goes along; when asked to do so, he refers to the general practice, which was opposed to it. Only Bede had so done, and he in only two commentaries. What decided Claudius against it was that repeatedly, after finding what he deemed an original thought in some writer, he discovered it had been borrowed from some other. Often he weaves together quotations, interspersing remarks of his own, as he says, to make a continuous discourse, to exercise the vigilance of the reader and avoid tediousness. In his expository endeavors he has a method; at least when a friend earnestly asked him to write on Leviticus, he refused, till he first wrote on Exodus. His friend, Expositor of
Scripture. Theodemir (who was his opponent as well), reproached him, when he sent the latter book, with imposing Leah upon him, in the dark, instead of Rachel, for the abbot was eager respecting the Levitical ceremonial. Claudius replied that he must portray the scene of the sacrifices before he treated of the rites themselves. But he met the wish of Theodemir (who was abbot of Psalmodi, near Nismes) by sending him at last

¹ This image-breaking and soldier-like character leaves us few particulars of his private life. Though persecuted, his persecution did not end in martyrdom, which may be accounted for by the peculiar position of the Frankish church at that time. An embassy had come to Louis the Pious from the emperor of the East, Michael the Stammerer, four years after Claudius became bishop (824), asking him to help with all his might against the defenders of pictures, whom the pope was stirring up against him. A synod in Paris, that year, had taken ground agreeing with the former Frankfort synod, in opposition to images. It was at this time that the contest between Claudius and his opposers in the church reached its height. It included other questions besides image-worship. This, however, was the subject upon which he first differed with others.

his treatise on Leviticus. Yet not entirely, for he published in it his views on saint-worship, not altogether to the gratification of his anxious friend (823). In this book he held that a purely spiritual conception of God opposes utterly all creature worship. "By another's bliss no man ever became happy; through another's wisdom no one ever grew wise; through another's bravery no one ever was made brave; through the temperance of another none ever grew temperate; nor through another man's holiness was ever one made perfect." All salvation is from "imitating" or rather "appropriating the Unchanging and True." He expresses himself still more strongly to the same friend in his work on Corinthians, sent afterwards. This was laid by Theodemir before an assembly of bishops and chief persons, but without receiving condemnation. "The Lord forgive thee this deed," Claudius wrote to his faithless friend. Theodemir, with growing excitement at the course of Claudius, addressed him a warning against heresy. The latter, deeply irritated, wrote a long justification, in which he exposed the abuses in the church with marked severity.

Theodemir's letter was to him "prating nonsense;" only a fool could take him for a sectarian. On the subject in question, he takes the Bible prohibitions as absolute. To worship images is to lapse into idolatry. "You may change the names and outward appearance; paint a Peter instead of a Jupiter, a Paul instead of a Saturn; the appearance is different, the reality is the same." When you come to think of it, it may be strange; but ought we not, if the mind is bent on idolatry, rather adore saints when alive, than their images after they are dead? Of image-worshippers, the saying, "They worshiped and served the creature, rather than the Creator," is more true than even of beast-worshippers. The latter worship the works of God, the former those of man. "Thou who wert created upright shouldst rather look up to heaven, than bow down before images." Further, he declares that the picture remains a picture, even if it paints the crucifixion. He denied to the cross, which also was made an idol, even the place of a symbol. He declares: "Like
Opposes cruci-
fixes. the ungodly you take pleasure in nothing of the Saviour save the shame of his sufferings. Like the Jews and the pagans you would have a Christ not risen." Such understand not the Apostle's words: "Yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we Him no more." He reaches conclusions which are excusable, considering the harm threatened then in externalizing all religious worship. "If ye worship the cross," he says, "why not kneel to every virgin, for Christ only hung six hours on the cross, but was hid nine months in a virgin's womb. Worship mangers, too, for the Christ-child lay in a manger. Venerate swaddling-clothes, for in such the boy was swathed. Reverence boats, for on a boat He crossed the waves, on a boat He slept, from a boat He addressed the people. Worship asses

for on such He rode into Jerusalem. Adore lambs, for it is written, Behold the Lamb of God, but indeed, the pious fools would rather devour live sheep than worship painted lambs. Worship lions, for He is the lion of the tribe of Judah. Worship rocks, for in a rock-tomb was He buried, and the Apostle speaks of that rock, which was Christ. Worship thorns, for He was crowned with thorns; and spears for sake of the spear that pierced his side." Claudius partly forgets the special significance of Calvary in Christ's life, and the need of a special symbol therefor. His conclusions but lead us to deem our life on earth, even in its minuter details, consecrate through our Saviour's sharing in it with ourselves. Claudius himself recognizes the inadequacy of his reasoning, but says that with fools you must use fools' weapons, and discharge stones at stony hearts. The true nobleness of his Christianity comes out in his final utterance: "Learn righteousness; do not worship the cross, which is nothing, but bear the cross, as Christ has commanded."

After this attack on images and symbols follows a more moderate assault upon the practice of pilgrimages to Rome. It neither benefits all, nor hurts all. He would use one habit of his day to oppose another. If pilgrimages are so needful, what must be thought of convent life, which incloses people within walls and keeps them from the profitable journey? In favor of pilgrimages to the city of Peter on the Tiber was only a gross and carnal interpretation of that name which Christ gave to Peter as the rock of the church. The extravagant esteem of Rome and her bishop is to Claudius all wrong. Contemns the pope.

When his course is taken by pope Paschal (824) as an insult, as Theod-
emir informed him, the shepherd of Turin thus consoles himself: "That man is not an apostle who sits in the apostle's seat, but he who does an apostle's part. All others are scribes and Pharisees; what they command you do, but go not after their works." The boldness and even violence of his expressions was calculated to offend also his old patron, Louis the Pious. The latter had the bishop's book examined by his clergy, and condemned. Claudius received an invitation to appear and defend his theories. He declined the journey, sending word, instead, that the court-clergy were a company of asses.

The other writings of Claudius gave no occasion for attack or opposition. His chief and, so far as known, his last work is his "Apology." Yet he outlived this swan-song eleven years, unthreatened or at any rate unmolested in the exercise of his office.¹

¹ In his last years he was opposed in the writings of Dungal and of Jonas. The former a Scotchman, had been sent by Charles the Great to Pavia, and labored there many years. He is mentioned by king Lothair, Louis's viceroy in Italy, as one of the distinguished teachers who supplied the great lack of instruction in those parts. By Lothair's express command boys were sent to him out of the neighboring towns, Milan, Brescia, Lodi, Bergamo, Norara, Vercelli, and Como. Dungal seems to have been eminent in grammar and astronomy. In his writings against Claudius, he shows acquaintance with the Christian poets, among others, with Paulinus of Nola. He combated Claudius with weapons found in Christian antiquity and traditions. He takes his stand on the Carlovingian books, favor-

Claudius belongs to tragedy, not that he died a martyr's death, for the billows calmed as he drew near his end, but because the foe against whom he accepted the gauntlet, the growing corruption of Christian life and worship, got the victory in the coming centuries. He was a man of the times that were to be. We cannot acquit him of passionate excitement, nor of a certain coarseness of speech, nor of a somewhat one-sided idealism. None the less, he and the cause which he defended were in the path of Christian progress.

One passage of his, giving his thought of God, we will present in his own words: "The perfection of truth and wisdom changes not with time, wanders not from place to place, is obscured by no night, nor dimmed by passing shadows; neither can He be apprehended by our bodily senses. Every hour He is near every one in the whole earth who turns lovingly towards Him. Confined in no place, He is absent from none. In the market-place He dwells, in the heart his voice is uttered. Whoever beholds Him is transformed by Him, nor can ever wish to change Him to some baser shape. None judges Him, none without Him utters a righteous judgment. Trusting Him, I separate chance and change from the ever abiding. The cycles of time vanish from before me in the Eternal One. For periods of time are full of events ending or beginning. In Him the Eternal same is neither past nor future. What vanishes certainly is not; what is future has no existence. The eternal alone is; none can say it was, nor it is to be. Therefore could yonder eternal Perfection reveal Himself to man's mind, crying, 'I am that I am.' Of Him could it be said, 'He who is, hath sent me.'"

In Claudius we recognize a spirit profound, eager, mighty. Out of the living truths of Paul he drew strength. He distinguished himself, in a superficial age, by going to Augustine, the great teacher, whom he has rightly extolled as "the true lover of the Lord, the pen of Heaven, the tongue of the Holy Ghost." — E. N.

ing the keeping and reverencing of images, but without adoring them. Jonas of Orleans did not appear against Claudius till after the latter's death. He had written at an earlier date, but had perhaps been kept from publishing by Louis the Pious, with whom Claudius in later years was in favor on account of his greater moderation. Jonas's book against the errors of Claudius, which he thought would long survive, is dedicated to Charles the Bold. He defends images, crosses, relics, and pilgrimages, the first within such limits as were set by the Frankish church. The Latin of Claudius is severely and pedantically criticised by both Dungal and Jonas.

LIFE X. COLUMBAN OF GERMANY.

A. D. 550 — A. D. 615. CELTIC LEADER, — GERMANY.

Soon after Patrick had preached in Ireland, there arose brethren there, consumed by such longing to spread the gospel that they could not abide at home. Among them was Columban, the teacher of Gall. Born (550) in the province of Leinster, he was trained in God's Word and the best learning of his day. Especially was he moulded by the classics, whose influence, next to that of the gospels, is seen in his writings. By the advice of a noble hermitess, he entered the monastery of Bangor, then numbering three thousand monks, and presided over by the pious and learned Comgall. Moved as early as 590 to go as an evangelist to Gaul, he obtained the reluctant consent of his superiors, and set out with twelve of his brethren. The Celtic monks owed to Gaul their learning, and now would gratefully return the boon, and with it a living Christianity. Morals and religion there were unsettled. This incited the zeal and energy of the missionaries. Columban was joined by a multitude who adopted his manner of life. He seemed like a second Martin of Tours. To the prevailing corruption, Columban and his comrades opposed a strict and temperate life, marked by purity of thought and simplicity of faith. The fame of his piety soon spread abroad. They were invited to settle in Burgundy by king Guntram. On his death, they were shown the same favor by his successor, Childebert, and promised royal aid. Columban might then have settled in a cloister with a comfortable support and great worldly consideration. But he chose to humbly deny himself, bearing a cross after his Master. On the ruins of an old castle at Anegray, in a barren spot of the ^{Scotch-Irish in} Vosges Mountains, he builded a cloister; soon he removed ^{Gaul.} to Luxovium (or Luxeuil); other cloisters rose near by, at Besançon and in the Jura Mountains. The brethren followed the strict rules of Columban, and soon won great influence and reputation. By their diligence and self-denial they changed their barren country into blooming fields. Toil and care, want and self-sacrifice, were required. Columban cherished the trust of the Psalmist, "Yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread." His confidence was not disappointed; once when he had been praying three days for a sick brother, there came one on horseback, furnished with provisions sent from another cloister.

Their prospects of independence and happiness were materially affected by the death of king Childebert. The kingdom was divided, and Columban was entangled in difficulties. Theoderic, the older son, who succeeded his father, was hindered by his imperious grandmother Brune-

hilde from marrying, and led into all kinds of excesses to unfit him for ruling. Columban brought him back to his duty by grave remonstrances. He would not bless his illegitimate children, nor countenance his unlawful connection. Then the whole spite of Brunehilde, foiled in her evil plans, turned on Columban's convent. His strict life was easily brought into disrepute with the worldly bishops and nobles. He met the opposition, violence, and danger with resolute courage. At the same time he was harassed respecting the question of Easter, which was even carried to the pope. Columban, for himself and his cloister, wished leave to follow the Eastern rule, which was supported by tradition, even if rejected by the Nicene council. He showed frankness and Christian spirit, holding to his maxim: "Be bold in the cause of truth, and impregnable against falsehood." Columban, having refused king Theoderic armed entrance into his convent, was represented by Brunehilde to her grandson as withholding proper reverence. He was suddenly ordered by the king to return to Ireland. Deprived of the company of his comrades, he was forcibly carried off and put aboard a ship. From Nantes he wrote back to his brethren, exhorted them to unity and submission, and resigned himself to his fate. But God had other designs for him. The opposing winds and waves were regarded by the sailors as a mark of God's anger at the treatment given the exile. They landed him with his effects, and then, strangely enough, sailed forth prosperously. As was to be expected, Columban escaped, went to Clothair, king of Neustria, was well received and counseled

Goes up the
Rhine.

with on both civil and religious questions. He had an escort given him through the Rhine country ruled by Theodebert. There he was met with favor by the prince and his great chiefs; a crowd of pupils and adherents came around him. He stopped and engaged in setting up new missions in the interests of the gospel. He went beyond the Rhine far into the land of the Alemanni. In Bregenz he aided Willimar, a Christian preacher. In Tuggen, by Lake Zurich, he threw down the heathen altars, and abolished pagan sacrifices. With the help of Gallus, he sought out all the remnants of Christianity existing among the Alemanni and Sueves from the days of Roman or Frankish rule. He preached everywhere the gospel of salvation. His work of peace was interrupted, as he had foreboded, by the outbreak of war (612).¹

Columban turned his steps across the Alps into Lombardy, and first stopped at Milan. There he enjoyed the confidence of king Agilulf, and found welcome opportunity to fight with the weapons of the Spirit against the Arianism prevalent among the Lombards. He laid the foundation of the cloister of Bobbio, south of Pavia, in a lofty, lonely region of the Apennines, where close to the Trebia appeared the towers of an ancient

¹ Theodebert met a defeat at Zulpich from his elder brother, fell into his hands, and was murdered by their merciless grandmother. Soon after the elder brother Theoderic died, and his kingdom of Burgundy, through the weakness of his son Sigebert, was wholly absorbed in Neustria by Clothair, who thus reunited the realm of his great-grandfather, Clovis.

basilica of Peter. It grew to be a famous convent beyond all the Burgundian establishments. Here Columban found his desired rest, though but for a little while, for he died in 615.¹

The picture of Columban's inner life is as beautiful as that of his outer activity. His was a profoundly religious nature, deeply penetrated by the life of Christ. He attracts us by the quietness of spirit that accompanied his great business energy. He shows thus a calm repose upon God, and marked simplicity of character. He would often go away into the woods, taking his Bible, reading and meditating as he walked, or as he sat against the trunk of a tree. On Sundays and holidays he would seek a cavern, or some lonely place, and give himself to prayer and meditation on divine things. His faith and religion were not based on human inventions, but the word of Holy Scripture. Thence he got the food of his inner life, and formed the image of Christ within him. This direct intercourse with the Lord, the head of the church and life of believers, was his especial characteristic. Self-forgetfulness, humble resignation, and obedience to God's will constituted the life of his soul. "He treads earth beneath him," said Columban, "who conquers himself. None who spares himself hates the world. It is in the heart we love or hate. No one dies to the world unless Christ lives in him. Live in Christ, and Christ lives in thee. We must take heaven by violence, beset not only by our enemies, but most of all by ourselves. If thou hast conquered self, thou hast conquered everything."

As we view him opposed to the prevailing rudeness of the times, we may be told that in his doctrine of obedience he depended on works. The Christian, the heir of a new life, was put under tutors and governors. True, there was a very strict rule in his order, to prevent the life being demoralized in the general want of training. But he did not intend the strict discipline to be an intolerable burden, or to suffocate the life. Rather he wished that everything, even what was at first a matter of obedience, might grow to be a second nature. We revere his endeavor, in the midst of his strife with rude nature, to attain the culture of the mind and the salvation of the soul, using the daily struggle with hard toils and earthly cares for a means of self-renunciation, obedience, and trust. "You will find God," he says, "by the devout faith of a pure heart, not by unholy or idle talk. Seek to find out the Incomprehensible by thy subtle investigations; wisdom will be further

¹ Bobbio remained a pattern convent, true to its aim, and an unqualified blessing to many generations. A source of renown to Columban, it did great service in the cause of science. He clung to it, answering an invitation of Clothair to return to Luxeuil, with a commendation of Bobbio. In the ninth century, his order joined the Benedictines, and in the twelfth had lost all trace of adherence to the rules of Columban. Benedict's Roman order became the favorite everywhere. But while Columban's name disappeared, his spirit and his achievements remained. We can even say that his name revived in the renovated and magnificent institution (1612) which established the old order, and among other things contained the noble Ambrosian library of Milan.

from thee than ever. Grasp him by faith, and wisdom is at thy very threshold." His last resort was not to the law, but to the grace of God in Christ. True life, he found, was love to Him who first loved us. "Our whole life is as one day's journey. The chief aim is not to love what is beneath, but only what is above, to desire only what is above, to meditate only on what is above, to seek our fatherland above, where is our father. Love is not a work, it is sweetness, salvation, and health to the soul. If the heart is not sick with sin, love is its health."

Through these expressions of Columban, we see the evangelical character of his efforts. For his age and position, he is full of brave courage and independent spirit. He addresses with respectful liberty the Roman bishops, Gregory First and Boniface Fourth. Various disputes and a threatened church schism, near the end of his life, called out his earnest exhortation to peace. "He only," says Columban to the pope, "carries the keys of heaven, who by correct judgment opens the door to the worthy, and shuts it against those unworthy." Divine peace, above reason, was to him the condition of true life. "Return quickly to unity," he says; "pursue not old disputes; rather be silent and consign strife to oblivion. In doubtful matters give the decision to God; in what man can decide, judge without respect of persons. Acknowledge one the other, that there may be joy in heaven, and on earth, over your peace and oneness. I do not understand how a Christian can quarrel with a Christian respecting the faith. Whatever one right-minded Christian that serves God rightly utters, another must say amen to, because both believe and love the same things."

By such life and work has not Columban won the reward of those that turn many to righteousness (Daniel xii. 3)?—F. L.

LIFE XI. GALL OF SWITZERLAND.

A. D. 546—A. D. 640. CELTIC LEADER,—SOUTH GERMANY.

It is now nearly thirteen hundred years since a handful of good men came out of the distant West, the end of the known world, to bring Christian light into the heart of our Europe. At their head was Columban. Their native place was Ireland,—green Erin,—that has since, in its relations both of church and of state, been so dependent. First they came to Bangor, in Wales, to the convent presided over by the noble Comgall. Then crossing the channel, they traversed France to Wasgau, where they settled. Driven, then, through their zeal for what was good, they turned to the Alemanni of the south. The first attempt by them at evangelizing eastern Switzerland was made at Tuggen, at the southeastern extremity of Lake Zurich. The savage Alemanni, so degraded as

to own slaves and offer human sacrifices, clung to their idols. The zealous apostles of the unknown God met such harsh treatment that they at last changed their home to Lake Constance. There they pushed on their work, but were again met with violence for their zeal in putting down idolatry and wickedness. Columban then, with most of his company, climbed the Alps to cross into Italy. Gall, one of the best loved disciples, already a man advanced in years, preferred to remain behind. Unwillingly he obtained Columban's consent, his state of health compelling, and was left with two younger comrades as his assistants. Gall regained his health in a residence in Arbon, on Lake Constance, in old time the seat of a Roman colony. His home was with a Christian of that place. Then, mindful of his vow and his consecrated life, he sought some spot where he might establish the gospel, and find him a residence. From his host, who was a great huntsman, and well acquainted with the Alps, he heard of a little plain, six miles south of Arbon, surrounded by gentle declivities, which rose away towards the Alps of Appenzell and the clear water-fall of the Steinach. He thought this place would suit his purposes. He went thither, as nearly as can be reckoned, in the year 614. He was over sixty when he first found this spot, with which his name is associated. The place is shown, even now, near the south side of the valley, where Gall, caught by a thorn bush, fell down, and though wearied, still full of his great purpose, cried out, "Here is my abode; here will I rest."

Found what is
now St. Gall.

Of Gall's lineage there is nothing known. He is made of royal descent in legends. His name indicates his connection with a Gallic ancestry. For his age, he was well educated, as were his comrades, especially versed in the Scriptures and church literature. He was not fluent in the language of his new country, yet spoke Latin, which was then the language of science and the church through the West, even with men that had no intercourse with Rome.

Gall and his friends builded a cabin, and obtained their subsistence out of the forests. The land he chose may have been touched before this by rays of Christianity, but it had no pure fountain of the Word of God in it, no life devoted to the saving of souls, and no divine sanctuary. Now it had those whose lives were given to severe and disinterested labor, to beneficence and prayer. Who does not recognize a deep and consoling truth in the legends, which relate how they slew serpents and dragons, the symbols of evil spirits; tamed bears, and made them of service; cured the leprous and the possessed; and founded a church and monastery? The cloister of St. Gall was really founded some scores of years after his death, his disciples adopting the rules of the Benedictines. Before this it was named Gall's cell, yet possibly was even then under some monastic discipline. Gall and the brethren dwelt together in four huts, called to prayer and labor by a bell which is still preserved. They

taught and practiced agriculture and the Christian religion. Some individuals of the region possibly joined their company; others came from Scotland. When the Scotch once learned the way, they poured in reinforcements for many a year. They spread over Germany, as far even as Vienna! The life and soul of the whole enterprise was Gall. He traveled through the country, and, wherever he found the beginnings of churches, brought them into union one with another. Prudent and devoted, he gained the respect of all that were inclined to religion. There had before been bishops in Constance and in Chur, but they had been little known. Gall now connected these two churches with his cloister. The quiet, unobtrusive worker became further known by the zeal, faith, and purity of his disciples. He was seen to achieve more than ever had the bishops. He was solicited to become the bishop of Constance. He refused, preferring to remain where he had first begun his labors. He proposed one of his pupils, his assistant John, in Grabs, who was accordingly made the bishop, Gall installing him, and preaching his ordination sermon. He spoke it in Latin, a friend standing by him translating it into German. One of the sermons of Gall is preserved in the archives of St. Gall. It was preached under similar circumstances with the one named. It has often been printed in historical works, and once translated into German, though not very accurately. It tells the story of the Old and New Testament, exhibits Christ's salvation in its relation to the lives of his hearers, and closes with admonition and benediction. Every sermon then needed to include as much as possible of the essentials of Christianity, for preaching was seldom heard, and the churches were very far apart. Gall lived till over ninety, a hale old man. The Lord did not forsake his servant. Having made him a pillar of his church, He kept him strong and abiding. When the aged man was in his ninety-fifth year (640) he went upon a journey to Arbon, to a Christmas celebration. Immediately afterwards he was seized with the illness which ended his life. He fell asleep in the place where he had formed his resolve to abide in the country and establish a centre of religion. His remains were carried by his disciples to his cell, in sadness. Above his grave rose the school to which he had given the last thirty years of his life, with ever advancing prosperity. Gall's cell was the home of knowledge, the fruitful mother of religious institutions, a school that sent out a long succession of renowned and useful leaders and princes of the German church.¹ Shaken many a time by severe

¹ When the abbots of St. Gall became princes and warriors, the city tried to shake off their rule; finally, it accepted the gospel as preached in the Reformation. The convent (1531), after severe conflicts, became Romish, but at the close of the last century went down, chiefly through the willfulness of the last abbot. City and convent remain as memorials of the men from Erin, who rose as morning stars of the gospel over benighted Alemannia. So does the land around, with the gospel preached in hills and valleys, with religious institutions ancient and modern, all maintaining and extending the blessings of Christianity.

It is a very notable fact that the first bishop of St. Gall, when his installation was celebrated heartily by the Protestant as well as the Catholic citizens, declared, "Let brotherly

tempests, from the Hungarians down to the later Franks, its Christian light was never extinguished. Now the cloister overlooks one of the most industrious and flourishing towns of Switzerland. It has given the name of Gall to both the city and the canton of which it is the capital. Thus the stranger from the far West, the apostle of Christianity, has received honor. He has become to the people of the land a saint and a father. — J. D. R.

LIFE XII. BONIFACE OF GERMANY.

A. D. 680 ?—A. D. 755. BRITISH LEADER, — GERMANY.

AMONG the fathers of our Christianity, whose names and graves are ever to be cherished, is the great “apostle of the Germans.” The eleven hundredth anniversary of his death has already been celebrated. The retrospect of his life, creator or restorer, as he was, of our people, will unfold to us the vital connection of Germany with Christianity. He saw the great need of his kinsfolk, and never let it out of his mind. He made everything bend to his great aims. Happily, he was aided by a succession of events that crowned his work with blessing. Before him evangelists had come to us out of Britain; they were foremost in the vineyard, smoothing the rough ground for the gentle precious sowing of the seeds of love. In their home the tide of religious life, through British influence, was rising. With new force it had been spreading living influences abroad. Still it grew more full of life at home, and as the church now covered Britain, its energy overflowed, seeking out new channels in foreign countries. Then it was that there proceeded from her the “apostle of the Germans.”

The land to which he was called had been preparing. No people, if we may venture to speak confidently, had such natural or moral vocation for Christianity as the Germans. Nor had they at any former time been more fitted for a mighty work of the Spirit, which should establish the church on a national foundation. The Frankish empire, the heir of Roman power, was rising through the heroic Carlovingsians out of the low estate into which it had been brought by former rulers. The separated members of the Germanic people were uniting. Charles Martel pushed on this work with great energy. As far as his arm went, there was a field for the preaching of the gospel. While the state was intent

love continue and abound; may the only distinction between the two confessions be shown by emulation in good and Christian deeds.” This desire seemed fulfilled as long as bishop Peter Miner lived. After his death (1863), matters were changed. Where Gall’s cell once stood is a place of conflict for and against Rome. None know how the party strife will result. Yet let Catholics and Evangelicals keep alive the memory of the Irish evangelists.

Whoever wishes to know what a great German genius thought of Gall and his work, let him read Herder’s *Die Fremdlinge*.

upon its aims, and the ways of attaining them, there was danger of the church becoming subject to them, imbibing a very different spirit from her right and true one. Hence the call, not only for new creation and the turning of valleys of dead bones into a living harvest, but of collecting the separated and scattered parts into one body. The "apostle of the Germans" was chosen for this twofold mission.

Winfred, as he was called by Anglo-Saxons, or Boniface, as he was named by his brethren and the pope, received the former name when baptized, the latter for the first time (so far as known) in a papal decree of the year 719. He has verified both names. Through war (*wyn*) he reached peace (*fred*). He was also a victorious warrior, and a benefactor (*bonifacius*) of his people and his times. He was born (680 or 682) in Kyrton, in Devonshire, in the kingdom of Wessex. His family was noble and perhaps princely. He early indicated his future vocation. His father, entertaining thoughts other than his own, had intended him to be the heir of his worldly power and possessions. He soon was taught that God's thoughts are not as ours, and that we cannot oppose the divine plans for our loved ones. The boy was scarce four years old when, according to the custom, the clergy on their circuits came as visitors to his father's house. From the devout conversation of these worthy and venerable men many a fruitful seed fell into the receptive mind of the child, who, in his fancy, embraced henceforth the clerical calling. What looked like sport in the child became serious. The boy insisted on being a minister. The father saw the ardent desire rise in his son's mind with regret, and set himself against it. But either from a severe illness, of which he scarce recovered, or seeing a divine decree in the strong inclination, or possibly hoping that the boy's young, joyous mind would soon tire of the narrow cloister life, he gave his consent. The child when seven years old went to the convent of Exeter (then Adescanaster or Eidechsenburg), and when fourteen to the little convent of Nutschalling (Hautscelle or Nusschaale), in Hampshire, to learn the higher branches. He soon distinguished himself by his meekness, as well as his spirit and talent, and became a teacher of those younger. When (710) he took the vows of priesthood, a little over thirty years of age, he signalized himself, on the occasion of a conference of the clergy, by such genius and eloquence that he was recommended and chosen for deputy to the archbishop of Canterbury, to compose a strife between him and king Ina of Wessex. The result procured him high esteem; no doubt it also contributed essentially to the enlargement of his field of vision, and turned his eyes to the church's condition beyond his own country. Already the thought of going to the Continent as an ambassador of the gospel to the heathen nations was awakened in his mind. Every enticement to honor and comfort was put aside. We find him, not long after returning, declaring his

Boyhood in England.

Mission to Holland.

firm purpose to try a mission among the Frisians. The difficulties surrounding it, which he well knew, only roused him the more. The chief of the tribe, Radbod, was a bitter foe of Christianity. Though dependent in a measure on Pepin of Heristal, he came, after the latter's death, into complete independence, for Charles Martel for a moment had lost power by a bloody overthrow.

Winfred's first journey to Friesland (715) took place just at this period. Already the Frankish bishops Amandus and Eligius, and the English monks Wigbert and Willibrord, had done work there. Utrecht already had a bishop. But after fruitless delay, without accomplishing anything, he came back in late autumn (717) to Nutschalling. The next autumn (718) he went to Gaul, and in the winter of the same year, with several newly won comrades, to Rome, there to take counsel with the pope (Gregory Second) over his future ministry. He received a friendly reception, a letter of recommendation from Daniel of Winchester, the bishop of his cloister, preparing his way. With a commission from the pope, in which he is for the first time called Boniface, he purposed going to the pagan portion of the Frankish empire, the Ripuarians, east of the Rhine, and their neighbors the Thuringians. This plan he carried out. On his way to Thuringia, through Bavaria, he found the results of earlier Christian doctrine, but in general the ground was unappropriated. He employed his first journey to acquaint himself with the situation, and the peculiar popular dialects. Then he went to Utrecht, where he stayed till 723, and by Trier to Hesse, where he founded the convent of Amanaburg (or Amöneburg), as the centre of the German mission. The same summer (723) he went again to Rome at the call of the pope, passing through east France and Burgundy. He accepted then (November 30th) the office of bishop. This appeared possibly a requisite for his usefulness, but it served to bring all his work into a very close relation to the papacy.¹

The outward consideration enjoyed by Winfred on this journey (secured him by an autograph safe-conduct from Charles Martel), valuable as it was, could not console him for the want of genuine Christian belief and spiritual life, both at the court and among the clergy. Discipline and piety were almost gone. Rude military exercises and hunting sports took the place of quiet labor and care of souls; the church was degraded into a political machine. Winfred poured out the deep complaints of his burdened soul in letters to noble friends, especially the bishop of Winchester. He had not only "fightings without and fears within,

¹ He adopted a written creed, and took an oath of homage, that "he would remain by God's help in the unity of the Catholic faith, would never consent to aught that opposed the oneness of the church, but would prove in every way his faith and his agreement with the pope and his successors, and the papal church, to which God had given the power to bind and to loose." Thus, in accordance with the spirit of the Roman church, the purity of doctrine was subordinated to the oneness of the church; the unity of the church was not derived in strict gospel fashion out of the purity of doctrine.

but the sorest opposition from false priests and hypocrites, who opposed God, lost their own souls, and corrupted the people by their scandals and errors." He returned to his settlement at Amöneburg, ^{First years in Germany.} in Hesse. Here he found, also, that the seed sown had taken no deep root, and that his anxiously prepared ground was overrun by pagan weeds. He resolved "to lay the axe at the roots of the ancient tree of superstition." There was an old oak at Geismar, raised to Thor; on this he lifted his axe with sharp strokes; his disciples imitated him. Then it is said a storm arose, took the top of the tree, and, as if sent from on high, rent it asunder into four pieces. Over the fallen oak, out of which, to the amazement of its pagan devotees, there came no avenging spirits, he raised the cross, while out of its wood he builded the chapel of St. Peter's.

In the year 725, Winfrid turned again to Thuringia. The only signs of Christian religion were in the south, near Würzburg. Wanting a base of operations and a defense against pagan attacks, he builded the convent of Ohrdruf. By steady, zealous effort this grew to be the centre from which went out a new spiritual life. Winfrid, till now, had been left to pray and toil almost alone. He was constrained to cry to the Lord of the harvest to send forth more laborers. He had never given up his relations to Britain, though the joy of beholding his fatherland had never been his, after his first brief return. He now received thence ^{Reinforced from England.} a host of assistants, men and women. Their self-sacrificing spirit, so different from that of the Frankish clergy, their life of devotion and study, such as was found then in the great English cloisters, especially fitted them to cultivate the hard soil of Germany. Nor were they simply helps to Winfrid's mission, but also dear friends and trusted comrades in joy and in sorrow. Those devout, enthusiastic women, toiling in their quiet ways, brought a blessing with them, and left memories dear to history. It was good judgment in Winfrid when he gave them an especial place by the cradle of German Christianity.

The position of Winfrid was not affected by Gregory Third taking the place of Gregory Second on the latter's death. Winfrid was not only confirmed in his place, where he certainly could show abundant success, but was given the robe of an archbishop, so as to appoint bishops over his newly acquired churches. He had no particular city, at first, as a residence. His field grew; he had all the German people east of the Rhine for his territory. He builded that year two new churches, one at Fritzlar, the other probably at Amöneburg. He then turned his attention to Bavaria. There had some churches been added here to those of ancient times; but clerical life was degraded; there was no unity of discipline or worship. At first he designed only to find out how things were; he had a plan to be worked out afterwards.

In 738 he went again to Rome, the third time. Hereafter his church

work takes a new shape. While he was sowing the seed in Hesse and Thuringia for thirteen years, he had to do mostly with individuals. Now he toiled to gather the scattered people into one flock, and unite them into a single efficient church. His first work had been evangelizing, his next work was organizing. His preference was for a hierarchy. Making a longer stay in Rome than before, with the help of Gregory, he matured his plans of working. Then he went out (739) as a legate, an immediate representative of the church's visible head, fully commissioned. In Bavaria, which he first entered, duke Odilo gave him especial favor, not out of love for the gospel, but from political designs. A purely German church organization seemed the best means of securing independence of the empire of the Franks. Winfrid rid Bavaria of unworthy clergy, giving her the four bishoprics of Salzburg, Freisingen, Re-
gensburg, and Passau. He extended like measures to Organizes the German church. Thuringia and Hesse. For the latter he gave a bishop to Buraburg; for the former, to Wurzburg and Eichstadt in the south, and to Erfurt in the north. The last was his own place of residence. His long matured plans were not shaken by the death (741) of Charles and Gregory Third. If he lost with Rome, he gained with Carloman, who devoted himself to the church, and ruled in person over the scenes of Winfrid's labor. The latter soon had a chance fully to repay his powerful patron. The dukes of Bavaria and Alemannia planned, with the aid and consent of the pope, to divide the Frankish empire. Though they were beaten in severe battles, the victory could not be followed up on account of the other embarrassments of the sons of Charles. Winfrid, meanwhile, stood by Carloman, though the pope took the other side. The king and the preacher in common resisted the dismemberment of Germany. The effort that would make an independent Germany, socially and politically, was put forth by Winfrid for sake of the church also, to establish her rules, customs, and constitution. At the bottom of their efforts was the deep, perhaps unconscious, sense of the people's need. Only by unity and independence could Germany be saved; without them, she would bow to Roman or Slavonian violence. While Winfrid was promoting the equal interests of state and church in Germany, he did not oppose a single, strong church, such as was wanted at Rome, if it was of the right kind.

Winfrid found other ways to cleanse and strengthen Christian belief and life. One was the constitution of synods. The yearly provincial synods brought the refractory clergy to terms, elevated the power of Winfrid, purified manners, removed lingering heathenism, and established a sure discipline over the entire people. This was not true of the clergy the other side of the Rhine. They tried to maintain independence even when he acted in concert with Rome. He disposed of the disputes that arose about his teachings (on predestination, etc.), and about church gov-

ernment, not at the synods but by decisions from Rome. He had as opponents Clemens, superior to him in Christian knowledge but inferior in wisdom and conduct, and the Frank Adalbert, a forerunner, it seems, of the Mystics. Obedience to the Roman church won the day. If Winfrid favored it from other than Scriptural reasons, he none the less was the blessed means of strengthening the tender German church by a compact constitution. He was helped by the movements and successes of the civil power. It was no empty coincidence that the very year (732) he established the German church, Charles the Hammerer broke the power of the Arabs, then threatening southwest Europe with Islam. When Charles's son Carloman resigned in favor of his brother Pepin, and, disquieted in conscience in the midst of the not very honorable wars upon the Alemanni, retired to a convent, and Pepin, putting to Rome the question, Were it not better for the church in her need, if the man with the kingly power had also the kingly title? obtained the desired answer in the affirmative; there was further help given to Winfrid. For the government, seeking its authority from the church, had to acknowledge an obligation to promote religious objects. No doubt Winfrid was led to lean on a human arm, by employing political aid, and was drawn away from complete trust in the church's invisible Lord and ruler. Yet he achieved the great service of laying the foundation for a religious renovation of the Frankish empire.

Winfrid gave a keystone to his church organization by establishing metropolitans. He fixed and defined the relations of archbishops and bishops. Having no residence as archbishop, Winfrid selected Mainz, after his plan to choose Cologne had failed. Thus with Mainz and thirteen bishoprics, he completed the edifice of the German church. To extend the advantages of this arrangement to future times, he settled on his successor in his lifetime. He satisfied his heart's desire, with the aid of pope Zachary, by electing Lull, his most gifted and trusted pupil, in the spring of 754.

There was not to shine on our nation's apostle such an evening as he had dreamed of enjoying, in his favorite convent of Fulda, in the midst of East Franks, Thuringians, Hessians, and Saxons. He had received for Fulda, from the Frankish chiefs, great gifts of land in the beech-woods of Hesse, in the centre of a wilderness on Fulda River. There, through the agency of his friend and pupil, Sturm, a noble youth who had joined him in Bavaria, studied in Fritzlar, and lived a hermit life in Hersfeld, Winfrid had reared a cloister and school, under even stricter rules than those of Benedict. They are proven by history to have brought blessings down on succeeding generations. "This place," wrote Winfrid in 751, "I have obtained lawfully from devout men and have dedicated to the Saviour. Here, after a few more days, I will attend to my weary body, and here I will be buried." But his longing for rest was not so

strong as for the fulfillment of the desire of his youth. He returned to his mission of forty years ago to Friesland, which was not Christianized, save in the vicinity of Utrecht. Laying his shroud in his chest of books, foreboding and, as some say, wishing his death, he set out, and with his pupil Eoban, bishop of Utrecht, preached the ^{Journeys to his death.} gospel, at first with success. But when he would have gone on to Dokkum, and was waiting on the bank of a little river, to give confirmation to a company of baptized pagans, he was fallen upon (June 5, 755) in his tent, by a hostile horde, and, forbidding his lay comrades to use their swords, was slain, along with his clerical companions. The body of the old man of seventy-five was brought afterwards by the monks to Fulda.

In his life of outward excitement Winfrid was not wanting in quiet within, in fatherly care for the growth of his converts, nor in searching the Scriptures, his dearest occupation. He recommended the Bible urgently, for, said he, "it conveys our souls, without risk of shipwreck in the storm, to the shore of the blessed Paradise, to the eternal joys of heaven." Not afraid of giving a sharp, severe warning to repent, to his king, Ethibald, he said, "How unbecoming that ye change this image of God, formed in you, to the image of the devil, by your serving your lusts." Yet Winfrid did not exalt himself, but kept a lively sense of his own weakness and sinfulness, as he writes to an English abbeſs: "Pray for me, that He who from his lofty place looks upon the lowly may forgive me my sins, that so the word of my mouth may have glad entrance, and Christ's glorious gospel run among the heathen, and be glorified."

One love and one care marked this man's whole life, full as it was of noble thought and genius, true faith and profound humility. He would toil to bring in God's kingdom. A rare instrument in God's hands, he pursued this object with unwearied courage and unclouded vision to his life's close. When our Romanist brethren exalt him as a pillar of the papal hierarchy, they simply ascribe to him human weakness, in that he, like others, was devoted to the external institutions of his time. To evangelical Germans he is the divine agent who, by strict enforcement of laws and churchly rules, opposed pagan and immoral influences, and preserved the first tender germs of our Christianity. We honor him as the founder of German nationality, the restorer of the German church. Let us gladly and thankfully obey the command, "Remember them . . . who have spoken unto you the word of God: whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation!" — F. L.

LIFE XIII. ANSGAR OF SCANDINAVIA

A. D. 800 ? — A. D. 865. FRANK LEADER, — SCANDINAVIA.

IN Denmark in 1826, and in Sweden in 1830, a millennial celebration took place, in memory of the holy Anschar or Ansgar. The date was fixed by the time when the "apostle of Scandinavia" first set foot on those countries. Ansgar has been called "The Ideal of a Missionary." The title is justified by his personal and public character. As with many another Christian leader, the childhood of Ansgar was prophetic; his manhood kingly; his old age and closing hours, and indeed his entire life, priestly in its character.

His childhood was made prophetic by the memory of a pious mother; by visions and revelations late and early. We may think A prophet in youth. as we will of them, but they are all related to the Scriptures, in which he was faithfully taught by his mother till her death, which took place when he was hardly five years old. She lived again for her boy. For, in one of his visions, the very first, it is told how he imagined himself in a marsh; near by lay a pleasant plain upon which he saw a company of holy women coming, among them his mother. He was asked by one of them, whom he took for the Virgin Mary, whether he would like to come to his mother. He then formed the idea of putting away the earthly vanity and childish folly to which he was given. Whether this occurred before or after his entrance into the school to which his father sent him, he took it literally for his guidance, and was in heart an ascetic, even in childhood. Yet his soul was not established in the faith, as it became through the death of Charles the Great. For the latter, whom he had opportunity to see, he had an unbounded admiration. They said that, in his heaven, Charles took the place of a father by the side of his mother. He was so overcome by the death of the emperor, along with the recollections of his mother, and of Mary's admonition, that he gave himself wholly to the Lord's service. His experience, the following Pentecost, made him date his conversion from that period. From an abyss of woes, which he could liken only to the pains of hell, he was lifted to a summit of happiness, and filled with indescribable sweetness and joy by the forgiveness of his transgressions. The boy was already an ascetic of the order of Augustine.

During his youth Ansgar was a student in old Corbey, in Picardy. Thence he was transplanted to new Corbey, in Westphalian Saxony, to be a teacher. He was at once chief teacher in the convent-school and chief preacher in the convent church. Every duty and office laid on him he undertook with a sense of unworthiness, the teacher's office as much as that of an archbishop. But when assured in mind he accepted

a vocation joyfully, and did promptly and bravely whatever was required. His start as a champion of mission-work was given by a war. The king of Denmark was driven from his country, and came to Louis the emperor for help. This was promised him, on condition that he and his embrace the Christian religion. Harold assented, and was baptized. When the question rose, who should go with him to confirm him in the faith, as one and another declined the dangerous office, the universal thought turned to young Ansgar. The good abbot Walo declared that none was so fitted for such a vocation by a believing, godly life. Ansgar said he was ready. His zeal roused some to dissuade and others to slander him. He remained unmoved. His steadfastness excited Autbert, the second in office in the convent, unexpectedly to go with him. The emperor gave them good advice and Christian admonition for their journey. They went to Cologne first, and there were given a splendid boat by bishop Hadebold, who conceived a great interest in their enterprise. They at last reached Friesland, and landed on a shore which the emperor had given Harold. Here Ansgar began his mission, Arrives in Denmark. and so successfully that from time to time many pagans accepted baptism. A school was opened, which king Harold supplied with scholars. But now a new direction was given Ansgar's effort. An embassy, possibly in secret, came to the emperor from Sweden, with a petition for Christian teachers, for many in their country had a longing for the Christian religion. Walo, when consulted, again pointed to Ansgar as the only suitable man for the Swedes, as for the Danes. Receiving the summons home, Ansgar, after assuring himself again in prayer, entered on the new undertaking. He was given, by the abbot, for his comrade, a venerable brother of the cloister named Witmar, while there was sent to Harold, in the stead of Autbert, who had died, one Gislemar, "a man tried in faith and in good works."

Ansgar's journey to Sweden prospered, even though with a peculiar beginning. Pirates deprived him of ship and property. He was put on the shore of Sweden utterly destitute. The others advised return. Ansgar's assurance of soul, received by him once for all, made him confident that the affair, in spite of all obstacles, must have a prosperous issue. So they traveled a good part of their remaining journey on foot, and at last came to a principal city of Sweden, named Birca (that is, Arrives in Birca, Sweden. Haven; and it is disputed whether it was in north Sweden, where various places are guessed, or in south Sweden; the latter being more likely, and the place perhaps Kalmar). And now Ansgar found his hope justified, for the king of the country, Biörn, taking counsel with his servants and judges, granted him by law the liberty of preaching. This was very welcome to the many Christian captives there that were hoping to receive the holy sacrament. It appears that the soil of that country was well prepared for the reception of the gospel. Northmen

had been obliged, in order to receive baptism, to travel to the "Holy Dorstat" (probably Wyk-by-Duursteede, on the Rhine, near Utrecht, Holland), or to Hamburg. This want the embassy named above desired to obviate. "Many Swedes," it declared, "were baptized in Dorstat or Hamburg." The first great result of Ansgar's work in Birca was the conversion of the governor Hergeir, the chief counselor and most trusted friend of king Biörn. He received baptism and "became strong in the Christian faith." There may also be mentioned Frideborg, a wealthy widow, who proved a genuine Dorcas, among early Swedish Christians. It is easy to see that much was accomplished for the establishment and spread of the church in Sweden, in Ansgar's first year and a half in that country. The emperor, rejoiced at the results, set up an archbishopric of the north at Hamburg, and had Ansgar solemnly ordained archbishop for that great district, reaching from Hamburg to the Polar Ocean. At this time Louis gave the Hamburg cathedral Türholt (probably a country property) in Gaul, and afterwards Welanao in Denmark, as an endowment. For the advance of his mission, Ansgar made frequent visits to the last place and to lower Denmark, and won many to Christianity. For his vicar and bishop in Sweden he ordained Gautbert, now called Simon, a relative of bishop Ebbo, who is said to have attempted a mission in Denmark some time before Ansgar. Simon met a favorable reception from king and people, and moved them to build a church. But after a little, great adversities came in the north as well as the south. Hamburg was ravaged with fire by the pirates. Church, cloister, and library, all, except a few relics, vanished in flames. Ansgar found himself destitute of everything save his trust in the Lord. The church in Sweden met a still sorer disaster. Paganism, which had been obliged to yield a little way to Christianity, grew furious and violent, took Simon and expelled him from the country, and killed his nephew Nitard, who thus was the first of Swedish martyrs. The church dispersed, remaining long years without a pastor. Nevertheless, Hergeir, as long as he lived, did the work of an evangelist, supported by a hermit Ardgar, sent to him by Ansgar.

Early in 854 (possibly sooner), Ansgar undertook hopefully his second journey to Sweden, with a letter from the Danish king Eric. He was encouraged thereto by Simon, who did not trust himself for the undertaking. Ansgar ventured alone, an overwhelming persuasion coming to him from Isaiah's words respecting the "islands," the more convincing because the belief then was that "the whole northern country consisted of islands;" also from Jeremiah's words: "He shall make thee glorious," which seemed a renewed pledge of the martyr's crown. He went with good heart. All his friends in Birca expected the very worst from the pagans, but advised him to ask the noble king Olaf to be his guest. He followed the advice, and made

Victory in
Sweden.

such presents also as he was able. The king summoned the people of his kingdom to two "Things," or royal assemblies. According to pagan usage, the lot was to decide; and in both places it favored the free preaching of the gospel. Thereupon, the aid that the God of the Christians has often given was extolled by one of the pagans with great eloquence. The result was beyond all that Ansgar, so strong in prayer and faith, was able to ask or conceive. The tree that is to live long grows slowly; the tree of Christianity had taken firm root in Sweden. What Ansgar's first journey began, his second established. He did not, it seems, stay long in Sweden. He brought to the king a nephew of Simon, named Heribert, to preach and give the sacraments. The king gave the latter a place for the building of a church (the former one having probably been destroyed in the insurrection). Ansgar gave him another for a parsonage. New ministers came from time to time, Ansfrid, Rimbert, and others. In 858 the diocese of Bremen was joined to that of Hamburg. The ship given by Hadebold could be called the forerunner of a greater vessel, the church of Bremen, which the archbishop of Cologne gave to Ansgar. Those who succeeded Ansgar were called archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen. They were not all like him in his humility and unselfishness.

By these qualities Ansgar distinguished himself, and exercised an influence which we have called royal upon people and princes. We have seen how he was honored by the latter; and we <sup>Royal in man-
hood.</sup> note that not only was he given rich presents and choice testimonials, as when king Eric wrote to the Swedish Olaf that he "had never known as good a man, or found such fidelity in any;" but he was also more than once intrusted with the making of their treaties. He did not lack the temptation of pride from these honors, and especially from the credit given him for sanctity, but like a man he overcame them. The sackcloth which he always wore would not have proven effectual, if his earnest prayers had not been added. If half his life was a fast-day, his whole life was a prayer without ceasing. In his "home of peace" (a little cabin), he employed himself copying the Scriptures, writing books, especially his comments on the Psalms, in the form of prayers (called his *Pigmenta*). But he communicated them, as also his own revelations, only in confidence to trusted friends, that there might no thorn of temptation rise out of them. For his many difficulties he derived maxims from Job, and his favorite Martin of Tours. In his various activities, he was Paul-like, even to his working with his own hands. "He sang psalms and made nets." Thus he burdened no one; those he commissioned he instructed to do likewise. He set aside the largest part of his income for the poor, erecting for them a hospital in Bremen. Frequently, in fast-time especially, he received them at his table, and required always a table to be provided for them, on his journeys as bishop, before he would take a meal himself. A chief care of his was to free captives

and slaves, of which we have many instances, one especially touching, when he freed the son of a widow sold away into Sweden, and brought him back to the arms of his mother. There was a royal gentleness in his whole demeanor, and a royal power, too, when it was needed.

When the time of his "home-going" approached, he was troubled most by the fact that the hope of the fulfillment of the promise he had of martyrdom was taken away. But he was comforted even about this. He arranged with the utmost concern for the establishment of the archbishopric and the northern mission.¹ The day he had desired for his death, he observed as a day of preparation for his departure, gave a feast to his clergy and to the poor, and had public worship and preaching. He counseled his friends to serve God faithfully, and left them his blessing. Then he bade that all with one voice should chant for him the "Te Deum" of Ambrose, and the Athanasian creed. The next morning he took the sacrament, prayed for his enemies, and repeated the penitential Psalms of David, especially these words: "Into thy hands do I commit my spirit, for Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord." When he could no longer say the words, he asked a brother to read them aloud to him, as long as he continued to breathe. Thus he fell asleep. He was buried with great solemnity and many tears. This was in 865. His body still lies in St. Peter's Church in Bremen. The letter "S." which was placed the very day after his death upon his grave, by Rimbart, his most loved disciple, his successor in office, and his affectionate biographer, remains indestructible, when so many thousand times the S (saint) which popes have put on graves has vanished.—C. W. S.

¹ How wide the results of the spirit and labors of Ansgar, cannot be determined. But none can doubt their permanency. We note an example. It were remarkable if none of the Swedish kings that were well disposed had been fully won to Christianity. We may hope that Olaf was; for he promised Ansgar that he would "in every way extend and strengthen Christianity, and abide in the faith as a servant of the Lord;" and we can scarce think that this promise was made by one not a Christian. This being so, we reject the received idea that Olaf who was baptized about A. D. 1000 was the first Christian king of Sweden. The triumph of king Olaf of Birca over Apulia, which was won after some merchants in the army, reminding the people of the teaching of the holy Ansgar, exhorted them to courage and trust in God, and the resolve of all on returning home to honor Christ as strong and mighty above all gods, is an undoubted proof of an extended result to Ansgar's mission. So is the deep root which Christianity took in Schleswig, Ribe, and several places in Denmark. To pass by other proofs, "the wise Christian" was honored by the northern pagans indirectly as well as directly. His memory is connected especially with Ansgar's church in Bremen, is perhaps revived in the name of Ansgar, the first archbishop in Lund, is celebrated yearly (February 3d), and is perpetuated in our days in a multitude of Ansgarian writings and mission associations. Lately there went a ship out of Sweden that was named Ansgar.

LIFE XIV. *CYRIL, APOSTLE OF SLAVONIA.*

A. D. 815 ?—A. D. 869. GREEK LEADER, — SLAVONIA.

A MILLENNIUM was completed recently (1863), dating from the appearance of the two men whom the great Slavonian family honors as its apostles. Their history, after many researches, is still not complete, owing to the few sources of certain information, for the legends of them are all more or less doubtful. They were brothers, the older named Constantine (afterwards Cyril), the younger Methodius. Coming from the flourishing trading town of Thessalonica, where there were many Slavonic elements, they were most probably descendants of a Grecized Slavonic family. Their father, it is said, was a nobleman, Leo. The dates of their births are unknown. They gave themselves to be monks, in a cloister on Mount Olympus, when Ignatius was patriarch of Constantinople (846–857). The Greek cloisters were centres of knowledge. Their ascetic contemplative existence was counted the true philosophy. Cyril was especially learned. He took part early in theological discussions, one in particular against Photius, the chief imperial secretary, and after 857 universal patriarch. He opposed the latter's theory of a two-fold spirit in man, the rational and the irrational. For his learning, and his monastic eminence, he was named the "Philosopher." Methodius was more of a practical turn; yet it was Cyril who went first as a missionary.

The Chazars, a Finnish-Tartar nation on the Sea of Azof, had by intercourse with Constantinople gained some knowledge of Christianity. Many already were baptized. They were also sought as proselytes by the Jews and Moslems. But those who consulted their nation's higher interests, and who wanted a firm alliance with Greece, applied to Michael Third (860) to send them a teacher able to instruct them in the faith of Christianity. The emperor summoned Cyril, who at once declared himself ready for the mission. He went first to Cherson, to learn there, in the neighborhood of their country, the Chazars' language. He discovered, in the course of his explorations upon an island of the Black Sea, the supposed remains of Clement of In Russia.

Rome, who was said, when exiled by Trajan, to have there died a martyr's death. After that he began his work among the Chazars, preaching and disputing, commending and maintaining Christianity. He gained many who had been pagans. He cured many of errors implanted by Jewish or Moslem teachers. On departing from the scene of a work which, though brief, was rich in its results, he, a "philosopher" indeed, refused the presents proffered him, but obtained instead the liberation of all foreign captives. With the relic-treasure he had found, Cyril came

back (862) to Constantinople. Here he lived until a new call came to him, to which, with his brother, he rendered obedience.

Among the Slavonians of the south, missionaries of the Greek church had long been laboring. The Pannonians Charlemagne had tried to convert when he conquered their land.¹ In the times of his son, Louis, the brave duke Moimir, of Moravia,² without renouncing allegiance to the emperor, subdued the petty chiefs about him, and began to lay on the north of the Danube the foundations of a great Slavic empire. He embraced Christianity. Many of his subjects followed his example. His growing power was seen by Louis, son of Charlemagne, who moved against him, and put in his place his nephew Rastiz, or Rastislaw. This prince struck for independence, and resisted every effort of Louis to subdue him. To make Slavonia independent of Germany in her church, Rastiz resolved to introduce a Slavic liturgy, and promote a Slavic literature. He had heard of the activity of Cyril in the land of the Chazars. Such a teacher, well acquainted with the Slavonians, he wished to obtain. He applied to the Greek emperor, Michael Third, who sent (863) Cyril, with his brother Methodius, "to the land of the Slavonians." Their road took them through Bulgaria, where already Greco-Slavonian missionaries were at work. Whether the brothers joined them in labors on their way through cannot be certainly recorded. In June (863), they reached duke Rastiz. He was living in his fortress of Welehrad (Devina) on the March, on whose ruins the city of Hradisch was built afterwards (1258).

Cyril and Methodius began their work zealously and wisely. The harvest was great there, and the laborers few. They first sought to gather a little group of pupils, for the sake of training native priests for the church's service. They undertook mission journeys in every direction, and taught the Moravian people in their own tongue. They opposed pagan errors, and sowed the Word. They baptized those who had been in darkness. They dedicated churches and altars. They circulated a volume of church lessons out of the Holy Scriptures, to be used in public service. These, along with a liturgy, Cyril had translated into Slavic.³ Soon a Slavonian church rose by the

In Slavic Austria.

¹ To this end Charlemagne called in the archbishop Arno, of Salzburg. Thence began the claims of the Salzburg archbishopric over Pannonia. The Moravian Slavonians, northwest of Pannonia, with their several leaders, had (803) owned the Frankish supremacy, at the Diet of Regensburg. They acknowledged a slight allegiance by yearly presents. The missions among them were carried on by certain clergy, who preached on their own account. They were from the Passau bishopric, in the Salzburg see, which claimed the neighboring Moravians. About 835, the Salzburg archbishop Adalram, as metropolitan of Passau, consecrated a church in Neutra, the first among the northwest Slavonians.

² Moravia, at the middle of the ninth century, included not only the Moravia and Silesia of to-day, but also the Hungarian Slowakei. It reached to the March, Danube, and Gran. Rastiz struck a league with the long Slavonianized Bulgarians (853), and later with the German-hating Greeks (862).

³ Probably after the Greek order, which was then as catholic as the Roman. Scholars dispute whether the characters which were introduced among the Slavonians were the so-called "Cyrillica," in which still the greater part of the separated Greeks, that is, the Rus-

untiring toil of the brothers. Differences sprang up then with priests from Germany, who used the Latin liturgy, and were deserted by the people, who did not understand it.¹ In the autumn of 867, the two brothers received a friendly invitation to Rome. Upon their arrival Adrian Second had taken office (December 14, 867). They were received with great honor, especially as they brought the relics of the holy Clement. They readily came to an understanding with the Roman bishop. He, in the spirit of his predecessor, not only took no offense at the Slavonian liturgy, but overlooked even the difference which existed between the Latins and the Greeks respecting the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit. The Greeks, and no doubt Cyril and Methodius, held that not from Father and Son, but from the Father only, the Spirit proceeded. The Roman church held the opposite, but not as a part of the creed. The main point with the pope was the extension of his hierarchy, and to this end he must tolerate the opinions of the brothers. As it was the desire of Rastiz to be independent of Germany in his church affairs, the two brothers took the office of bishop, promising fidelity to the Roman church (January 5, 869).

Constantine now took the name of Cyril (in Slavonian, Chra), by which he was henceforth exclusively known. Yet he was not to return to his new home. He died in Rome the 14th of February, 869, and was buried there on the right of the altar in the church of the Holy Clement, whose bones he had brought thither. Methodius (in Slavonian, Strachota) returned in the spring of 869, as archbishop of Moravia and Pannonia.² He did not give up the use of the Slavonian in public worship. He justified it on the ground of the national sympathy with such a service. As he raised up more and more native preachers, he proceeded to celebrate all the church services in the language of the country. Thereby the people were so greatly attracted that the priests from Salzburg, Germany, who used a foreign tongue, discovered their usefulness in Lower Slavonia at an end. About the year 877, Methodius returned from the south to the north, into Moravia, and the neighborhood of Swatopluk,

sians, Servians, and Roumanians, worship, or the "Glagolica," to which the rest hold, along with the Roman Catholic Slavonians in Istria and Dalmatia. If, as is more probable, the brothers wrote Glagolisch, the question rises, Was it an independent invention of theirs, of Constantine more especially, or found by them elsewhere and introduced into church use? In the last case, could they have brought the Glagolisch out of Bulgaria?

¹ About this time, a contest broke out between Rome and Constantinople, respecting the ecclesiastical rule over Bulgaria. It is easy to be seen that the prudent Nicholas First, informed of the successful labors of the brothers on a field of the Roman church, directed his aim at once to the ecclesiastical union of Moravia with Rome.

² He stood directly under the bishop of Rome. The Germans, dissatisfied with this politico-ecclesiastical arrangement, began war with Rastiz, but were soon forced to a disadvantageous peace. Moravia became politically and ecclesiastically independent. A quarrel then broke out in the duke's family, and Swatopluk, the ambitious nephew of Rastiz, and prince under his uncle at Neutra, joined Louis's son Carloman, secretly took his uncle prisoner, and seized his sceptre. Carloman entering Moravia, the people took arms. Swatopluk, making terms with the Moravians, dislodged the Germans, concluded a league with Borziwoi, duke of Bohemia, and forced a peace (874). Methodius, who had revered his protector, Rastiz, came into unpleasant relations with Swatopluk, and so betook himself, at the beginning of the troubles, to Pannonia, to the territory of the Slavonian duke Kocel.

the nephew of Rastiz (now ruling in his uncle's place). He there won over the young duke of Moravia (Borziwoi), and baptized him with his followers. The Slavonian apostle also succeeded in Bohemia beyond the German clergy. At the fortress of Lewy Hradec, three hours north of Prague, the duke built the first church in that land, and named it after Clement of Rome, the patron saint of the brothers. The German priests inclined duke Swatopluk against Methodius, accusing him of heresy.¹ In the year 874 they moved the duke to go in person to Rome, while they sent a double accusation against Methodius, to accomplish his deposition. They charged him with stubborn persistence in liturgical innovations and false belief respecting the Holy Spirit. He was cited to Rome (June 14, 879) by pope John Eighth, to answer. Methodius went, but obtained a decision in his favor² (June, 880). It was held no way at variance with the sound faith that he read selections from the Old and New Testament, or performed the entire service in Slavonian. For He who made the three chief tongues, the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, had made also all other languages to his praise and glory. Only the language of Western devotion should be honored to this extent, that (as is the case to-day in the Slavonian church of St. Jerome, in Rome) the gospel should be read at divine service, first in Latin, afterwards in the Slavonian; also, that when desired by the duke and his court, the service should be in Latin.³ Methodius, returning home (880), remained the acknowledged archbishop of Moravia-Pannonia. Slavonian Christianity remained distinct from the Roman.⁴ As chief pastor of that

¹ As was to be expected, the archbishop of Salzburg, supported by king Louis and duke Carloman, made a great outcry before John Eighth (pope after December, 872) over the injury to his rights in Pannonia. The pope, however, maintained the Slavonian archbishopric created by his predecessor. He procured (873) through his legate, bishop Paulus of Ancona, the recognition by Louis and Carloman of the Pannonian diocese. But at the same time he notified Methodius to abolish the singing of the mass in the barbarian, that is, the common tongue. It was to be used only in preaching. The Pannonian diocese was also given a yet greater extent, including Servia. The prince of that land, Muntimir, was asked to approve this (874).

² Methodius, in his answer respecting the procession of the Spirit from the Father, and not from the Father and the Son, asserted with entire truth that he, like the whole Roman church, had always held to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed; since in this the words "and from the Son" were wanting, so he had always sung the same without this addition, which the French-German church had taken into the creed (794). Those in Rome, as has been said above, approved the addition as a dogma, but rejected its insertion in the creed. And while this was the case Methodius could be taken as orthodox.

³ Evidently a motive of church policy led pope John to his decision. He knew that here the interest of the German church, which wanted to assert its ancient right over Moravia and Pannonia, did not agree with the interest of the Roman hierarchy. Rather Methodius and his Slavonian national church should be spared, if the latter was to be kept in connection with the papacy, and not be forced, at least as regarded Pannonia, into accord with the patriarch of Constantinople. Besides, John was then contending with the patriarch respecting Bulgaria, where Slavonian language and customs prevailed. He sought to attract this newly-Christianized country into his rule. But his endeavor would be frustrated by offending the Slavonians in adjacent Lower Pannonia, whereas by a wise indulgence of the Greek Slavonian character of that church it would be furthered.

⁴ The German party, through Swatopluk, who helped them, asked from the papacy that an Alemannian priest, named Wiching, a pupil of the convent of Reichenau, should be made a bishop in Moravian Pannonia, with a residence at Neutra. But the pope, to prevent all machinations, made him only a suffragan, subject to his archbishop in all places, according to the church law. In like manner the pope was ready to consecrate a second

great region (where there are now fifteen bishoprics) he had no metropolis, his duty calling him here and there, at one time and another. The places where he was wont to stay the longest were near the prince's residences.¹ Methodius lived his closing years in undisturbed activity. He finished his course, as is said at the end of one record, maintaining the faith and expecting the crown of righteousness. In the arms of his pupils he fell asleep, April 6, 885, and was buried in the principal church, near the ducal residence. The whole people lamented their teacher and pastor, who had become all things to all men, in order to save all. The festival of Cyril and Methodius, the glorious confessors of Christ, the apostles, bishops, and patrons of our country, has since 1380 been celebrated on the 9th of March; but at the jubilee of the one thousandth anniversary, held in 1863, in solemn form at Welhrad, in a very ancient church near the Hradisch, the same was celebrated the 5th day of July.

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suffragan for another part of the archbishopric, when one was judged necessary. The opponents of Methodius, and of a Slavonian national church, employed these measures to carry out their aim. Their representative, Wiching, so controlled the duke, through a letter forged in the interests of the German Latin party against the archbishop, that all kinds of hindrances were put in the way of the latter. Methodius appealed to Rome. John Eighth satisfied him in a reply (March 23, 881) of the sincerity of his intentions, promising to investigate and to punish the refractory Wiching, and not to suffer Methodius to fall. But before the trial could be had, John died (December, 882) and Methodius lost his supporter. Then, for political reasons, Swatopluk, who had hitherto favored the German interests against the Slavonians, became favorable to Methodius. The national interest was in the foreground. He had fallen into war with Arnulf, duke of Kärnten and Pannonia, defeated him (883), and made himself wholly independent of the German empire.

¹ In the north (Moravia), Welhrad, the fortress of Rastiz and Swatopluk; in the south (Pannonia), Mosaburg, the fortress of Kocel, in Kärnten, between Klagenfurt and Feldkirch.

THE CHURCH'S CENTRALIZATION.

PERIOD THIRD. CENTURIES XI.-XV. (OR FROM THE COMPLETION OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF THE NORTHERN NATIONS TO THE REFORMATION). DIVISIONS OF THIS PERIOD: THE ERA OF THE GREAT MEDIEVAL DOCTORS AND LEADERS, CENTURIES XI.-XIII. THE ERA OF THE "REFORMERS BEFORE THE REFORMATION," CENTURIES XIV., XV.

LIFE I. ANSELM OF ENGLAND.

A. D. 1033 ?—A. D. 1109. CLERICAL LEADER,—ENGLAND.

ABOUT the year 1030, there came a gay knight, named Gundulf, out of Lombardy, and settled in Aosta in Piedmont, wedding a virtuous maiden of that town named Ermonberga. From their marriage came, besides a daughter Richera, a son whom they named Anselm, who was destined to be a noted light in science and in the church. Even as a boy he aspired to heaven. He ascended in his dreams the loftiest pinnacle of the neighboring Alps, to visit the dwelling of the great king who, his mother told him, had his throne in heaven and ruled the world. When scarce fifteen he wanted to be a monk, and presented his request to an abbot whom he knew, but was rejected because he had not the consent of his father. The boy then prayed that he might be very sick, since thus he could have his desire, for the fashion of the day was to allow the dying such a request, since monkhood was considered to be a door to heaven. Anselm did become sick. Still the abbot would not receive him. The youth now flew to the other extreme. Leaving books and devotions he took to knight-hood and grew bewitched of the world. Only his mother could curb his passions; soon he lost her, and "now the frail bark of his spirit was driven without an anchor over the world's ocean." Then there was awaked by God "an inner warfare." At variance with his father, and unable to remain near him, he decided to leave his home. He wandered three years through France and Burgundy. At last he reached Avranches in Normandy. Here he heard of the renown attained by the Norman Lanfranc, in the neighboring convent of Bec, as a teacher of theology. His old love for learning was aroused. He went to Bec, and zealously applied himself to books. His studies brought him into contact with monasticism. Its self-denial was nothing, he thought, to him who already had to forego so much. But where

Resides in Nor-
mandy.

should he live as a monk? In Bec? There he could not approach Lanfranc. He could still less distinguish himself in Cluny, or any other noted cloister, since these were already perfect; for he was thinking only of a grand field of activity. He was wont to say afterwards, when he thought of that period, "I was not yet tamed; the world in me was not dead." When he considered the question earnestly, he said, "How can he be a monk who only wants to satisfy his thirst for honor? Is not humility the first need of Christ's disciple, and where can I better practice this virtue than in Bec, with Lanfranc over me?" So he resolved to abide there. He entered the cloister when in his twenty-seventh year (1066).

Bec was then a most noted institution. It had been founded twenty years before by a Norman knight, Herluin, who, in the midst of a brilliant career at court, was taken with a solicitude for the saving of his soul, and who knew no better way than this of satisfying the craving of his heart. With two comrades of like convictions, he began to build a cloister on his estate of Bonneville, though without any acquaintance with the monastic life. In the deep decline of the convents in his country, he could find none to take as a model. He hence established his own as well as he knew how. Nevertheless his rule was quite like that which had been introduced by Benedict, and revived of late in the "Congregation of Cluny." Three years later Herluin removed his cloister, that had suffered by fire, to another place, by the brook (bec) which gave it its name, in the valley of the Rille. Here, in 1042, a helper came to him, who by the learning he brought gave the convent a new renown. This was Lanfranc, formerly teacher of law in Pavia, and student at the same time of logic and philosophy. After leaving his native city (1040) he had taught in Avranches. He was led on from philosophy to theology, and to the knowledge that till now his efforts had been of little value. So (1042) he suddenly left Avranches to find a place where he might live in calm contemplation of the things of God. In his journey he came one evening near the Rille, where he was overtaken by robbers who stripped him to his skin, and tied him to a tree, at some distance from the road. He had to stay in this painful position through a long night. His pain was the greater since he found to his dismay that with all his learning he could not console himself in prayer or in holy song. When he was released the next day by some passing travelers, whom he reached with his outcries, he inquired of them for the poorest cloister that they knew anywhere around. Received into it, he spent the next three years in complete seclusion, foregoing his science and devoting himself to religious exercises in order to learn how to pray. When he thought the conceit of his heart was subdued, he ventured to appear again as a teacher, and by the wish of Herluin, who named him his prior (1046), to set up a school, which soon grew to be a chief seat of learning, thronged by pupils from all the land.

Into this school and convent entered Anselm. He so soon partook of the thought and feeling there, that when Lanfranc (1063) was called to be abbot of a new cloister in Caen, he was chosen by Herluin to take his place as prior. In this office he was active in advancing the convent, in both its religious and its educational character. He was especially attentive to youth. For as wax must not be too hard or too soft in order to receive the seal, since when too hard it does not receive the impression, and when too soft loses it, so men that have busied themselves till old age with worldly things are too hardened to understand the secrets of the kingdom of heaven, and children are too soft to have fixed convictions respecting them. Youth is the period for the mind to be impressed, since independence and receptiveness are then happily united. Anselm disapproved the harsh discipline then prevailing in cloisters. Young people, like young trees, must have freedom if they are to grow. Hence he used to allow many a liberty to his pupils, in order to gain their confidence. When he had won this he would be more exacting, until he finally could deny them what at first he allowed. Through the young he influenced those older, who were not well pleased at first, because they thought he was made prior too suddenly; but at last committed themselves to him, when they saw that he possessed a rare insight into human hearts, and had the right word for every one. From abroad men sought him for religious advice. Not only was he called to other convents "to administer the bread of life," but he received almost daily visits and letters, from people of all stations in need of support, information, or encouragement. His was such pastoral zeal that "others grew weary of hearing sooner than he of warning and encouraging." It might be said of him, as of Martin of Tours, "Christ, Righteousness, and Life Eternal were with him more than words." He not only zealously practiced the care of souls, outside the hours of teaching, but responded to calls for help in cases of bodily need. He visited the hospital every day, asked what each one needed, and himself administered the medicines. "A father to the well, he was a mother to the sick, or rather mother and father to well and sick together." Notwithstanding the multitude of affairs which he thus had to look after, he contrived leisure for that which most suited him, theological contemplation. The day, indeed, was consumed by business; but the night could be given to this deepest yearning of his soul. Abstinence from sleep, with him, was like abstinence from food. The latter became such a habit after a few years that in fasting he hardly felt hunger; and rarely did he seek his bed before morning prayers. The brethren conducting them, when they went through the cloister, frequently found him not in the dormitory, but upon his knees in the chapter room. Even a later hour would find him still awake, applying himself to devotion and to study of the Scriptures and the fathers, or else resigning himself to re-

Succeeds Lan-
franc in Bec.

flection upon the great problems which had occupied him during his day's teaching. Thence grew his works, which constituted him the founder of a new era in theology, works which How his great books grew. really accomplished what they aimed at,—the promotion of an “understanding of Christian faith.” They afforded an insight into its mysteries, such as the church till that day had never enjoyed.

After Herluin's death (1078) Anselm was unanimously chosen abbot of the convent. There came on him now the guidance of its business matters, and though he committed them largely to experienced brethren whilst he undertook to conduct matters within doors, especially instruction and discipline, yet he could not wholly absolve himself from care, but had often to attend personally to matters not at all agreeable. For instance, he had to represent his institution on court-day in the shire, when often it was a noisy scene, one side trying to put down the other by outcries. Anselm would sit there quite calm, or in the midst of the tumult would preach a little sermon to those near him, or, if they would not listen, would resign himself to sleep. Still he was prepared, when his turn to speak came, to set his business forth in a right light in few words, and to put to shame all arts and intrigues of his opposers. Nor would he allow himself to be worried by cares that came in the household. For the cloister was still so utterly poor that often they did not know what they would have to live on the next day. To the outcries of the cook or butler he would answer, “Hope in the Lord, who will surely provide a way.” And perhaps that very day there would come a present from a rich neighbor, or ships from England would sail up the Seine, with something for them, or some new member would join them, bringing his possessions. The most devoted hospitality prevailed in Bec. “Spaniards and Burgundians,” says a contemporary, “as well as those near by, can testify that the doors of Bec are open to every one that knocks.” When Anselm had a journey to make upon convent business, he employed it for the benefit of the sister convents and of the homes which he visited. He was everywhere welcome; for he went not as a teacher, but as a friend and companion. He uttered no abstractions, but availed himself of examples from life, striking pictures, apt speeches and allegories. He forced himself upon no one, but suited his manner as far as he could, conscientiously, to the customs of different classes. He laid aside his monastic strictness when he could only offend by severity, and with the Apostle sought to become all things to all men, that he might by all means save some. Thus he best promoted the interests of his house. Every one was anxious to help it. Even William the Conqueror, that terrible lord, was one of Anselm's patrons. The popes of the age showed good will. Urban Second relieved him from all episcopal jurisdiction. For fifteen years (1078–1093) Anselm had been abbot, as he had for fifteen years (1063–1078) been prior. The convent was greatly

prospered. Herluin had in forty years received one hundred and thirty-six members; Anselm, in his fifteen, one hundred and eighty. On both sides the channel it was made the model. It sent out colonies here and there. It educated men for bishops and archbishops.

An appointment to such an office (1093) took Anselm from the cloister. He had to go often to England, to look after the convent property. He won everybody's heart there. The archbishopric of Canterbury was vacant (1089). There was the greatest need of its being filled, for the English church was wickedly oppressed by William the Conqueror's successor, William Rufus. Only a powerful primate could give relief, and all who took the church's distress to heart were looking to Anselm. The king did not see the need of filling the office, for he was drawing its income during the vacancy. As if in scorn he permitted (1092) that God should be asked to fill the place, or that public prayers to this end should be offered. He thought he would still control the matter; but he was taken sick (February, 1093), and in mortal anguish allowed a promise to be wrung from him to give a leader to the church. Anselm, then in the vicinity, was summoned, and the king was influenced to give him the office. In vain did Anselm resist. The staff was forced into his hands, and a deaf ear turned to his representations. There was no alternative. He had to obey the universal cry, though he knew well that the severest struggles were before him. He would have to undertake, as his first duty, the reëstablishment of the church's liberties.

The conflict began soon after his taking office (September 25, 1093). The king, when hardly recovered, returned to his old ways, and treated the church merely as a means to enrich his treasury. "Christ's bread is a profitable bread," he used to say; "the crown has spent half its income on the church, why shall I not have it back?" He quarreled with Anselm, when the latter sent, as a token of homage, but five hundred pounds, and refused to send more, though the king threatened him. Other offices like that of Canterbury had been left vacant, so that the king could take their revenues. Anselm wished them filled, and besides desired a general synod, to amend the corruption of morals. The king refused. When Anselm thought to go to the pope for help, the king strove to deprive him of help from that quarter. He availed himself of the schism created (1080) by Henry Fourth, setting up an anti-pope, and took on himself to say who was lawful pope in England. He had heretofore been neutral, in order to rule the church himself. Anselm had favored Urban Second. At last (1095) the king recognized Urban, and his plots against Anselm ceased. Still the reformatory movements of the latter did not prosper. First, the king found a pretext in his occupation of Normandy (which had been left by William the Conqueror to his eldest son, Robert, who now, in order to take part in the first crusade, commit-

ted it, for three years, to his brother, the king of England). Next, when he had returned to England (1097), he had to subdue a Welsh insurrection. After that, every one hoped he would listen to Anselm. Instead, he threatened him with the law, for the bad condition of the troops sent to his aid by the archbishop. In short, he utterly refused Anselm the right of speaking. As the pope was not acknowledged in England, Anselm decided to go to him in person, to seek his arbitration. The king declared if he did he would be counted deposed, and his revenues be taken by the crown. Anselm thought the present good had better be sacrificed than the dignity and liberty of the church, and so set out on his journey (1097). Taken ill in Lyons, he first reached Rome in May, 1098. He was well received by Urban, who at once wrote to the king, asking freedom of action for Anselm. As an early answer could not be expected, Anselm was invited to stay near Rome till he heard the result of the letter. An invitation was accepted from an old pupil at Bec, the abbot John of St. Salvador, in Telesi, who proffered him as a residence a property of his cloister, named Scлавia, on a high, breezy summit, overlooking the Campagna. In this inviting solitude, Anselm passed the summer, finishing his most important work, that which gave an answer to the question, "Why does God be-
Writes "Cur Deus Homo?"
 come man?" the most difficult that religion can put to reason. Only once did Anselm descend to the plain, namely, when he would meet the Norman chiefs of South Italy, then besieging the rebellious Capua. He visited them in their camp. There he greatly impressed the Saracens, led by duke Roger of Sicily. In October he went with Urban to Bari, where his influence did much to win the day for the Latin doctrine respecting the "Procession of the Holy Ghost," against the Greek. Thence he returned to Rome, and received the answer of his king, — a decided negative. Urban pronounced the king excommunicated, unless by September 29, 1099, he restored to Anselm his office. Before that day came Urban was dead, and his successor, Paschal Second, would not at once renew the contest. Anselm had left Rome (April, 1099), and was with an old friend, archbishop Hugo, of Lyons. The next year the king died (1100), upon a hunt in the new forest of Winchester; and Henry First, his brother, at once recalled the exile, and promised to do away with the existing abuses. Yet he fell out with Anselm, because the latter would not take his office as from the king, with an oath of homage.¹ Yet Anselm stood true to Henry when duke Robert (September, 1100) returned from the East, and contested the throne of England. Though the barons were disposed to join Robert, Anselm helped Henry to the utmost. But he would not do homage to the king for his office, since he thought it opposed the church's liberties. The king, on the other hand, feared his

¹ On account of the decision of a synod in Rome (April, 1099), attended by Anselm, which prohibited the conferring of church offices by laymen, and the administration of the oath of office to clergymen by laymen.

rule would be endangered if the clergy were not kept dependent. Finally (1100), Henry sent one of his trusted servants to Rome, to effect, if possible, a change of the decree, and when he returned unsuccessful (1101) he resolved to send a second embassy to press the demand. On its return (May, 1102), there came out the annoying fact that the papal letter which they brought did not agree with the reply given them by the pope verbally. While the letter wholly denied the king the right of "investiture," Paschal had said that the king should exercise the right, if only he appointed proper persons. There was no way but to send a third embassy to Rome, and this only confirmed (March, 1103) the letter. The king would not yield his right, and put it on Anselm to go to Rome to obtain a favorable decision.

Anselm lamented the situation. Hence, when he had leave given him simply to make a statement of facts, without going as an advocate, he consented to make the journey; yet he knew it was intended as a banishment. This soon became evident, for when the pope persevered in denying the king the right of investiture, the ambassador who had come to Rome with Anselm declared that his master would not allow the latter to go back to England. Anselm was obliged to seek shelter abroad, and found it again with his friend in Lyons. He in vain sought to win the king by letter. After the third epistle, the correspondence was interrupted. The bishops who took office from the king, and the royal advisers, were excommunicated by Paschal, at a council in the Lateran (1105). He delayed action against the king from time to time, as the latter kept sending embassies. After a year and a half Anselm resolved himself to adopt the last resort. He approached (May, 1105) the place in Normandy where the king was fighting his brother Robert, in order to publish his excommunication. He announced his intention to the king's sister, countess Adela of Blois, an old patroness of the convent of Bec. She hastened to tell her brother, who did not want matters to come to this extremity. Accordingly the king contrived an interview (July, 1105) with Anselm in L'Aigle castle, and declared his willingness to give up the investiture, if he could have the oath. Anselm could not grant this, yet

Ends the church
war in Britain.

when the pope as arbitrator agreed with the king, he consented. At a second meeting (August, 1106), in Bec, all the other points were settled. Anselm returned to England amid general rejoicings. The best understanding thereafter prevailed between him and Henry. The king adopted his reforms. He even made Anselm his vicar when he left England for a time. The church was respected. The first conflict between state and church in England was ended.

With the same zeal that he showed for the church's liberty, Anselm sought also her unity. He succeeded in bringing the bishops who aimed at independence, and also the archbishop of York, into connection with Canterbury. This was with him but a means to an end. His heart

was set on restoring morals and discipline. Hence he had zealously demanded a general synod, which alone could establish general laws. He had the happiness of obtaining it (1102 and 1106). A succession of strong measures was adopted. The clergy were put in mind of their duties. The demoralization of the people, and the licentiousness, especially of the Normans, met with the severest penalties. Anselm was well aware that little could be achieved by decrees, unless the prevailing sentiments were changed. This could best be effected by example, and hence his chief care was to reform the cloisters. They were to be the homes of light and life after him. They were to present a perfect Christianity, and by this influence in turn the world. Anselm bestowed much thought upon them, giving them fit leaders, and himself helping to lead, sending them pastoral letters from time to time, with fatherly admonitions, counsels, and warnings.

His fidelity to England, and not to her only, for his primacy included Scotland, Ireland, and the neighboring islands, was equaled by his care for his own immediate charge, the county of Kent. He made visitations to find how things were in the various parishes, and to regulate them on the spot. His best efforts were given the convent that was connected with the cathedral. It was a seminary for clergy; its older members acted as his cathedral canons. He found in it a second Bec. Here he "took breath," when he was tired of the worldly business connected with his office. This was the most irksome of his burdens, so that he exclaimed that he would rather be a school-boy trembling before his teacher's rod, than sit in the chair of an archbishop. It was a relief, when he could join the youth in the convent, or withdraw to a quiet corner of a room to sit in meditation. Reflection upon religious truth was ever his dearest delight. The results of it he published from time to time in treatises on theology.

Anselm ever adhered to the ascetic life that had grown to be a second nature. In time it wore upon him. In consequence of frequent fasts and vigils, he suffered sleeplessness and loss of appetite, attended by fits of fever. He suffered a serious attack when in his seventy-third year (1106) another the following spring. He grew too weak to ride horseback, and had to be carried in a litter. A third illness (July, 1108), took all his strength. All food grew nauseous. He had to force himself to eat. He grew worse, till in the spring of 1109 he could no longer be carried to church. Lying in his bed, he gave admonitions to all who came to him. On Palm Sunday one of his attendants said that he would probably celebrate Easter at the court of another than an earthly monarch. "It seems so," he said, "and I will gladly obey his call. Yet I would be grateful if I were allowed to live longer here, and permitted to solve a question that greatly occupies my mind respecting the origin of the soul. If I could taste anything, I

would be well, for besides the extreme weakness, I suffer nothing." On Tuesday evening he could no longer speak so as to be understood. His voice was gone. He was asked by bishop Radulf, of Rochester, if he would not give his blessing and absolution to his children there and elsewhere, the king and queen and people. He raised himself, made the sign with the right hand, and let his head fall on his breast. After midnight, when the brethren in the cathedral were chanting morning prayers, one of his attendants took the gospel and read the lesson of the day. When he came to the words, "Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations, and I appoint unto you a kingdom as my Father hath appointed unto me; that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom," Anselm breathed heavily, and as day broke (Wednesday, April 21, 1109) he fell asleep, and entered the kingdom to which on earth his soul had been joined, and his labors given. — F. R. H.

LIFE II. BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX.

A. D. 1091—A. D. 1153. CLERICAL LEADER, — FRANCE.

GOD has endowed our race, every man with his own peculiar gifts. He calls us thus in mutual dependence and affection to help and perfect one another. What He demands of the race He seeks also in the church, of which He is as truly the author. Diverse minds with varied powers and aims are to work together for edification. Men of restless fiery energy, in one place, are to push on external enterprises. Reflective spirits, in another, may withdraw themselves within their heart sanctuaries and pass their lives in meditation. Nor are their thoughts, born of souls enkindled with heaven's own fire, in the hours of prayer and holy contemplation, of less value than the deeds done by their fellows. They, too, animate and influence their own and succeeding ages. God wants both Marys and Marthas; for He does not rebuke the business energy of the latter, but the forgetting, in the midst of it, the one thing needful. When, however, a single individual rises up, uniting both characters in one, and consecrating talents of opposite kinds to God's service, he indeed becomes a leader in his generation. And such is Bernard, whom we feel bound to call saint, even as do our Romanist brethren. Yet only in the Scriptural sense, for the Word of God acknowledges but one true saint, and calls the many saints only in that they bear his likeness, it may be in dim reflection.

Like others of the church's greatest teachers, Bernard became what he was through the training of a pious mother. His life began in 1091, in Fontaines, in Burgundy, not far from Dijon. His family were knightly

and illustrious. His mother Aleth, the model of a Christian woman, carried her dear child, at the earliest possible moment, into the church, and dedicated him to God to live a perfectly consecrated life. Her conception of that life was best realized in the convents, where dwelt men who devoted themselves to prayer and study and to deeds of love, in happy contrast with the knights in their rude revelings, or the bishops in their worldly ambitions. She intended Bernard 'or such a life, and moulded, in no small degree, his youthful spirit. But when she was taken from him, as a child, his mind was drawn away in other directions; still her image and influence were ever with him, until at last he resisted no longer. It was when he was twenty-three, and on a visit to his brothers, who were engaged as knights in their vocation, besieging a castle. He was so overcome by memories of his mother, that he entered a church by the roadside, poured out his soul in prayer to God, and wholly dedicated himself to the manner of life to which he had been devoted by his mother. Since Bernard could do nothing half-way, he made choice of a religious order, then rising, that was noted for its strictness, — so much so that its severity kept all save a few from joining it. This was the Cistercian, named from the Cîteaux convent near Dijon. Soon by his example and his remarkable eloquence he carried with him into the order his four brothers and others of his kinsmen. It illustrated the great longing for heaven that possessed men in that day, that his oldest brother called to the youngest, who was playing boy-fashion on the street, saying, "Look, now all our lands and castles are yours;" and the child answered, "*You* take heaven, and leave *me* earth; that is not a fair division."

Bernard, from the start, performed with burning zeal every duty in the cloister, however severe. No sacrifice was too great for him. He exceeded all proper limits in his enthusiastic exertions in the way of toil, privation, or penance. He was forced to regret afterwards that he had thereby injured his health, and disqualified himself physically for many a duty, to which he might otherwise have been equal. Yet all the more on this account did his age reverence him; all the more were they impressed, in that his haggard form witnessed his self-privation; his enthusiasm and burning eloquence were poured forth from a fragile, perishing vessel. Hence Bernard could produce such tremendous effects by his appearance and his gestures, and by the tones of his voice, even in strange lands where he spoke an unknown tongue. As long as he was traveling and toiling, in cloister service, in field and forest, he was educating his heart in prayer and meditation under the mighty teaching of nature, which to him was God's temple. Hence rose in him those wells of living water from which afterwards he drew to refresh his fellows. Hence from his own experience, he could write to a comrade, "Believe one who has tried it; thou canst find more in the woods than in books."

Trees and stones will teach thee what thou canst not learn from masters."

Bernard gave the community which he had entered a new life. In three years he was called to be the leader of a colony sent out by the parent society. A new convent was to be set up in a wild, unfruitful valley inclosed by high mountains. The region (in the bishopric of Langres) had been the resort of a band of robbers, and so bore the name of "The Valley of Wormwood;" now a house of God was to rise, opposing the rule of Satan. The convent should be named "The Valley of Light," or, as it is in the Latin and French, "Clairvaux." Bernard should be its abbot. By hard work on the part of the monks, whom he animated and led, the rough land was subdued and made fruitful. The convent, after manifold deprivations, acquired great wealth, and with it blessed the nation. At the time of a severe famine in Burgundy, when crowds of starving from every side besieged the convent, two thousand of them, carefully selected and marked by a badge sewn on their sleeves, were provided with all the necessaries of life for two months, while others received occasional supplies. Soon the convent attained such a wide renown that colonies were wanted everywhere in order to build up convents upon the same model. At the end of Bernard's life there were societies in existence in England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Italy, in all one hundred and sixty. Hence came that extended correspondence, in the Latin language, carried on by Bernard with all these countries.

Bernard was a home missionary. He interested himself in men who by the gross neglect of those savage days had been led into serious crimes. His influence rescued them from capital punishment. His care for their souls, assisted by the strict discipline and the Christian associations of the convent, led them to penitence and genuine reformation. Thus it happened once, when Bernard was on a visit to count Theobald of Champagne, who was willing in every benevolent enterprise to follow his leadership, that he met a throng of people conducting a robber guilty of many crimes to the scaffold. He at once asked the count to make him a present of the criminal; and the man lived for thirty years afterwards in his convent, ending his days in faith and peace. In his care of souls Bernard showed great wisdom. The words he spoke to his comrades on the temptations that try the soul seeking perfection are worthy to be taken to heart by Christians of all ages who have like conflicts. He warns against the loss of rest and joy by incessant brooding upon self or sin. He says, "I admonish you, friends, to rise at times from the anxious consideration of your own conduct to a view of the divine beneficence, that ye who grow ashamed, studying yourselves, may be made buoyant by looking up to God. Sorrow for sin is needful, but should not be incessant. It must be relieved by glad re

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flections upon God's grace, lest the heart be made callous through grief, and by despairing perish. God's grace is greater than any sin. Therefore a good man makes not his whole prayer, but only its beginning, a self-accusation; the conclusion of the prayer is a doxology." In another discourse to his brothers, he says: "Oft we draw near the altar with lukewarm, barren hearts, offering our prayers; but abiding there, we are of a sudden overwhelmed with grace, the heart grows full, and the soul overflows with holy emotion." He warns against dangerous, one-sided, fanatic tendencies, and youthful extravagances, such as he had fallen into. He says: "It is self-will that teaches you to squander your vital energies, and give no heed to reason. A good spirit was given you, but has been ill-treated by you. I fear that another spirit will come, and under the guise of a good spirit will deceive you; and that so you who have begun in the spirit will end in the flesh. God is wisdom, and wants not a resigning of one's self to happy feelings, but a love that has wisdom to direct it."

Bernard turned men from trying to make their own righteousness sufficient, and so plunging themselves into every trouble. He directed them to the righteousness of Christ as the sure ground of trust. He proclaimed this foundation truth of the evangelical church more clearly and simply than had any one for centuries. He says in one sermon: "Christ is called not only righteous, but righteousness itself, our justifying righteousness. Thou art mighty in justifying as Thou art rich in pardoning. Let the soul, penitent for its sins, hungering and thirsting after righteousness, believe on Him who justifies the ungodly through faith, and it shall have peace with God." In another sermon: "None is without sin. It justifies me, if He against whom I have sinned is merciful to me. What He has resolved not to impute to me is as if it had never existed. To be sinless is God's righteousness; his forgiveness is man's righteousness." Once a brother had fallen into great distress of soul, through doubts tormenting him, and so dared not partake of the Lord's Supper. Bernard labored with him in vain. He insisted that he had no faith, and without faith he could not approach the body of the Lord. "Then," said Bernard, in a tone of heavenly assurance, such as a Paul or a Luther could have used, "go confidently and take the Lord's body upon my faith." The monk, thus addressed, yielded to Bernard's decisive way. Regardless of his doubts, he partook of the sacrament, and found rest and peace of soul.

Bernard often was called to regions far and near, to settle differences between princes, to reconcile rulers and subjects, or to make peace where violent passions were kindling or threatening war. Even from a bed of sickness he rose to obey such calls. His counsel was sought by kings, popes, and emperors. His help was asked in difficult situations. Speaking frankly the truth, he incurred disfavor

He stands before
kings.

with the court of Rome. Innocent Third and Eugenius Second had recourse to him, when driven away from Rome by the unruly citizens. They owed their return largely to his energy and eloquence. Twice Bernard went to Italy to quiet the turbulent people. He so affected men's minds as to produce extraordinary phenomena. There are accounts of the healing of the sick, from eye-witnesses, so simple and lucid that we dare not doubt their accuracy; and who can say what results may be produced by Christ's agents, in his name, and with his help? Since divine forces have entered in Christ to help mankind, we are not to define too carefully the natural and the supernatural. Yet the true Christian lays small stress upon such facts as are told of Bernard. He himself says: "Christ counts as blessed, not those who raise the dead, give sight to the blind, heal the sick, subdue evil spirits, or predict future events, but rather the poor in spirit, the meek, those who are sorrowful for sin, who hunger and thirst after righteousness, the merciful, the pure in heart, the peacemakers, those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake."

When (1145) the papacy fell to one of Bernard's pupils, Eugenius Third, Bernard wrote him to check the corruption of the papal court. "Who can assure me that I shall, before I die, see God's church as it was in the old days, when the Apostles cast their nets, not for gold or silver, but for souls? How do I wish that thou mightst have the spirit of him whose place you occupy, of him who said, 'Thy money perish with thee!' Oh, that Zion's foes might tremble, and be overwhelmed by this word of thunder. This your mother expects and demands of thee. Thy mother's sons, great and small, are longing, sighing for this, that every plant that our heavenly Father hath not planted be by thee rooted up." Lest the pope should be dazzled by the immense power given him, and the splendor of worldly glory, Bernard reminds him of the sudden death of his predecessors. He says, "Remember ever that thou art but man, and let the fear of Him who takes away the lives of kings be ever before thee." When Eugenius had returned from exile (1148), Bernard, in his book, "On Contemplation," contrasted with utmost frankness the papacy as it was with the papacy as it ought to be. He opposed the worldliness of pope and church, telling Eugenius that he could not be successor to Constantine the emperor, and Peter the Apostle, nor unite earthly and spiritual power; and predicted that if he attempted both he would lose both. "Make trial," he wrote, "of uniting the two; as a prince, try to fill the place of an apostle; or, as an apostle's successor, try to fill the place of a prince; you will have to give up one or the other! If you insist on having the two places at once, you will have neither." And then he threatened him with Hosea's words on usurping princes (Hos. viii. 4).

Bernard's achievements in France and Germany in exciting the sec-

and crusade, we pass over. There, too, the love of Christ inspired him, but not that pure Christ-like flame that transfigures the feelings and emotions. That would attack unbelievers only ^{His course in the crusades.} with the sword of the Spirit; would win only bloodless victories. Yet even in the crusade, we must extol many a thing in Bernard that shows his profound knowledge of human nature, and marks him as Christ's true disciple. When in the pope's name he was exhorting all to the crusade, and his words with mighty power were swaying men's souls, it happened that many a one, led by him to repentance, wanted rather to follow Bernard and seek perfection in the cloister than to go crusading. The pilgrimage to the heavenly Jerusalem by a life of contemplation seemed better than that to the earthly Jerusalem. Bernard thoroughly tested any that would so follow him. Many a one he rejected, as unsuited for the clerical life, and in need rather of the discipline given by the struggles and toils of every-day existence; these he advised to join the expedition.

In the region of the Rhine lived a fanatic monk named Rudolph. Rising up, he called on the people to begin by extirpating the infidels at home, especially the Jews. Defenseless thousands were either slain or driven by fear to submit hypocritically to baptism. The church leaders, while disapproving these barbarities, could not quench the fanatic fury. Bernard with righteous anger wrote to Germany against the movement, which he termed devilish. "Does not the church vanquish the Jews more effectually by showing them from day to day their errors, than by slaying them by the sword?" He appealed to the prayers everywhere offered for the conversion of the Jews. He says, "There is a promise of the general conversion of the Jews. How will it be fulfilled if they are annihilated? Where no Jews reside there are Christian usurers (if, indeed, we may call them Christians, and not Jews disguised by Christian baptism), and they are the worst of Jews." Bernard then went in person to the scene of the trouble, and did what he only could do: he reduced the fanatic leader to obedience and quiet, and appeased the rage of the mob. A Jew, who was an eye-witness, returned thanks to Bernard for saving his people, who but for him had utterly perished in the massacre.

Bernard made a war against that obscure scholasticism that tried to comprehend and explain all subjects whatsoever. He distinguished himself as the champion of a simple, hearty faith. He by no means despised science, but acknowledged it as God's gift, to be consecrated and made useful for the church's service. But he wanted science to begin with humility, the understanding of God to be preceded by the understanding of self. He was thoroughly assured that God must be sought and found by another way than science. "God," says he, "may be more fitly sought and more easily found by prayer than by scientific endeavor." The heart, he thinks, must find God first. Faith is the anticipation of a

truth veiled to the intellect by the heart under the influence of the will. "Nothing," he said, "will be wanting to our bliss, when the hidden substance of faith is open to our understanding." Bernard, thinking thus, was apt to be unjust to men in whom love of science predominated.

His debate with Abelard. This appears in his contest with Abelard, who, himself a believer, wanted faith and science harmonized. He, alas, failed through the discords of his own life. He was not a unit, with all parts in harmony, as was Bernard, to whom a childlike faith gave the keynote of existence. The latter, while not without fault in his way of disputing, was zealous for faith in Christ as everything. He exalted Christ as the ideal and model of holiness, saying, "How lovely art Thou, O Lord, even in human form! Not alone for thy miracles, but thy truth, meekness, and justice! Happy is he who closely observes Thee as Thou walkest a man among men, and strives with all his might to be like Thee." Bernard knew that strength came only in union with Christ, the Saviour of men, our Saviour. He says: "Three things are here: humble self-abasement, love manifested even to the death of the cross, and saving power, conquering the grave. The first two are nothing without the third. Humility and love are grand as examples for us, but the sure rock is found only in the payment of the ransom."

When Bernard came home from long journeys in the church's service, from long contests and toils, and enjoyed in his cloister times of meditation, his favorite resort was an arbor. There he composed those smaller works of his that so influenced and edified his generation. Especially may be noted his treatise entitled "Love to God." In it he says, "This love wants no reward, it has it within itself, in Him who is its object. He is the reward." He shows how God leads man from the temporal to the eternal, by first helping him in temporal things, and so gaining his heart. Then he describes four degrees in the love that would banish selfishness. The highest degree is in union with God, to love self and everything for God's sake only. To such a height can the soul rise only in the most exalted moments of earthly existence. Herein is to be found the happiness of the life everlasting.

When in his sixty-third year, Bernard with great effort rose from his sick-bed for the last time, to answer a call to go to restore peace along the Rhine. Having achieved this, purely by his power over men's hearts, he came home very near his end. No longer able to write, he dictated his last letter, adding a few words with a feeble hand. Describing to his friend his state, he closes with these words: "And further, in order that from a friend so anxious about a friend's condition there may nothing be hidden, be assured that in this weak flesh is a spirit strong after the inner man. Pray the Saviour, who willeth not the death of a sinner, that He delay not my departure, for which it is now time, but vouchsafe it under his own leadership. Support with your prayers one who claims

no merit of his own, so that the pursuing enemy may find no place to hurt me."

And so he fell asleep, encompassed by the love and sorrow of his pupils, in the year 1153. — A. N.

LIFE III. LOUIS OF FRANCE.

A. D. 1215 — A. D. 1270. LAICAL LEADER, — FRANCE.

LOUIS NINTH, son of Louis Eighth and Bianca, was born in 1215.¹ From his devout, watchful mother he received the most careful training. He became king when not quite eleven years old. While the boy's soul was guarded by Bianca's piety, by her prudence his throne was maintained against rebellious nobles. In the war with the latter, the king, then in his thirteenth year, persistently accompanied his troops, and showed such courage and firmness that his foes lost courage, and sued for peace and pardon. When eighteen he assumed the government in person. Not long after he took as his wife Margaret, the oldest daughter of count Raymond of Provence. His queen was honored by her age for dauntless courage and devoted piety. That the queen-mother still wielded great influence must not be set down to the king's weakness, but to his filial spirit. Certainly no lack of independence was shown, when directly upon his assuming power he reformed the courts, corrected abuses in the government, raised the standard of knighthood, and repulsed the encroachments of an Innocent upon the rights of the French churches. "We expressly prohibit," so runs a royal decree, "the intolerable exactions of taxes by the Romish court, which impoverish the church of our realm, save when such are sought for a good cause and with the consent of ourselves and our government." Yet Louis, unlike his neighbor kings, would not quarrel with the popes, and compelled from them the acknowledgment of his sincere piety and his fidelity to his church. His justice and love of peace won him many times the place of arbiter between kings who were at strife. He was a man of peace, but he also feared not war.

When Louis was thirty-one (1244), Palestine was overrun by hordes of Carizmians, set in motion by the Mongols, and helped by the Sultau of Egypt. Jerusalem was taken after a battle near Gaza, the Holy Sepulchre destroyed, the bones of the kings burned to ashes, and the most wanton outrages and barbarities inflicted on the land and its in-

¹ His father was then the Dauphin of France. Pope Innocent III. was celebrating at the Fourth Lateran Synod the zenith of papal power and glory. The life of Louis Ninth witnessed the pope's struggle for supremacy with the emperor Frederick II. Louis's father and grandfather helped the papacy against the Albigenses with their armies. His father met his death after the siege of Avignon, 1226.

habitants. When this heart-rending news reached the West, king Louis was languishing on a sick-bed; a severe illness had followed his last war with England (December, 1244). His recovery was despaired of by the physicians. The deepest sorrow overwhelmed his wife, his mother, the court, and indeed all France. People gathered to the churches of the great cities to pray for him. The bishop and the barons near Paris betook themselves to the king's side. For days they waited in anxiety the counsel of God. On the 23d of December, Louis lay almost the whole day unconscious and motionless. He was thought dead by one of the two noble ladies who nursed him, but when she would have laid a cloth over his face, the other insisted that he still breathed slightly. Suddenly the sick man had speech given him of God. He wanted a cross to be sewed on his garments, thus showing what had passed in his mind. The glad news of his amendment brought the queen-mother to his side, to be astounded by the cross of silk fastened on his shoulder. Nor could his decision be changed by arguments or entreaties. For the next year, he was in search of comrades. His unwilling courtiers he compelled by a stratagem. The usual royal Christmas gift, a mantle of fur, he presented to each in a dimly lighted hall, whence they were to go to an early service. Reaching the brightly illumined church each was amazed to see on his comrade's shoulder a cross of fine gold embroidery. "Half laughing, half crying," they submitted, but not without awarding the king the nickname of the "New Fisher of Men."

Among the hindrances to a crusade, not the least was the strife between Innocent and Frederick of Germany, who, ever since his crusade (1228), was entitled the king of Jerusalem. The contest, great historically, was carried on often in a very small way. Two years of negotiations taught Louis that it was a thankless task to mediate between such foes. Finally (1247), he preferred the side of Frederick, and, having no fear of Germany attacking his realm, was ready for departure. He assembled the magnates of France to arrange the affairs of the nation. Queen Bianca, with the bishop of Paris, at the request of the barons, once more attempted to change his purpose, pointing out to him the invalidity of the vow made by him when incapable of calm reflection. "Very well," the king said, "if ye so judge, I here give you the cross back." With that he tore it from his shoulder, and gave it to the bishop. Then, before they had time to express their delight, he went on with resolute tone, "Do ye judge that I am now either sick in body or weak in mind? Then I demand again the holy ensign, nor will I take food till this request is fulfilled." And neither his mother nor the bishop dared to say a word further.

Zealous preparation went on (1248) throughout France for the expedition. This crusade, the sixth in order, is characterized in the saying, "Poor in light, rich in power and heat." In this whole crusading effort,

church and world, the spiritual and the earthly, were mingled. Gay farewell parties alternated with grave religious exercises. Louis bade all his subjects to present every complaint they had against him, pledging unconditional redress. His example was largely imitated by his barons. Pilgrimages to places of prayer prevailed everywhere. Setting out from St. Denis, the scene of the farewell service, the king traveled to the harbor of Aiguesmortes, wearing armor and clothing of the plainest fashion, which he never changed in his whole life afterwards. He abjured furs, and garments of scarlet or other rich colors, costly spurs, and like ornaments. In this he was copied by his nobles, so that not an embroidered dress was to be seen in the entire army. He sailed the 25th of August, a day afterwards set apart by the church to his memory. His undertaking cannot here be followed in detail, even though some of the less noted traits of the king might thus be illustrated. His fruitless attack on Egypt, the key, as he rightly perceived, to Palestine, and four years of unsuccessful delay in the Holy Land, whence only the news of his mother's death recalled him, prove his lofty courage and his humble endurance.

While Louis is returning home, we will borrow from the biography written by the seneschal Joinville, his trusty adviser, a few of the features of his character, and reproduce them here. His portrait by his friend. His whole life was influenced by the careful and almost too anxious training of his devout mother. The strictest monks were selected for his teachers and confessors. Even as king, he had one such who tormented him beyond measure with systematic scourgings. Louis calmly submitted, but, after the monk's death, jestingly informed his successor that he had suffered beyond reason. His wife was under the same influence. Only with his mother's leave could Louis visit her, and then Bianca went with him. Once, when Margaret was sick, Louis went to her without leave. When they were enjoying a confidential talk, Bianca's steps were heard. As the king could not escape, he hid behind the bed curtains. His mother, entering, surveyed the room as usual, discovered her son, and drew him out. Leading him to the door, she informed him that he had no business there. Margaret indignantly cried, "My God, what are you doing, mother? Can I, neither living nor dying, see my lord and husband?" and sank back, fainting. Louis, concerned for his wife's life, indeed came back to her, but would not disclose to his mother the unseemliness of her conduct, unless through his eye.

The religion of Louis certainly had a mediæval impress. He served the church of the age in which he was born. So we see him at the siege of Cesarea in the ranks of the common pilgrims, bearing baskets of earth upon his shoulders, for which labor special indulgences were pledged by the papal legate. And still by his study of the Scriptures and the

fathers he had acquired a higher knowledge. Opposing the miracle-seeking superstition, he would repeat a saying of Count Simon Montfort. The latter had been asked to go to see Christ's form in a consecrated wafer, and had replied, "Do you, that are unbelievers, go. For my part, I can believe what God says without the sight. The advantage we have over the angels is that they believe what they see, we believe without seeing." Once Louis remarked to his son: "Thou art greatly in error, if thou thinkest that liberal endowments, gifts to monks, and the like, atone for sin! Nothing but a believing life, a loving demeanor, and above all, God's grace, is able to save." Such a declaration was a great deal for that period.

All the acts of Louis were controlled by the law of God. He found it the sure rule for serious enterprises and joyous recreations. Nor would he allow its limits to be transgressed in his presence. Once when the talk at his table turned on diseases, Louis asked Joinville whether he would rather be guilty of a mortal sin or have the leprosy, when the latter replied, "Rather twenty mortal sins than be a leper." The king said nothing, but took him aside afterwards and said, "How canst thou speak so. Knowest thou not that there is no leprosy worse than sin? When the man dies, he is cured of the bodily leprosy, but his sin clings to his soul, and will bring him to damnation, if he has not repented and received the divine pardon." He followed these words with a heartfelt admonition.

Such fear of God he sought to instill into his children also. He assembled them every evening "to teach them the fear of God." He presented the promises and threatenings of God, and related examples of good and bad rulers. Once, at such a time, he said to his oldest son Louis, who died sooner than himself, "I would prefer that some Scotchman or other foreigner should take the people of this realm and rule well and lawfully than that thou shouldst ever rule blamefully and badly." He began a letter to his daughter Isabella, queen of Navarre, with the following words: "My beloved daughter, I beseech thee, love our Lord with all thy might, for without it none can have anything good. Nor is any so worthy of our love as the Lord, to whom all his creatures may cry, Thou art my God, and ever doest good to me!—who sent his Son into the world resigned to death in order to save us from dying eternally. To love Him, my daughter, is to thine own advantage, and the measure of this love must be to love Him beyond measure. He deserves our love, since He first loved us."

It was a matter of common fame that Louis on many sacred days devoted himself wholly to the reading and contemplation of God's Word, and that he would allow some passage which he remembered, or was reminded of, to influence his decisions. Once the relatives of a noted criminal chose Good Friday, on which day the king used to read the

whole Psalter through, to gain access to him, and beg pardon for the condemned. Louis suspended his reading at their entrance, keeping his finger at the verse he was about to read, and, having heard their petition, gave a favorable answer. Scarcely had the petitioners gone out, when the king read further, and found under his finger the verse, "The Lord is just, and loveth justice." Immediately he sent for the judge of the court, and when he had heard from him how wickedly the prisoner had done, he let him be punished according to the sentence. He thus, against the inclinations of his own heart, submitted himself to the Word of God.

Louis was qualified by heavenly wisdom for sitting as a judge in earthly affairs. He was made all the more zealous by his knowledge of God's truth and God's will in fulfilling his worldly calling. Divine grace only increased and displayed his natural talents. He could be fairly extolled for wisdom and penetration by all his counselors. In weighty matters, he listened attentively to the various opinions, then took days for reflection, without saying a word, and finally gave his decision, in such words as made it like apples of gold in pictures of silver. Quietly and correctly he solved the most difficult knots, and hence was frequently called by other princes to arbitrate in their disputes. As a recent writer says, "Nearly all Europe traveled to the oak at Vincennes, where the holy Louis, often luckless in war, executed Christian justice." Allusion is here made to the king's allowing his subjects to seek justice at his hands on his pleasure walks, and then sitting down under a tree to reflect and pass judgment. In Vincennes and his other courts such spots were long reverently marked and pointed out. As we construct from all these lineaments the portrait of Louis, we discover how it was that he was not so much loudly extolled by his age as silently esteemed. He did not astonish his neighbors by brilliant deeds, but filled his successors with wonder at his radiant virtues. The pen of history does not portray him in the dazzling splendor of worldly renown, but in the holy radiance of genuine piety.

Returning from the Holy Land, Louis found a realm disordered in every part and portion. A woman's hand could not restrain the universal insubordination and contention, hence his years became not years of rest, but of most arduous labor, even to the destruction of his health. Yet he found leisure to establish at this time that famed school in Paris for the better training of the clergy, which bore the name of Robert Sorbon, the king's confessor, and is known still as the "Sorbonne." In the midst of his labors, cares, and anxieties, his burning zeal for the liberation of the Holy Land was not extinguished.

Plans the seventh crusade.

He had accustomed himself to account it the chief task of his life. His zeal was fanned into a flame of purpose by the new cry of Eastern Christians for aid (1260). Nor was his resolution changed by the needs of France and its people, the dissuasions of those around him, or the

decided opposition of his faithful Joinville. The latter declared that he thought he could serve God better if he would protect and govern his subjects; and in his writings expressed his conviction that whoever encouraged the king in renewing the enterprise would commit a mortal sin, for the king's death would certainly ensue. Louis was so very frail that he could endure neither driving nor riding.

Three years having passed in preparation, Louis bade farewell (1270) to his realm and his queen. His followers were made the more discontented by his plan to first take Tunis, and thence proceed to Egypt. They suspected that he consulted the interests of his brother, Charles of Anjou, who ruled Naples and Sicily. Hardly had he landed in Tunis, when he was taken by the fever, which raged in his army, in the heat of the African summer. Three weeks he struggled on, never sparing himself, putting forth all the might of his restless spirit, until he at last sank. "Let us see to it that the gospel be preached and established in Tunis. Oh, who is able to accomplish this work!" This was the last wish he uttered. Then delirium set in, in which he was often heard to exclaim, "We go, we go to Jerusalem." In the poor husk of this longing after the earthly Jerusalem, may we not discover the higher longing of his heart after the heavenly Jerusalem?

At the dawn of the morning of the 25th of August, there sounded the clear clang of trumpets from the sea, through the heavy air of the mournful stillness of the king's camp. Charles of Anjou disembarked only to find his brother no longer living. "In the same hour of the day in which his Saviour died," the pious king, on his bed strewn with ashes, with hands crossed upon his heart and eyes lifted to heaven, took his departure, with the words, "O Lord, I will go into thine house, I will offer my prayer in thine holy temple, and will glorify thy name."

A short time before his death, he committed to his son a letter which he with trembling hand had composed in those last days. His last, most precious letter. [This son, Philip, who succeeded him, speedily returned to France with the remains of his father, and those of his wife, his uncle, his brother, and brother-in-law, to lay them all in the royal sepulchre of St. Denis.] This remarkable testament, which is given in various histories in fragments only, is here, as we have reason to think, given by us in its completeness. It is as follows:—

"MY DEAR SON,—The first thing to which I exhort thee is that thou love God with all thine heart, for without this no man can be saved; and beware of doing aught that can displease Him. Thou shouldst prefer to endure every pain rather than to sin unto death. If God send thee trouble, accept it cheerfully, and thank Him for it. Reflect that thou deservest it, and it will all redound to thy good. If He send thee good fortune, humbly acknowledge it, and be not led by it into pride or arrogance or other fault, for we ought not to provoke God with his own

gifts. Take good heed to hold intercourse only with the wise and brave, who are not ruled by their appetites. Choose for thyself wise confessors to counsel thee aright in thy conduct. Act so that thy confessors and friends will not fear to tell thee thy faults. Attend devotedly upon public worship. Avoid idle diversions. Pray to God with both heart and mouth. Hear the Word of God and ponder it. Be compassionate to the poor, have a heart for their need, and be ready to help them according to thy means. Thou, like others, wilt have trouble. Turn to thy confessor or tried friend, who will sympathize and share it. Take care to have about thee only true and tried men, whether clergy or laity. Keep evil men away from thee. To Christian discourse give ear both in public and in private. Commend thyself to good people's prayers. Love good; hate evil. Suffer that no one dare to speak objectionable words in thy presence. Injure no one's honor either in public or in private. Allow none to speak profanely of God and his saints in thy presence. Forget not to thank God for all the benefits which thou receivest of Him, that thou mayst receive more. Be not easily satisfied in the administration of justice. Look not to the right or left, but decide according to truth and conscience. Uphold the complaints of the poor against the rich, till the truth is discovered. Do the same in suits against thyself, since that will strengthen thy counselors in doing justice. If thou findest other people's property in thy possession, taken by thee or thine agents or thy predecessors, and this be made clear to thee, be not slow in returning it; if the matter is doubtful, let it be considered carefully by wise and honest persons. Take all pains that the people enjoy peace under thee. Be honest with thy servants, liberal, and a man of thy word, that they may fear and love thee as their lord. Maintain the rights and freedom of the cities which thine ancestors have bequeathed thee. Forfeit not their good-will, so that thy foes and thy barons may fear thee. Bestow benefices conscientiously and upon capable men. Beware of beginning a war, especially against Christians, except thou art compelled. Seek by all possible means to settle dissensions and quarrels between thy subjects. Choose good judges and officers, and instruct thyself concerning their conduct. Seek to extirpate crimes, especially cursing. Manage thy household with frugality and order. Finally, I beseech thee, my son, that thou think upon my end, and have masses read, prayers made, and alms distributed on my behalf throughout the kingdom. And lastly, I give thee all the blessings that a good father can give to his son. God grant thee grace that thou mayst do his will every day, and honor Him in this life in every wise, and that we may be with Him, after this life, and fear, love, and praise Him, without end, in his heavenly kingdom. Amen."

What a witness, what a memorial to the God-fearing king! These words are no less distinguished by their unadorned simplicity, than by

the spirit which pervades them. A holy ardor, hearty love, clear judgment, and rich experience in heart and life find in them equal expression. Bossuet rightly puts into the mouth of the grandfather of his pupil, the Dauphin, afterwards Louis Fifteenth, the saying, "This is the richest inheritance of our house, which we must esteem as a greater treasure than the realm which he bequeathed to his successors." — A. R.

LIFE IV. HILDEGARD OF BINGEN.

A. D. 1098—A. D. 1179. LAICAL LEADER, — GERMANY.

THE name Hildegard meets us in Germany's loveliest spot, where the *Nähe* weds the Rhine. The sweet abbess herself (of Rupertsberg, near Bingen) comes to us, too, through the intervening centuries. She was born (1098) in Bockelheim, in the charming *Nähe* valley. Her father was Hildebert, a noble retainer of the Count von Sponheim. Along with the count's daughter, Hildrubic, she studied in Dissebodenberg cloister, near by, having been dedicated by her family to God's service. Her delicate health, as well as her talents and enthusiastic aspirations towards the things of heaven, decided her course of life. Even when three years old, she was led by marvelous visions, which were with her at almost all hours, to think of heaven more than of earth. In the cloister she was so entirely loved and admired that after the death of the abbess Jutta, sister of Count von Sponheim, she was chosen abbess in her place (1136).

Scotch-Irish mission effort, as is known, had established all along the Rhine, from Dissentis, Chur, and St. Gall, to Strassburg, Mainz, Trier, Cologne, and Kaiserwerth, a succession of flourishing colonies and societies (*cœnobia*) on the primitive pattern. Till the days of Boniface and the Carovingians, these remained independent of Rome. The Bible was their supreme rule; Christ's grace their reliance for salvation. Their noble distinction was the maintenance of holy discipline and earnest brotherly love. A last echo of this precious pre-papal period comes to

us in the life of Hildegard, abbess of Dissebodenberg. She had the care of the daughters of noble families far and near, to impart to them her own German sweetness of demeanor and piety, thus fitting them for quiet homes, for adorning life's peaceful hours, and for fighting its battles. The throng was so great that she was led, if not to found a new convent, at least to unite another with her own (that of Eubingen, near Rudesheim), thus to supply the growing demand. To furnish loving incitements and badges of distinction, Hildegard was wont to give garlands and rings to her best and dearest pupils. But all her doings as teacher would have given her renown only

Her work in her school.

for quiet labor in the walls of a cloister. There was in her life a very different attraction, which drew the eyes of almost all Christendom upon her, and brought near her side emperors like Conrad and Frederick, popes to the number of four, with countless bishops, abbots, princes, and counts, as well as the most noted scholars, especially Bernard of Clairvaux. This was her mysterious relation (as it was accepted by them) to the world unseen. For she was pronounced by all a prophetess of the New Testament, and revered as a messenger of God to the nations.

To our age, as far removed from wonder-loving superstition as from utter skepticism, it is allowed to look impartially at the utterances of this wondrous maiden, which seemed to her greatest contemporaries to be divine revelations. She has herself left us remarkably clear descriptions of her exalted experiences. With a constitution of the utmost delicacy, Hildegard was from infancy almost always sick, and especially in her nervous system. Before she was three years old, she beheld one day such an ocean of light about her, that her soul was overcome. After her entrance into the convent, at seven, she had such visions repeatedly. Finally, she ventured to speak of them. She was amazed that what she perceived so plainly was not seen or heard by others. She was frightened at herself, and thereafter was silent on what she learned of the world unseen, not by her senses, though they were awake, but through her spirit. This silence, maintained till she was fifty years old, came near destroying her life. There was a voice within ever calling to her, as she thought, from the Lord himself. She must proclaim what God disclosed to her. But in part her fear of being thought deranged or imbecile, in part the peculiar character of her visions, full of threatenings of divine vengeance upon personages whom she was used to view only with reverence, kept her lips shut. Finally, the struggle brought her to a sick-bed and the verge of the grave. She lay thirty days in a mortal struggle. "A consuming fire raged in my veins," she writes of herself; "whether my soul was in my body, or out of my body, I knew not. I lay motionless, in a spasm. My superiors, my children (pupils or nuns) and kindred, stood about my bed, weeping. They thought me dead. But in those days I beheld the heavenly hosts, and heard from their ranks a joyous cry, 'Thy time is not yet come; maiden, arise!'" Her eyes opened, and she was restored to her people. She now was enabled to overcome her hesitation. She confided her hidden thoughts to her confessor. He, in amazement and She begins to prophesy. doubt, wrote down her communications as she dictated them (her knowledge of Latin was but limited), and carried them to his abbot, who took them to the archbishop of Mainz. There was a church council soon after, not far off (in Trier, 1148), and so the whole affair came before that body and the pope for consideration. Bernard, the bright light of the century, journeyed with several bishops over to Rupertsberg. They

read the book of her revelations, entitled "Scivius." They weighed her mind and conduct; and then, followed by the pope and the council, they proclaimed to the world that hers were literal revelations from God, through the gift of prophecy, by which the old prophets had spoken. The pope wrote her a congratulatory letter. The Paris University, before which her writings were afterwards laid, declared unanimously that hers were not human words, but divine revelations.

We will now hear from Hildegard's own lips the manner in which the revelations came to her. "In the year 1162 of the Incarnation of Christ," so she writes, "when I was sixty-two years and seven months old, it came to pass that I saw heaven open, and bright waves of light descending and filling my brain, my heart, and my bosom with their flame, not burning but warming, like mild rays of the sun. Suddenly I was given an understanding of the Psalms, the Gospels, and the Scriptures, old and new. Yet I had no perception of words or syllables or grammatic forms." She further writes to Bernard, "I have a deep heart knowledge of the Psalms, the Gospels, and other Scriptures. They were unfolded to me in a vision that penetrated my breast and heart like a bright light, unfolding to me all the depths of knowledge, and not in the German tongue, which I am not able to read." She describes the heavenly light as follows: "So long as I am in this light, all sadness and pain leave me. I am a young girl once more, instead of an aged woman. I view the light with my senses all awake, nor is it fixed in any place. It shines as from clouds illumined by the sun behind them. Yet I can ascribe to it neither length, nor height, nor breadth. I name it *The Shadow of the Living Light*. As sun, moon, and stars mirror themselves in water, so do words and sentences, human excellences and achievements, gleam out of this cloud upon me. What I see or learn, in such a vision, I do not forget easily. The seeing, hearing, knowing, acquiring, is the work of an instant, and when I speak or write, I use the words that come to me in the light, yet I hear not words as from human mouths; I hear flames like tongues floating like cloudlets in the ether. This light is never removed from my soul an hour."

Let us now read a fragment from her visions. She writes to the religious community of Kirchheim: "In the year 1170, I was sick upon my bed, but with my eyes awake, and I beheld the form of a woman of most lovely features, sweet, inviting, and joyous above conception. Her height was that of heaven. Her countenance was clearest light. Her eyes glanced upward. Her raiment was white silk, a mantle of emerald over it, adorned with sapphires and finest pearls and precious stones. Her sandals shone like onyx gems. Suddenly I saw that her face was soiled by dust, her robe torn on its right side, her mantle discolored, and her sandals black. She raised a pitiful cry, saying, Hear, O Heaven, my face is marred! Lament, O Earth, my rai-

Her vision of
the church.

ment is torn! Tremble, O Abyss, my sandals are made black. The foxes have holes; the birds of the air have nests; but I have no helper, no comforter; no stay to support and uphold me! She further said, I was hid in my Father's heart till the Son of Man, conceived and born of the Virgin, by the shedding of his blood, betrothed me to Himself, making my dowry most precious, that I might bring forth into a new life, by the water and the Spirit, those whom the serpent's poison had made prone to evil and averse from good. My attendants, the priests, who should make my countenance as the dawn, my robe brilliant as the lightning, my mantle glistening as diamonds, and my sandals bright as snow, have defiled my face with dirt, torn my raiment, soiled my mantle, and blackened my sandals. They profane the body and blood of my bridegroom through every kind of lust and uncleanness, by whoredom and adultery, by avarice and theft, by bargain and sale! . . . Must not the depth tremble, the earth grow dark, its green places be parched and its beauty blackened, since vengeance and wrath descend from God's right hand, to shake the heaven and the earth? Therefore there shall come upon you, ye priests who have not listened to me hitherto, the princes and strong men to take away your riches, saying, Come, let us cast forth these adulterers and robbers out of the church! . . . And I heard a voice from heaven, saying, This vision is the church. . . . And lo, I saw the suffering woman suspend a sword in the air, one edge towards heaven, the other towards the earth. The sword is drawn against the priests, and I beheld the sword cut off the corners of the priesthood, even as Jerusalem was cut off when it had crucified Jesus. . . . Fire unquenchable from the Holy Ghost shall fall on you, to turn you into a better way!"

This one specimen may suffice. Certainly we may be edified by the devout spirit which it breathes, but who will mistake it for divine revelation? We are, perhaps, meeting what occurs in our day in cases of somnambulism, or in the very remarkable affection found among the Swedes, known as the "preacher-disease." But what is there to show a divine message? What does Hildegard say that is new? What doctrine, not already in the Bible, or in the church creed? And her language is only a weak copy of the visions of Scripture. Yet we can quite understand how an age marked by a universal liking for the marvelous and fanciful should bow before Hildegard as a prophetess.

Were there nothing more to be said of Hildegard, she would be notable in the history of the mind, but could hardly claim high position in the history of the church. We have now to show that she deserves this place also. A characteristic of that day, when people were turning with excited emotions to the Holy Land to assure themselves thereby of their peace with God, was a deep longing to discover exalted and holy personages, and by reverent dependence upon them to obtain an assurance of divine favor to their sadly felt

Her true title to
renown.

shortcomings. Christ's saving power and sufficient merit were hid by the church's teachings. Hence came the ardent homage and enthusiastic honors paid by many to the gifted Hildegard. Men claved to one glorified with the crown of prophecy, in order to attain heaven by her assistance. A historian has well said, that a strong proof of Hildegard's greatness of soul, judgment, and lasting power to supply the deepest needs of human souls is her receiving the reverence and love of her most distinguished contemporaries to the very last. Her correspondence amazes us by its extent, and still more by the writer's deep-reaching and varied efforts. She was the comforter of all the afflicted, the counselor of the oppressed, the peacemaker between brawlers, the chastiser of the sins of individuals as well as of classes and of nations. Now she exhorts a bishop to gentleness to his clergy, now monks to humbleness and obedience, and all to unity and the love of Christ. She tells young women, visited by temptations in spite of their severe penances, to serve God by the faithful performance of duty and useful work, rather than in excessive fastings, which must lead to new temptations. Oppressed and persecuted people by the thousands, coming from France and Germany, addressed themselves to Hildegard in person. For all she had the right word, the strong consolation; no one went from her presence unassisted. How severely she rebuked the sins of the clergy we have seen already; with what delicacy of feeling she observed the limits of reverence and true piety, may be seen in her letters to persons in high position.

To the emperor Barbarossa she writes as follows: "The Judge on
Rebukes king
and pope.
High speaks to thee these words. Hear! How wondrous,
that a single man, such as thou, O king, should be so greatly needed by mankind! There stood a king on a lofty mountain. He gazed into the valleys and saw the afflictions of men. In his right hand he held a staff, and directed all things aright. There grew green what had been utterly waste. There awoke what had lain in slumber. A single time he closed his eyes, and lo, a black cloud came settling over the valley. Ravens came flying and devouring the prey that lay around. O king, be wakeful. Look carefully about thee. Lo, thy lands are shadowed by a cloud of impostors. Robbers and fanatics destroy the way of the Lord. Thou hast a noble name. Thou art king in Israel. Consider that the eye of the King of kings rests on thee, lest thou turn even once to folly. Flee the path of lust. Be a champion of Christ. Renounce avarice and choose moderation. Be foresighted in all thine affairs. I saw thee in a vision surrounded by the gloom of night. Thou hast but a little while to rule here below. The Lord will demand a reckoning. Live so that his grace shall not depart from thee."

She counsels the pope, Eugenius Third: "The eye that observes all, penetrates all, makes all that slumber speak to thee. The valleys cry out at the mountains; the mountains fall upon the valleys. What means

it? The people have lost the fear of God; a spirit of disquiet excites them to rise to the mountain-tops to accuse their masters. They see not their own shortcomings. Every one says, Were I in power, things would go better. They have grown into black clouds that would fly over our heads. But they gird not themselves for work; their fields are left untilled. The stars, darkened by many a cloud, cry out. The moon troubles us. The sun plagues us. The stars shine not, because the tempest blows up dust clouds to the heaven. Therefore, thou mighty pastor, ruling the church of Christ, send light to the mountains, and peace to the valleys. Teach the teachers of the people. Restore discipline and order. Let holy oil flow from above, and fragrance rise from beneath. Teach all to walk rightly, that they may endure before the Sun of Righteousness. . . . This poor form trembles to speak thus to a great teacher. But, good father, not I, but the great Captain, the Almighty Warrior, speaks this to thee. Root out ungodly oppression. Listen to all complaints. . . . Lo, a mighty king sat in his palace. The great pillars around were wreathed with gold and adorned with precious stones. Yet it pleased that king to touch a weak feather. The feather flew marvelously; a strong wind sustained it, and it did not fall to the earth!"

In spite of her weakness of frame, Hildegard took many journeys, preached often before all classes, contributing greatly to the general rising up for the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre. Her addresses as well as her visions proved transporting. Princes, knights, and people revered her as a saint. Her own confession respecting this time of her extraordinary triumph is quite touching: "I, a timorous, poor woman, have endured much throughout two years, for I had to appear before the mighty and the most learned in all the noted places." We need not be surprised that many cures were ascribed to her prayers and laying on of hands.

Hildegard reached the age of eighty-four years, dying the 17th of September, 1179. She was never enrolled as a saint by the church. None the less we turn to her as a rare apparition of centuries gone by, and gaze upon her with love and amazement. — F. H.

LIFE V. THOMAS AQUINAS.

A. D. 1225 — A. D. 1274. CLERICAL LEADER, — ITALY.

THE great teacher of the thirteenth century, Thomas Aquinas, the child of a noble Neapolitan family, was born in 1225, at his father's castle of Rocca Sicca, on the borders between the territories of Naples and Rome. His devout mother, Theodora, early implanted in his mind the germs of piety that were to bring forth such a glad harvest. From the time he was five years old, he was trained in the renowned Benedictine

Abbey of Monte Casino. Afterwards he went to the University of Naples. It was the age when the two orders of begging friars, the Franciscans and Dominicans, were beginning to exert a great popular influence. We should not judge these organizations by the corruptions adhering to them afterwards. At first they did much good. They were the champions of mission work. They supplied the place of the ignorant or worldly clergy in their preaching and care of souls. Hence, Thomas espoused the cause of these orders against their adversaries. In heat and in cold, in rain and in snow, roaming far and near over the land, they sought in the poorest hovels the neglected and those destitute of instruction and comfort. They shared the mean fare of the poor, often putting up with a piece of mouldy bread. They could not be deterred, even when they were repelled as strangers with contempt and abuse. Youth is easily carried away by any great excitement that possesses an age. The ardent minds of the young were greatly impressed by the glowing zeal which marked the labors of the noted preachers of these societies. Thomas, as a young man, was transported by their preaching, and with enthusiastic devotion connected himself with the Dominican order. His devout mother was at first quite satisfied. She wanted, however, to see her dear son once more. But the monks with whom Thomas was staying purposed even to suppress the sacred emotions of nature, and kept the youth from his mother. They feared lest she might deprive the order of so promising an accession. The excited mother found means, by the help of her other sons, who were serving in Italy, in the army of the emperor Frederick Second, to take Thomas from the monks by violence. But now the characteristic firmness of his spirit showed itself. He could not be moved to give up the dress of the order, and was detained from rejoining it only by force. He was guarded for two years as a prisoner in a castle. This solitude he used for the study of the Scriptures, with devout prayer and rapt meditations upon God. When the mother at last became aware that such a will could not be changed, she herself gave him facilities for escaping by letting himself down by a rope from his window. Some of his order were at hand, who received him with great rejoicing. He is next found in Cologne, at the university, where Albert the Great, one of the profoundest thinkers of the age, was teaching. Thomas became his pupil. His greatness lay concealed beneath his unassuming manner and quiet thoughtfulness. He got from the pupils the surname of the Dumb Ox, because he was so silent. But when once, in a disputation, his great powers of mind shone out to the amazement of all, Albert the Great said prophetically, "This Dumb Ox will make the whole world resound with the words of his wisdom." Afterwards Thomas attended the oldest of the universities, that of Paris, in order to take his degree. He became a doctor of theology there in 1253.

In the twenty years that remained to him, he wrote works, many and varied, all full of profound thought and earnest piety. By them he became the teacher of his own and succeeding centuries, publishing truths that were to be fruitful for all ages. His activity as an author is the more surprising, since it was not his only work. He had work to do as a university teacher. He preached zealously. He toiled by turns in the schools of Paris and Naples, and had to consume much time in travel. He was frequently resorted to for counsel upon varied questions. King Louis Ninth of France, that model of a Christian king, often went to him, attracted by his clear judgment, to obtain his advice on matters of government. His oral teaching had such great popularity that hardly a hall could be found in Paris that would hold the crowds of listeners. A proof of his many-sided, powerful intellect and presence of mind is given in his employing at the same time two, three, and four amanuenses, to whom he dictated on various subjects. A man of thought, meditation, and prayer, he was penetrated by the conviction that through prayer is to be got that light that will illumine the spirit in searching into the deep things of God. He prepared himself for everything he undertook, for disputation, lecture, or composition, by prayer. That he might not in his following some line of thought be drawn away from right feeling and devotion, he would often read works especially intended to edify. When in difficult researches he could find no open-
Habits of
prayer.

ing, he would upon his knees ask God for illumination, and continue his investigations after he had received a quickening glow in his spirit. His writings give evidence of this. They are marked by a pervading fervor and depth of spirit, profoundness and clearness of thought, and absence of intellectual pride. In all his efforts to fathom divine things by thought and to bring reason and faith into accord, he yet recognizes limits to such investigations, and reverences the domain of faith. The profound thinker also constrained himself to descend to the needs of the uneducated. In Italy, he preached in the popular tongue, and so plainly that he could be understood by every one. He would hardly have been taken for the great doctor of the schools. Crowds thronged eagerly to his sermons. He was not drawn away by worldly glory and honor. Upon one of the many occasions when he sat at the table of the king, by invitation, he forgot everything going on about him, sunk in reflection upon some difficult question of theology, with which he had been much engrossed; suddenly he cried out, striking the table with his fist, "I have got it." His prior, sitting next him, tapped him on the shoulder and said, "Recollect you are at the table of the king." But Louis knew how to appreciate his guest. He ordered an amanuensis to come at once, to whom Thomas was to dictate the results of the thoughts that had so pleased him. Once when returning from an excursion on foot with some of his pupils, in Paris, they pointed out to him the beautiful

city, and said, "Wouldst thou not like to be master of such a city?" he replied, "No! I would rather own Chrysostom's sermons." Summoned to Lyons to take part in a council for the improvement of the church's condition, he was seized with a fatal illness and died on the way (1274).

Among the many writings of this great teacher, we may especially name his books of essays on Christian faith and morals, and his defense of Christianity against the attacks of unbelief. As his own mental life, quickened by the gospel, was a unit with faith and reason harmonized, so his endeavor was to exhibit this harmony in his writings. He thus exerted a happy influence, not only in behalf of reason and science, but of living faith and true piety. For those days were threatened seriously by a fanaticism of reason that denied everything, and an enthusiasm of mere emotion. By these childlike faith was endangered, and a dangerous schism between reason and religion foreboded. If nowadays we are pained by the spread of an infidelity that denies everything divine, and deifies human reason, we are not to imagine that this is the first time such tendencies have arisen. The natural man, in his ignorance of that which can only be spiritually discerned, conceals them ever within him; often do they declare themselves in his history. In the age of Aquinas the time had not come for their general prevalence. They were met by the Christian spirit which pervaded the life of the period, and by great intellects like his of whom we speak. They were suppressed at the start by this alliance of piety and reason.

The skeptical movement named proceeded from the Arab Mohammedan philosophy of Spain. It seemed about to spread through the Christian world. It declared falsely a schism between theology and science, an irreconcilable opposition between revelation and reason. It used this assertion as a mask under which to spread its dogmas. It maintained such infidel doctrines as the denial of God as a person, above the universe, and of an eternal life for believers. It asserted that in mankind was one and the same soul, and hence separate souls, as transient manifestations of this one spirit, were destined to oblivion. It presented these teachings as plain to reason. Yet it professed submission to the authority of the church respecting doctrines, even though they contradicted science. Its notions, though not half understood, were already finding acceptance. A knight, who was admonished to repentance for his vices, rejected the admonition, saying, "If the Apostle Peter was saved, then I am, for in me and Peter is the same soul."

Thomas Aquinas by his writings strove to meet the requirements of both science and religion. He mightily opposed the spread of this masked infidelity. Animated by a living faith in revelation, he combated the pretense of a contradiction between reason and faith; opposite lights could not proceed from the maker of nature and revelation. Otherwise there would be contradiction in God; there

His greatest
books.

Shows faith and
reason one.

would be assurance of nothing. There are no conflicts between truths. It is not indeed for reason to demonstrate revealed truths which are above reason. Yet she can show that what opposes the revealed has no foundation, and exercise her office in overthrowing it. As grace does not annihilate nature, but completes it, natural reason must be made subservient to faith, just as natural inclinations must subserve Christian love. Divine faith does not oppose the nature of the soul, but is adapted to it. In support of this Aquinas quotes Paul's words (Rom. x. 8). We can attain, he said, complete religious truth only when we attain the vision of God. Yet even here below reason will find in the analogies of mind and nature much to assist in the setting forth of truth. This will not be sufficient to afford full comprehension. None the less, the human mind will be advantaged by its weak effort, if it but avoid arrogance. For it is most joyful to know even the commonest of the things of heaven.—
A. N.

LIFE VI. JOHN OF MONTE CORVINO.

A. D. 1250 ?—A. D. 1332. CLERICAL LEADER, — CHINA.

THE name of the apostle of the Mongols is little known on earth, but is surely recorded in heaven. A devoted adherent of the papal church of his day, he was yet an evangelic Christian preacher. He was born in the little village of Monte Corvino, in Apulia, south Italy, soon after 1250. He early devoted himself to the church's service in the new order of the Franciscans. Of his early career in the quiet cloisters of southern Italy, nothing is known.

At that date, the Mongols, pouring from the table-lands of distant Central Asia, had come into acquaintance and intercourse with Western Christendom. The Nestorians of the East had long before labored successfully among them. When the Mongol empire threatened to extend to Germany, an embassy was sent to the great khan Katbuke (1244), to dissuade him from the persecutions of Christians within his realm. Various mission efforts were put forth, some seemingly successful, others openly disastrous. Finally, five Franciscans were commissioned by pope Nicholas Third to the chief of the western Mongols, the khan Abaka, in Persia. Soon after, a bishop was sent out to join them. The Christians hoped for large success through the zeal of Abaka's successor, the khan Tangador, since he accepted baptism. But he turned Moslem directly, and became a fierce persecutor of Christianity. The church grew spiritually even in her distresses. When a son of Abaka, khan Argon, ascended the throne (1284), there were numerous congregations, which built up again the ruined churches. Argon entertained the thought of rescuing the Holy Sepulchre from the Moslems, and then receiving baptism in Jerusalem. He addressed the pope in reference to this object.

John was then in the midst of his labors among the Mongols. He had gone out to them with others, and, it seems, possessed more than the rest the gift of winning the rough Mongol spirits to Christianity. Argon's wives became Christians, if not already such. His eldest son, also, was baptized, taking the name of Nicholas. John came back to Italy, having been summoned to report in person the great work of God among the Mongols (1288).

The great Mongolian empire in the East was upon the mind of the pope of that period. Ruling over China, it had become better known to the West, through the Venetian traveler, Marco Polo. It had come in contact with the Nestorian Christians in China, by whose agency many Mongolians were converted. The great khan, Kublai, at Kambalu (Peking), had expressed a wish to obtain Christian preachers. Some Dominican monks had started on the long journey, but without arriving at their destination.

John was now commissioned to go to the eastern Mongolians by way of the west Mongols and the East Indies. He set out, leaving his residence in the Persian capital of Tauris, in the year 1291. He visited the Thomas-Christians in India, and baptized more than a hundred pagans during his journey. At last he reached China, and the emperor's residence at Kambalu. In two letters, written home from there to the brethren of his order, he portrayed his experiences and trials. He dwelt eleven years, utterly alone, surrounded by pagans, by the rough Mongols and their friendly ruler, and by unfriendly Nestorians. He was accused by the latter as a spy and impostor, not the real envoy from the pope, but an assassin, who had murdered the former, and appropriated the presents which he was bringing for the khan. He endured such persecutions five years, sometimes in prison, often apparently near his death by the hands of the executioner. At last the plot against him was confessed, and his slanderers sent into banishment. Amid these vexations, he mastered the language of the people, translating into it the Psalms and the New Testament. He also gathered a school of boys, whom he instructed in Latin and Greek, in the Bible, and in the church hymns. He baptized about six thousand pagans, and builded for his people two churches and a school, close by the imperial palace. Even from the hostile Nestorians he won a prince, named George, with many of his people, but not permanently, on account of the prince's early death. He lost in him a strong friend of missions. John thought that if the Nestorians had not persecuted him, he would have baptized thirty thousand persons. A hundred and fifty boys, who had been baptized by him, lent him aid, by singing and other help in public worship. He held services even for little children. He awaked pagan curiosity, also, by the bells, which he hung on the church towers, and caused to strike every hour. At last he was rein-

forced by a brother from Germany, Arnold of Cologne. "Could reinforcements have been sent more promptly and vigorously, the great khan himself would have received baptism." He died a pagan.

John begged importunately for the sending of able assistants by the shortest road, and for needed books, that he might "bear testimony publicly and loudly to the law of Christ." Thus he writes in 1305, when the khan Timur was reigning, and Clement Fifth was pope. At once seven Franciscans were sent out; of these, one returned, three died in India, and three reached China, to find the noble pastor growing gray with years. They brought him an appointment as archbishop of Kambalu, and as patriarch of Eastern Asia. They found him highly esteemed in the imperial court, with daily access to the great khan. The newly arrived brethren relieved him of the burden of the churches in Kambalu. He had hitherto had only his boys to help him, and had been obliged to do all the clerical work himself. He now gave the position of bishop to each of the brethren. Others followed them (1312), and John was permitted to live to see not only other bishops coming to him from the West, but also the multiplication of books that should help the work of evangelization. He died in 1332, old and full of days, surrounded by flourishing congregations. He ^{Died in Peking.} was taken away in time to be spared the sight of the beginning (twenty years later) of the ruin of the Mongol rule in China, and the destruction, along with it, of the institutions of Christianity. — W. H.

LIFE VII. WALDO OF FRANCE.

A. D. 1130 ?—A. D. 1197. LAICAL LEADER, — FRANCE.

A COMPANY of worthy burghers of Lyons were sitting together upon a summer's day (about 1170), spending the hours in innocent conversation, with a happy feeling of repose and safety. Suddenly one of their number fell to the earth, dead. As gloom gathered over the company, a wealthy and respected merchant rose up from among them, and spoke of the emptiness and transitoriness of earthly existence, and pressed home the need of conversion and of a life consecrated to God. This was Peter Waldo or Waldenser, so named from his native land of Vaud. Profoundly affected, he purposed henceforth, though by no means a negligent Christian before this, to make it his business to find what the will of God was, to follow it perfectly, and arouse others who were sleeping. Since the church around him, as he saw, lulled men into a false repose by her penances and pardons, he determined to seek the pure Word of God, at the fountain head. He employed a ^{Published the Bible.} learned priest to dictate to him, in the Provençal tongue, several books

of the Bible. An expert young copyist was engaged to transcribe them. Nor did he condemn the church's evangelic teachers. He collected several chapters of their most precious utterances respecting Christian life and doctrine. These, and the passages of the Bible, he so imprinted on his mind by frequent perusal that he knew almost every word of them by heart. Earnestly he resolved to attain perfection by living as did the Apostles. In this he was hardly correct, for Christian perfection is reached less by keeping the law in its letter, than by the renewal of the heart through faith. Waldo took the way traveled, since the days of Antony, by nearly all good men whose hearts were on heaven. Yet as he had genuine faith and knowledge of human need and divine grace, he was less hurt by his aiming at outward perfection. His favorite saying was our Lord's word to the rich youth: "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come, follow me." Waldo sold his goods, and threw his money into the street, to be picked up by the poor. He went preaching the gospel, as the Apostles had done, in houses and in the market-place, and set many men and women to inquiring. These inquirers he gathered into his house and instructed in the gospel. When he found them well versed in the Bible, he sent them out, like the seventy, two and two, in all the country, indoors and outdoors, and in the churches, to preach the Word of God. He insisted that they should go, like the disciples, poor and mean in garb, wearing no shoes, but sandals only. The people called them sandal-men and "poor men of Lyons," as well as Waldensians.

The preaching of laymen, without their bishop's leave, was forbidden by church rules, and not without propriety. But these men, holding the church's teaching and rule to be defective, erroneous, and dangerous, could neither ask nor expect their bishop's indorsement. They opposed God's Word to corrupt doctrine, believing they were obliged thereto by a divine command. They said, like the Apostle, that they must obey God rather than man. They appealed from the excommunication and punishment pronounced against them by archbishop John of Lyons, to the pope, but were anathematized by pope Lucius Third, having first been ridiculed and condemned at a council held in Rome (1179). Peter
Waldo sees the
 papal apostasy. Waldo and his movement became notable by his developing the schism between good Christians who held by the Bible, and the pope, who perverted it. Maintaining the truth against Jews or pagans was an easy thing compared with undertaking its championship against a power that claimed the sole right of defining church laws and doctrines and of interpreting the Bible. Conscience counseled respect to the church, but it more loudly commanded submission to Christ, the church's head, and his precepts. In the conflict of allegiance with allegiance, the Waldensians hesitated not an instant in preferring Christ the Master to the pope, who claimed to be Christ's servant. They ran a risk of misin-

terpreting Scripture, for they insisted upon the letter. They held that they must preach like the Apostles, forgetting, however, to prove their right as Apostles. At first setting out they opposed all oaths, and all taking away of human life, hardly considering Christ's commands in their connection and true object. Still their teaching and preaching turned less on points like these than on their assertion that not the clergy, but the whole company of the believing, constitute the church. The Word of God must not be bound by a corrupt clergy. God's grace can be enjoyed only by repentance, faith, and new obedience. Confession, absolution, and prayers to saints were valueless, when they took the place of efforts after holiness, and when they depreciated the latter in the eyes of the people. This, the substance of their teaching, could not be endured by the priests. The main issue was avoided by the latter. Isolated expressions and assertions of the Waldensians were laid hold of, as pretexts for imprisoning them, or even burning them at the stake. Still the simple teaching and pure life of the latter impressed the people among whom they went, as artisans or laborers. They were never known to lie, to visit wine-shops, or to do anything unchaste. They were scattered by persecution through Spain and North Italy, Alsace and the Netherlands. Everywhere they waked a desire to know the Bible, to live honest and godly lives, and to reform the church's corruptions. Their knowledge of the Scripture and correct behavior were acknowledged, even by their enemies. Peter Waldo fled from land to land, preaching as he went. He at last found a residence, it is said, in Bohemia, dying there in 1197.

After Waldo's death, the Waldensians, it was hoped by pope Innocent Third, might be reconciled with the church, and made a monastic order. The pope was encouraged by Durandus of ^{His disciples are} ~~steadfast.~~ Osca, a recreant Waldensian. They were to be exempt from military service and the taking of oaths, when it was possible without injury or annoyance to others, and with the leave of the civil rulers. The most capable and clever of them might teach and preach with the consent of their superiors. The rest might work for the support of their teachers, and they should be hindered by nobody from continuing poor. They might also keep on wearing such garments as they had adopted. But they must promise to submit to Rome, and renounce fellowship with any Waldensians who would not submit, and with all other heretics. It was too late. Neither the bishops nor the Waldensians would consent to the terms; their differences were too great. The poor, persecuted people had already seen too much of Rome's corruption. So everywhere dispersed, and everywhere persecuted, they sowed Bible-teaching broadcast, spreading their doctrine of the priesthood of all believers; holding fast at the same time by the ministerial office.¹ — H. E. S.

¹ The Waldensians are honored with justice as steadfast opposers of the corruptions of Rome and forerunners of the Reformation. With amazing constancy they have borne the

LIFE VIII. TAULER OF STRASSBURG.

A. D. 1290?-A. D. 1361. CLERICAL LEADER,—GERMANY.

JOHN TAULER, known to his own century as "The Illumined Teacher," was born in the year 1290, in Strassburg. His family was of senatorial dignity. Early dedicated to the clerical office, John joined the Dominican order when about eighteen years old, and, going to Paris, studied in the Preachers' Seminary of St. James, where Master Eckart had not long before uttered his profound speculations. Tauler was little attracted by the scholastic theology that lost itself in unfruitful subtleties and speculations. His mind was left unsatisfied by the great and accom-

cruel persecutions of centuries. Till recent times the remnant of them has endured oppression. How widely they extended among people of the lower classes in the Middle Ages appears from a fragment of an Inquisition-Register of the year 1391. The following are named therein as Waldensians: "Nicholas and his son John, from Poland, both peasants; Conrad, from the town of Düben, near Wissemburg (Wittenberg?), son of a peasant; Walich, of Guidex (?), a shoemaker; Conrad, of Gemund, in Swabia, son of a peasant; Simon, of Salig, from Hungary, a tailor; Hermann, of Mistelgen, from Bavaria, a smith; John, of Diruna, from Bavaria, a smith. All the above named are called among their people apostles, masters, angels, and brothers." The last words indicate an organization and an order of teachers, of which very little has come down to us. Permanent church government must have been prevented by the incessant persecutions; while a clerical caste must have been against their principles. Probably the apostles were the traveling teachers; the masters, the teachers in their chapels; and the angels, the presidents and overseers of their congregations. In the mountains and valleys of Savoy, where many took refuge (after 1300), their leaders were called barbs (harbæ, or bearded men), the common name for uncles and priests in those regions. This title, until 1630, was given the overseers of the Waldensians in the valleys of Piedmont, where alone they survived. When all their officers save two had been taken away by a plague, application was made to the reformers in Geneva and France to send new teachers. These were named masters, and preached, not in their own dialect, but in French. About 1650 an old Waldensian constitution was published by one of these preachers, John Leger, in his history of this people. Their strict discipline was much applauded by the Reformers.

The Waldensians are the only one of all the sects of the Middle Ages that has continued till to-day, and they, indeed, in a small remnant. This we may account as a kindness shown them of God, for submitting sincerely and simply to his Word, while others went after something beside and so wrought out their own destruction. The Waldensians early repaired to Piedmont, since there they could expect toleration. Many who were dissatisfied with the Roman hierarchy, and wanted to serve God truly, found undisturbed abodes in those quiet valleys. They continued little annoyed till 1640. After that they met such hatred and persecution as makes the reader's blood run cold: some were hurled from precipices; others stoned; others tied to the tails of horses or asses, and dragged along until dead; others ripped open, to have stones or powder placed in the cavities; neither age nor sex was respected. The remonstrances of the elector of Brandenburg and Cromwell availed little; emigration was difficult and dangerous; and the poor folk were too fond of their mountains and vales to want to live elsewhere. Yet there remains a remnant, some twenty thousand souls, in the valleys of Luserne, Pelice, Angrogne, St. Martin, and Perouse, not far from Pinerolo in Piedmont. Since 1655 they have been part of the French Reformed Church. Their preachers commonly study in Geneva. The Prussian king Frederick William Third founded two scholarships in the gymnasium, and two in the university, in Berlin, for Waldensian students of theology. In La Torre, their chief town, is a Latin school for youth. In 1836 a noble building was erected for it. An English colonel, Charles Beckwith, devoted his life and fortune largely to the Waldensians, and founded an institution for girls. Of late their valleys are often visited by travelers. They were unmolested under Napoleon. When the Sardinian rule was restored, they suffered from the state and the intrusions of the Roman church. By a measure of the Sardinian king, February 17, 1848, they at last were relieved of all the laws against them, and given perfect religious liberty and equal rights with other citizens. This remnant, an oak erect in faith, after the storms of almost six hundred years, will it again put forth fresh and vigorous branches?

plished Paris teachers, who, as he says in one of his sermons, "read with eagerness a great many books, but inquired little into the book of life."

A native of Strassburg, the home for years of mystic Christianity, he inclined from his youth to a profound and living theology. He returned home from Paris. In Strassburg he met several Mystic teachers, and was in some degree shaped by them in his way of thinking. Chief among them was Nicholas of Strassburg, a practical and popular teacher, and the more aspiring Master Eckart, who, with burning, enthusiastic language, was preaching pantheistic ideas in the convents. All hearts there were attuned to serious thought. To this many events conspired: the disturbed state of the empire, the discontent of the cities, and especially the disputes arising from the interdict issued by pope John Twenty-third against Louis the Bavarian and his adherents. Affairs in Strassburg were in such a state as deeply to move the people. The clergy were divided upon the interdict. The majority from the start held with the pope. Only a few stood by the people, and finally public worship was suspended in all the churches. In this hour of religious need, the more earnest spirits among clergy and laity drew closer together. They united for their own sake and for the neglected, helpless people, and labored where the preachers were silent and where the city government desired public worship. Thus arose

Rise of "The
Friends of
God."

the society of "Friends of God" for the maintenance of church and religion. In the confusion of the times they retired within themselves, seeking peace by ineffable communion with God. Their religion, although thus mystic, was not inactive. Love's bidding was more in their eyes than any pope's forbidding. They did not believe in a papal anathema plunging poor citizens into the disputes of princes. Hence their activity wherever they were wanted, or where public worship was appointed by the city government. Tauler became one of "The Friends of God." He preached in German, after their custom, for the comfort and encouragement of the people. He was almost the only brother who stayed in Strassburg during the interdict. Everywhere he was heard with gladness and affection. His renown went beyond the city. He was known even in Italy as an eminent teacher, "through whom the name of Christ was extending everywhere." He kept up intercourse with many of the Mystics and "Friends of God" of that age. He was loved and honored as a father in various convents of the Rhine, Bavaria, and Switzerland. His influence and reputation increased. By his words of encouragement he supported priest Henry of Nordlingen, when the latter preached in Basel, after the removal of the interdict. He visited the preaching monks of Cologne, who shared his spirit, and is said to have gone even to Ruysbroeck in the Netherlands.

He joins "The
Friends of God."

Thus busied in deeds that brought him many a return of love and reverence, Tauler met a person who exerted upon him a most extraordinary influence. Though it was but a layman, the meeting with him was a crisis in the life of the renowned teacher. He was known as Nicholas of Basel, the mysterious and indefatigable chief of a Waldensian society. He and his associates also called themselves the "Friends of God." They had none of the pantheistic notions then rife among the "Brethren of the Free Spirit." They were, in many respects, like the mystic "Friends of God," within the church, of which Tauler was a member. Nicholas had heard of the deep piety of Tauler, and of his independent work of love in the days of the interdict. He wanted to find the preacher who pursued a life so like his own. He would win him, if possible, wholly to his side by that spiritual influence which this remarkable man seems to have exercised over others. Nicholas stayed in Strassburg for many weeks in close contact with Tauler, unbosoming himself to him, and urging him to forego the world and cleave only to the "highest source of truth,"—to Christ. Long did Tauler resist ere he, a "learned priest," yielded utterly to an unlearned layman, and submitted to the spiritual discipline enjoined upon him. For Nicholas, to extinguish the remains of self-conceit, forbade his preaching. Tauler obeyed, and lived two years alone in his cell, bearing patiently the scorn of his fellows and the thoughtless sentence pronounced by the people "on the preacher who had lost his wits." Finally, his mysterious friend permitted him to preach again. Not till he suffered repeated humiliations in his first sermon, and the strangest experiences, did he attain an abiding cheerfulness, and win back the people's affections. Even before his meeting with this "great Friend of God from the highlands," Tauler had been a spiritual and devout preacher. But by this man, so enwrapped in mystery, and so cruelly burned in France afterwards as an heretic, he was placed more securely on the true foundation of Christian life, and filled with still deeper love for the slightly esteemed laity. He preached frequently in the cloister church, and in the assemblies of the "Beguin Societies," of which there were several in Strassburg. His preaching, an old chronicler says, was a rare treat. He uttered neither dry scholastic subtleties nor useless fabulous legends of the saints. He spoke in a simple, heartfelt manner of the nothingness of all earthly things, of the need of union with God, the only real good, by self-renunciation and self-denial, by poverty of spirit and ardent love. At times his language was perhaps obscure, yet he still was effective. What he said of love to God and man, of salvation through Christ alone, and the uselessness of works without faith, could be comprehended by every mind, and reduced to practice. Sin was rebuked by him with Christian zeal, whether in priests or in people. He was forbidden to preach, it is said, by the clergy, who

His style of
preaching.

were irritated by his rebukes, but the execution of the interdict was prevented by the magistrates. Tauler exerted an improving influence on some of the clergy, so that "many priests became quite devout." "He had to direct, by his wisdom, what the people were to do, whether in spiritual or in secular matters, and whatever he advised, the people did cheerfully and obediently," so says the ancient chronicle. The mystic "Friends of God" allied themselves to him closely, as was natural. Among them was the wealthy citizen Rulman Merswin, afterwards founder of the "Strassburg Order of St. John," and author of the "Book of the New Rock." Tauler was his confessor (1347). The Strassburg bishop himself heard Tauler gladly, and admired him. He soon, however, became his adversary. When Louis Fifth died, and Charles Fourth was chosen emperor, Strassburg would not recognize him. The interdict was on the city, and the bishop, who stood by the emperor, opposed the citizens and clergy who, like Tauler, kept up public worship. To these troubles in church and state was added the fearful distress of the black death (1348). The sick and the dying were denied the consolations of the church by the interdict. Tauler pitied the poor people. Two noble clergymen stood by him, the general of the Augustine order, then living in Strassburg, and the Carthusian prior, Ludolph, of Saxony, the author of a "Life of Jesus," celebrated in the Middle Ages. These three men addressed a letter to the clergy, showing how uncharitable it was, "to let the poor ignorant people die in excommunication." Since Christ, said they, died for all men, the pope could not close heaven to any who died innocent though excommunicated. He ^{Rejects papal claims.} who confessed the true faith, and simply lacked respect to the pope's person, was no heretic. The circulation of the letter was prohibited. Tauler and his friends were obliged to leave the city. None the less they had given infinite comfort. The people, it is told, died in peace, no longer fearing the interdict. When, a few months after, the emperor came to Strassburg, he had the three monks brought before him, but what action was taken against them is unknown.

From this time until shortly before his death, Tauler disappears from the history of his native city. He visited Cologne, where he labored several years as preacher, in the church of St. Gertrude's cloister. In 1361, we find him again in Strassburg, dying. Nicholas of Basel, whom he had sent for, came and for days held with him long, serious converse. On the 16th of June, the great preacher died, in the garden house of his sister, a nun of the convent of St. Nicholas in Unden. The city was full of sorrow at the news of his death. "The great Friend of God from the highlands," whom the people would have honored as the friend of their father Tauler, left Strassburg the hour of his death, and returned to Switzerland. The body of Tauler was buried in his convent. The stone which covered it was set up (1824) by the Protestants

in the former Preachers' Church, where, half a thousand years before, that noble Christian spirit exhorted our fathers to deny self, in order that they might attain the salvation of Christ. His spirit lives on, in his writings, in his sermons, filled with profound love of God, and his thoughtful, edifying book on "The Imitation of the Poor Life of Christ." If all that he taught does not accord with our belief, he was none the less, in hard and troublous times, a venerable and true witness of our Lord. — C. S.

LIFE IX. THOMAS À KEMPIS.

A. D. 1380—A. D. 1471. CLERICAL LEADER, — GERMAN LANDS.

"ABIDE in lowly simplicity and Christ will abide in thee!" So spake the good father Florentius (who with Gerhard Groot founded the "Brothers of the Common Life"), as he died, in the year 1400, fifty years old. The exhortation of the dying master was to many a pupil of his an abiding blessing. But by none, surely, was it observed with greater loyalty and constancy than by his faithful biographer, the Elisha of this Elijah, Thomas à Kempis, who in youth sat at his feet, in manhood honored his memory, and in hoary old age (seventy years after, this) followed him into his rest. So truly did Thomas à Kempis abide in lowly simplicity that he took as great pains to hide from men's gaze, as others to win their admiration. "Strive to remain unknown" (*ama nesciri*) was his motto lifelong, and behold, few names in the living church of God are encompassed with greater splendor! It seems as if God would make this very man, through the centuries, a confirmation of the truth, "Whoso humbleth himself shall be exalted." His fame is universal. He belongs not to the Brothers of the Common Life, already named, albeit his name sparkles their brightest jewel, nor to the Roman Catholic Church, which rightly counts him one of her noblest members, but to all Christendom, to all Christian confessions. There are few lands whither the salvation of Christ has gone, in which his little book on the "Imitation of Christ" has not found a way, whatever the tongue, to the hearts of disciples. Though he was every way a true son to the erring church of his generation, yet his name belongs in the evangelical calendar. Hence we give here a review of his life. We dwell also on his chief work, and on the place he occupies among the forerunners and pioneers of the Reformation.

Is an evangelical leader.

Thomas Hamerken (or Little-hammer) was born in the year 1380, in the small but pleasantly situated town of Kempen, in the lofty mountainous country near Cologne, and at that time under the rule of the archbishop of that city. From this place (not from Kempen in Obery

sel) he took his name. His parents were plain burghers of small fortune. Thomas, however, shared the high privilege of many a renowned leader of the church, — he was trained by a pious mother. "Very early in life," says his first biographer, "through the admonition of his eminently pious mother, was he filled with love for religion." At the same time, his father, a modest artisan, set him a worthy example of industry, endurance, and simple-heartedness. We may say, then, that "pray and work" (*ora et labora*), the life rule of their son to extreme old age, was impressed upon him early by both his parents. Their parental roof Thomas left when he was twelve years old.

No longing after fame, or desire of riches, took the child, at such a tender age, away after his brother John to Deventer (in Oberyssel). He had heard of the school there, kept by the Brothers of the Common Life, where poor scholars could have support and instruction. Gerhard Groot was not there to receive him, but Florentius proved his friend and supplied him instruction. Like the boy Luther, when a chorister in Eisenach, our Thomas found a good woman who received and supported him. Her love he returned with constant zeal, a sincere piety, and amiable modesty. He distinguished himself in all these above many of his fellow pupils. He joined with great conscientiousness in the religious services of the "brothers," and was taken into their home. Here he made friends with a good earnest youth, Arnold von Schoonoven, who was his room-mate and bedfellow, and with whom he daily practiced in reading and copying the Bible. Thomas shows, in speaking of his friend, that he early followed the injunction, "In lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than himself." Yet Arnold influenced him less than Florentius, for whom as his spiritual father he showed unbounded reverence. Upon his advice Thomas resolved, in his twentieth year, to follow the sure impulse of his heart, and enter a convent. With a commendatory letter from his teacher, he went to a regular cloister of the Augustine order, that of St. Agnes, standing upon a slight elevation, in a healthful, pleasant situation near the city of Zwoll. Small and obscure as this cloister was, Thomas was repelled neither by that nor by its poverty. He wanted to be hidden, and to have fellowship only with his God. In the year 1399 he was received upon the five years' probation; in 1406 he took the cowl, and the next year the vows of the cloister. How sacred this last step seemed to him, appears in a chapter of "The Imitation," written about this time:¹ "Behold, thou art become a priest," so speaks the voice of the Lord to him (book iv., chap. 5),

Writes "The
Imitation."

¹ We here consider that work of which the great Haller did not hesitate to say, "The composer must have been a teacher of more than human virtue." The transition from author to book is easy, for Thomas and the *Imitation* are fully one, so that the author's life is the best commentary on his book, is even an "Imitation of Christ" reduced to practice. This is not the place to give a detailed account of the literary history of this golden little book, which is known superficially, or at least by name, to almost all Christians. Still less can we go into the learned dispute as to whether Thomas was its real author, and

"dedicated to the solemnization of the sacraments; see to it now that thou bringest the sacrifice to God at the appointed time, faithfully and devoutly, and that thou appear before Him blameless. Thou hast not lightened thy burden: thou art bound now with stronger bonds of restraint, and art obliged to greater holiness. A priest must be adorned with all virtues, that he may set others a good example. He must go not in the customary and common ways of men. He must company with the angels, and with the excellent of earth."

Cherishing such exalted ideas of his office, he must have performed his every-day duties in the convent with simple faithfulness and lively zeal. Every account we have warrants our praising À Kempis for a rare measure of that faithfulness in little things to which Christ promised a great reward. His fixed rule was never to be idle, but to be reading or writing, meditating or working for others. He delighted in volumes handsomely written, and counted the honoring of good and holy men by these, a devotional exercise. His first biographer says, "An entire Bible still exists, as also a large missal and some of Bernard's works, for which we are indebted to the beautiful calligraphy and unwearying industry of Thomas." He made frequent copies of his own "*Imitation of Christ*." Hence the long strife whether he was its author. For out of extreme modesty, or perhaps from a childlike naïve joy in the beauty of his writing, he names himself only as copyist [*Hic liber est scriptus manu et characteribus Thomae à Kempis*].

not Gerson, Bernard, or some other. There are over two thousand various Latin editions, and almost a thousand French translations, of which seven hundred may be found in the Paris library. It has also been translated into most of the known languages, living or dead. Two monastic orders have striven to enroll the author in their ranks. Even the Parliament of France disputed as to the authorship (1652). This honorable body of course decided against our Thomas, as it seems to us, somewhat hastily. For after all the learned researches, it hardly remains a matter of doubt that the *Imitation* proceeded from the head and heart of Thomas à Kempis, and that the precious fruit certainly grew on the soil of Holland. [See Ullmann's *Reformers*, also Malou (1848), Mooren (1855), and Hirsche (1873), on this question.] A more serious question is, Whence the reception this book has had for four centuries? We think we do not err when we ascribe its fame largely to the practical turn of the author, by which, avoiding theological differences and the quarrels of the schools, he finds the direct road to the heart and conscience of his reader. In its literary character the little book is not extraordinary. Its Latin might be purer in places; many sentences seem at first commonplace; the uniformity of thought is at times rather wearying. But through the whole breathes such a spirit of heart-piety and sweet, gentle glow of love, that no one can lay it down without love for its author. Or, rather, one forgets the author, to think only of the Lord, and of our relation to Him. There is something impersonal and objective in his representation of the imitation of Christ, by which the author's individuality, while ever shining through, is nowhere in the way. Thus it is easy, by his help, to enter the most holy place of Christian life. His sentences gleam forth with mild splendor, like pearls on an invisible thread. Useless ornaments of speech thrown aside, the eye is less turned from the great objects presented for our devotions. Besides, the work is not hinderingly Romish, but rather catholic and evangelical, unless (in the fourth book) on the communion and the priesthood. The author does not, like Rome, stand eminently with Peter, nor like the Protestant church with Paul, but rather with John; a position whose full realization is reserved for the church of the future. Something of John the Baptist's spirit is his too, as well as John the Apostle's. He made Christian learning and science important, but only as means, not as the highest goals. What can be more practical and useful than words like these? "What avails knowledge without the fear of God? Better a simple peasant, serving God, than a proud philosopher neglecting self and contemplating the course of the skies. Why dispute deeply on the Trinity, when thou lackest the humility that pleases the Trinity? The more man dies to self the more he

Meantime he did not shun the little duties of the household. For a long time he was "procurator," or deacon. He sought in this office to fulfill the Martha duties, as they are called in his charming little book "On the Faithful Householder," with motherly fidelity, as little as it suited his private inclination. He took great joy, thinking that through his care Christ's poor were relieved, and through his labors others could rest. In regard to duties of this kind, he writes: "Martha serves, labors, and does good before God and man, that Mary may be the freer to wait upon divine things. Only be faithful in thy place, Martha; thus serve, produce, provide, prepare what is needed for this life, in kitchen, in brewery, in cellar, in sowing of the field, in mill, wherever the servants of Christ need thy service, wherever without it they were not free in God." He remembers that the Martha and Mary office go together, and should together prepare Christ a home. He especially used his office for self-examination. The management of temporal affairs seemed to him to promote this. He says, "I believe that no one knows how it is with him, till he deals with temporal affairs, and has business care." He was, meanwhile, upon his guard against the danger of being carried away. "All worldly cares," he says, "are dangerous; therefore, as often as time allows, we ought to turn to the things of heaven. He who strives to fill well the office of the holy Martha will at times be vouchsafed the blessedness of the devoutly happy Mary, and may tarry in the repose of the promises and words of his Lord."

begins living unto God. Give thyself ever to the lowliest, and the loftiest shall be thine. Without love of God and man no works avail. Even though praised of men, they are as empty vessels having no oil, as lamps that go out in the darkness." We would find no end of citations if we were to point out, even superficially, the rich treasures of wisdom and piety here laid up in the most modest way for all ages. As we consider the age when Thomas lived, and how few and slight, comparatively, his aids to culture of mind and soul, and yet how his monastic spirit rises above that of the prevailing orders, we begin to understand the lofty praises of the *Imitation* by men like Leibnitz, Fontanelle, and Gysbert Voetius. We can say with the last, "I dare assert that after the Bible, I have found nothing, save a few fragments, more simple, mighty, and divine."

Certainly there is a shaded side of this bright picture. The doctrine of justification through faith does not fill its true place. How could it be otherwise when it is more the Christ in us, than the Christ for us, to whom our dear writer is so irresistibly directing us? The contrast between sin and grace is not everywhere sharply prominent. We might wish, too, that one so zealous against gross and subtle unrighteousness had given less food to self-righteousness. Further, as in his own life he did not appropriate or exhibit human life in completeness, but one-sided, so his book is a better rule for the inner than the outer life. There often appears a cloister-like depreciation of every-day things, an endeavor to shun earth, instead of an effort to honor God in this world, without being of this world. In this our busied, practical, earthward century, such a type of piety as his, if prevalent, would seem gloomy and odd. Yet far sadder for such a century if the side of Christianity to which he directs us were wanting; if there were prohibited to weary souls such a refuge of solitude into which we may betake ourselves as a needed contrast to the whirl around us. In such retirement we can hardly have, after the Bible, a better guide or companion than this same À Kempis. Much as Christians of the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries are apart in their lives and their views, that high ideal conceived by him, perfect peace through entire surrender to God and communion with Christ, is the same for all times. Since so many in this age expect too much from earth, they may find a wholesome correction of subtle worldliness and sensuality by converse with one who, it may be, valued the world too little. Surely, as in John Wessel we behold among the Brethren of the Common Life the bloom of theological science, so in Thomas à Kempis, in the same age, we behold the bloom of the purest ascetic mysticism.

Following such maxims in the least and greatest duties and cares of every-day life, Thomas can no more be counted in the crowd of beggar monks than among the friends of a weak mysticism. He must rather be numbered with the ascetic than with the mystic writers of his century. To a spirit like his, neither the lonely cell nor the routine of business could be altogether satisfying. Many a time he hastened, relieved of professional duties, to employ the precious hours with greatest joy at his beloved writing-table, or in reading and meditating. He took upon him, also, the office of sub-prior, and afterwards of teacher of the novices. The latter office was the more welcome because many of the youth had been attracted to the convent by his growing name. When sixty-seven (1447), he was again chosen sub-prior, and continued in this modest office, it seems, to the end of his life, or for nearly twenty-five years.

A life such as his has exceeding uniformity. It is like a clear crystal stream, flowing with low murmur through a level and smooth vale, reflecting from its surface the beams of the sun in an almost cloudless sky. Or, the cloister in which Thomas dwelt more than seventy years, giving it its principal renown, is the safe harbor, whither he early retired, where he lay in quiet and safety, away from the storms of the raging, restless ocean around him. Yet he, too, must learn that even in consecrated cloister walls undisturbed peace may not be found. The Oberyssel province, and with it St. Agnes's convent, was visited by the plague again and again in his life (1421, 1450, 1452, 1454). He saw the victims fall about him; their names he himself commemorates in the convent chronicles. He was brought much vexation, too, by the attacks upon the Brothers of the Common Life, by the Romanist clergy, especially by a Dominican named Grabow. His faith and patience were further tested by the forced exile of himself and his brethren. A strife rising between pope Martin Fifth and the see of Utrecht, on the choice of a bishop for the latter, a portion of Oberyssel, that went against the pope, was visited with his interdict. The St. Agnes brethren favored the pope's cause, yet disregarded his interdict, and so were sharply persecuted from all sides, and obliged to leave the country (1429). Twenty-four canons, Thomas, who had just been made sub-prior, among them, were forced to flee to Friesland. There they remained in the convent of Lunekerk till the pope's death ended the strife, removing the interdict (1432). when they returned in peace. This must have been to Thomas a time of inner conflict and outer trouble. At least the unknown chronicler of his death in the cloister records tells us "that he endured, especially in earlier years, severe want, trial, and toil." He himself, when warning against too great confidence in men, expressly declares, "I have been a learner in this to my loss, and may God grant to me greater carefulness and avoidance of new follies."

These storms past, Thomas lives a "still-life" of the noblest sort.

His whole career, indeed, reminds us of those characteristic "still-life" paintings of the Netherland school of that century. He lived ever at peace with his comrades, as cannot be doubted of one whose maxim was, "Even in things that must be done, better to speak in a requesting than a commanding tone. Be ready to oblige all that want anything of thee, yet let none about thee be idle. Attend to little every-day duties without saying much about them. In important religious matters consult thy superiors. Meddle not with business that is not intrusted to thee. The covetous is always in want. To the believing soul belongs the world with its treasures." He lived at peace with himself, answering to his own picture of the man of God: "of serene countenance, calm and pleasant in speech, circumspect and methodical in action, scattering peace and blessings all about him." His soul dwelt in contemplation, and in the life hid with Christ in God. He seldom spoke without object, especially if the talk was on the things of earth. When it was of God or heaven, his words flowed like a river. He set an example of earnest conscientiousness in the use of time. He was first at morning prayers, and, having left his bed, did not again return to it, but began work, copying or composing. He took only the rest his body demanded. When the Vesper or the Gloria died away in the evening, he was the last to leave the chapel-choir. He furthered in all practicable ways the interests of his house, in which his heart lay. He did not timidly shun the stranger who came from afar to see and hear him. He preached frequently in the popular tongue, and without writing, having first meditated upon his theme, and taken a short nap. As preacher and teacher. He especially devoted himself to training new-comers in the convent, of whom he had the especial care. His chief happiness was still in holy solitude with his God. "When he prayed, his countenance seemed transfigured," records his biographer. "He stood, with his feet barely touching the earth, as if he would fly away to heaven, where were his thoughts and his desires." When talking with the brethren, he would often hear the voice of the Lord within him, and beg leave to withdraw, saying, "I must go, for there is one with whom I must speak in my cell." Like most Christians of his day, he observed certain ascetic practices. Though ever temperate in eating and drinking, of chaste mind and pure morals, he would, on certain days, scourge himself, to the regular chanting of a Latin hymn, "*Stetit Jesus*." No wonder that he kept his body under subjection to his soul. He was of middle stature, fresh but dark complexion, of eyesight undimmed even in old age. His first biographer, Francis Tolensis, complained that no complete sketch of his appearance had been handed down. Yet he had seen a half-dimmed picture of Thomas, with the inscription, "In all things I have sought repose, but found it only in retirement and books" (in Dutch, "in hoxkens ende bokskens"). Of his last days but few facts

are known. His departure could not be grievous, whose whole life was a contemplation of heaven. He had closed his brother John's eyes long years before (1432), in Bethany cloister, near Arnheim. He had no tie of kindred left, so far as known. Hence dying was the easier, when he was called in almost patriarchal age into the rest of his Lord. The cloister record says, "In the year 1471, on the day of James the Less (July 25th), died our well-beloved brother Thomas à Kempis, in the ninety-second year of his age. In his extreme old age he had suffered from dropsy in the ankles. He fell asleep blessed in the Lord." It may seem strange, in view of the lofty reputation for piety justly enjoyed by À Kempis, that he was not canonized by the church of Rome, as were many less deserving ones. The reason may, perhaps, be found not only in the lack of the marvelous in the stories of his life, but also in the disfavor shown by Rome to the Brothers of the Common Life, who were outside all the approved orders, and so were counted largely secular. He has meanwhile gained what transcends all the dubious honors of Rome, — the grateful acknowledgments of Christians of every creed, for the help he has given them in the Christian life.¹

¹ We may well ask the question, How far does Thomas deserve a place among the pioneers of the Reformation, and the leaders of evangelic Christianity? His importance here must not be exaggerated. In belief and practice he stood with the church of his day. He could hardly be devoted enough to Mary, Agnes, and other saints. In childish simplicity, he tells of visions of Mary. He was not free from the Pelagian bias of mediæval theology. He decidedly advocates the Romish doctrine of absolution and transubstantiation. He teaches unlimited obedience to the church's authority. He touches lightly on the corruptions of the hierarchy, as if he hardly saw its diseases in that notoriously evil period. Nowhere do we hear him, like Huss or Wiclif, protest against errors and abuses emphatically and indignantly. Even as he writes of the "imitation of Christ," so he was disposed to imitate rather than to lead, to serve rather than to rule. That he never rose above the office of sub-prior is a symbol and portrait of his life. Still his work was reformatory, less through what he said than what he left unsaid, and above all through the spirit of his life and character. He did for theology what Socrates did for philosophy, — brought it from the lofty, unapproachable heights to the regions of human society and every-day life. He left Romish dogmas unattacked, yet stirred a striving and longing for direct, personal intercourse of the soul with God and Christ, which could only prove fatal in the end to Romanism, and encourage the Reformation. He opposed to the mechanical religiousness of Romanism the value of personal heart-piety, beside which all else was nothing. Curiously enough he mentions the pope but once, and then to say that he is a dying man (and nothing, with all his bulls). It is as if he would show by example that one can be an advanced Catholic Christian, without having aught of the ultramontanist, Jesuitical leaven of later years. The liberty which has been named the root of the Reformation appears in him in its true importance. He also expressly recommended Bible-reading, put the Bible by his copies into the hands of others, preached as it seems to the people in their own language, and promoted the education of the young by every means in his power. That his principles in their development would divide the defiled church was, perhaps, imagined by no one less than by Thomas. It is notable that we hear him say, "Ye should trust more to grace and mercy, than to prayer and good works; obedience is better than sacrifice." We should also take note that to confirm and support his sayings he cited, almost exclusively, the Bible, hardly ever the fathers and teachers of the church, and still more rarely councils or papal decrees. To all this let us add that under him grew up a man who may more certainly be reckoned a pioneer of the Reformation, the renowned John Wessel. Pointing out these and other signs of the Reformation in Thomas, we will say, finally, that his great work may be called a striking symbol of evangelic catholicism. The *Imitation* directs us almost wholly to things in which all Christians agree: we can hardly lay the book down without thinking how much, in spite of differences, the two great bodies of Christendom have in common. Must not believing Catholics and the true sons of Reformation, as they extend brotherly hands over this book, and accept its chief contents unreservedly, become more closely united?

A Kempis's complete works have been frequently issued; but none other has won the reputation or borne the fruit of the "Imitation." The man is yet dearer to Christendom than his books; not merely because he represents the genuine German ascetic mysticism of his day, but because he was a live Christian. Though he won no martyr's crown, he was a martyr in daily self-sacrifice for Christ, beyond most men before and after him. He learns yonder the truth of his own words, that the way of the cross is the royal way of Christ. And surely his bliss will not be disturbed because he who so wished to be unknown is known and honored by so many thousands. From heaven he seems to call in Paul's words: "Do ye imitate me as I imitate Christ!" And if we may write a sentence of Paul's beneath his portrait, it is this: "As unknown and yet well known; as dying and behold we live; as chastened and yet not killed; as sorrowing yet always joyful; as poor and yet making many rich; as having nothing yet possessing all things." — J. J. V'O.

LIFE X. JOHN WESSEL.

A. D. 1420—A. D. 1489. LAICAL LEADER, — GERMAN LANDS.

AMONG the men who prepared the way of reform in Germany, and who may appropriately be called "Reformers before the Reformation," John Wessel takes a front place. He is called, even by Bayle, the forerunner of Luther. By his most noted biographer, his life and deeds are compared to the early rays before the sunrise, breaking through the vapors and clouds of the horizon. Since such is his place, we are not surprised at the mixture of poetry with truth in the older accounts of his life and adventures. It proves the profound impression made by this Christian champion, traveled and learned as he was, upon the people about him; and their disposition to glorify him, as they attempt to describe him, now as "The Light of the World," again as "The Master of Controversy."

His birth and death alike took place in Gröningen; the former (1420) in a house on Herren Street, still distinguished by the Wessel escutcheon (the goose), the latter (1489) in a convent which has since been turned into a home for orphans, and is known now as the City, or the Red Orphan Asylum. The life of Wessel, however, was mostly spent in the cities of Germany, France, Italy, and, as some say, Greece and Egypt; in learning, teaching, disputing, with discourse and argument that never flagged, yet were so exciting and captivating that with his hearers days passed as hours. In his mingled seriousness and pleasantry there was the same clearness and depth as shine forth from his face. A strong open countenance it is, in the likenesses that have come down to us, its features compact but frank and elevated in their

His personal appearance.

expression, with seriousness on the brow, intelligence in the eye, and a play of drollery upon the lips.

Herrman, the father of Wessel, was a worthy master baker, whose family had come from the village or farm of Gansfort (whence his surname of Gansfort, or in Dutch Goesfort), on the left bank of the Ems, in Westphalia. Both he and the boy's mother (a daughter of the respectable family of Clantes) died during John's boyhood. The child was taken by a wealthy kinswoman, Oda or Ottilie Clantes, well known for her womanly traits, and educated along with her boys, first in Gröningen, afterwards in the famous school of the Brethren of the Common Life, in Zwoll. The bright lad soon showed on one hand a tendency to introspective piety, on the other to controversy, which also was characteristic of that company of wide-awake Christians. His spirit is indicated in the anecdotes of his intercourse with Thomas à Kempis, who was forty years his senior, and was living in Agnesberg, half an hour's walk from Zwoll. John was so impressed by À Kempis's "Imitation of Christ," that he ascribed to it his first strong impulses to piety. He called it also the foundation of true theology. Through his inclination to mysticism, he was almost led to enter À Kempis's convent. But, as says his most ancient biographer, "he had from childhood a deep repugnance to anything approaching superstition." Besides, a purely contemplative life did not suit him. With an ardent, profound piety he joined an eager thirst for knowledge and an untiring activity on the side of what afterwards made itself known as the Evangelic Reformation. So when Thomas one day was exhorting young Wessel to give especial veneration to Mary, John replied, "Why not, father, take me direct to Christ, who so kindly invites to Him the weary and heavy-laden?" The same spirit was shown in his answer, when admonished to keep days of fasting: "God grant that all my life may be a day of cleanliness and sobriety, a time of fasting from sin and slander." À Kempis was greatly amazed at his speeches, and was led by them to change many a thing in his writings, that seemed superstitious. So says the story, which serves at least to show the high opinion entertained of young Wessel's powers of criticism, independence, and daring frankness. In these characteristics, as well as in the exceeding fervor and depth of his piety, he has a place with the pioneers of the Reformation. He fulfills the thought of one of his own later utterances: "Jesus seeks in man the image of God, given us once more in Him, even truth, purity, and love; if we have not these, our souls are dark indeed."

Wessel's religious life was further promoted at Zwoll by his room-mate, John of Cologne, to whom he in turn imparted instruction in science. His talent for teaching and debating had opportunity given it for exercise by his appointment as a teacher, and as "lector" of the third class. His modest bearing in that office may be accepted as a mark of his sin-

ceré piety. The trait became more marked afterwards, keeping his early inclination to jest within limits, and softening the sharpness of the dry wit which never left him.

The Christianity of the Bible, accepted by him fully and spiritually, was the basis of his theology, the impelling motive and ideal of his life. Hence he says, "The man who by daily reading of the Scriptures becomes not more displeased with self, and humbled, not only reads the Bible to no profit, but even to his peril." He defended himself, in a debate respecting indulgences, against the charge that he was proud, stiff-necked, and eager for notoriety, in the following remarkable language: "If thou couldst look into my heart thou wouldst find not pride, but a downcast spirit, begging God in his mercy not to allow me to fall into error through my stiffneckedness, of which I am aware. Believe me, if I go wrong it is less from passion than from weakness. I am conscious in a good and earnest heart of seeking after truth so zealously as to be ready, even after I think that I have found it, to be corrected, not only by learned and experienced persons like thyself, but by even the lowliest, by myself, and ready also to acknowledge my mistake."

The quiet scene of his boyish training, though it afterwards proved an attractive home to the tired warrior in his old age, did not content the youth. Neither his thirst for knowledge, nor ^{Does out into the world.} his wish for a larger field for the declaration of opinions different from the accepted traditions, could be gratified there. He left Zwoll, first writing a defense of himself, and went to Cologne University, into the "Laurentius," a college founded by a professor from Gröningen. He studied Greek there with monks who had fled out of Greece, and Hebrew with the Jews, both of great value to his thorough understanding of the Bible. By diligent use of the library, he made up for the want of public lectures. By repeated perusals of Rupert of Deuz, he strengthened his mystic tendency; by diligent study of Plato, he trained his mind in philosophy, and was prepared to judge the prevailing scholastic theology, which rested upon Aristotle. He thus advanced to the degree of master of philosophy. Yet his thirst for a clearer knowledge of the truth was not satisfied in Cologne, or even comprehended. He was still eager to ask and investigate, to learn and know by the means then in vogue, of public and private disputations. Hence he declined a call to Heidelberg and went to the recently established University of Louvain, and thence to Paris. There the newly excited rivalry of the two schools of scholasticism, realism and nominalism, detained our student for sixteen years. He grew, meanwhile, into mature manhood, allying himself with the Nominalists, as did most men of reforming proclivities. In this meeting-place of European scholarship, and centre of culture and of intellectual influence, Wessel (who had also the Greek surname of Basil) was stimulated by the cardinal Bessarion, and by Francis of Novera, the

general of the Franciscans and afterwards pope under the title of Sixtus Fourth. In his turn, Wessel exerted great influence upon John Reuchlin and Rudolph Agricola. Meanwhile he visited some of the French cities most noted for culture, to hold debates upon philosophy. Yet he was no rhetorical pugilist, but a diligent seeker of truth, always ready to correct himself and purposing to give up his system "whenever convinced that there was in it anything contrary to the faith."

His religious belief, founded on the gospel, was never changed; only the form in which he applied it altered; nor did he change this through love of novelty, but sincere desire of the truth. He says of himself, "From childhood I have sought truth above all things. I seek it now more than ever, because only through truth is the way of life." Elsewhere he declares, "Truth's warfare is such that whether victor or vanquished, I grow in the liberty of the children of God. Truth promises those who abide by her their liberty. This warfare Jesus commanded us to wage in order to attain his kingdom." His delight in the contests of acute minds accorded with his desire to teach and know. It proceeded from a love to Christ as the Truth and from the conviction that love must confirm and prove herself in the light of truth, even as also knowledge must be established in love. "Knowledge," he says, "is not the chief thing: whoever will know, simply for the sake of knowing, is a fool, because he does not taste the fruit of knowledge, nor use his knowledge wisely." The heart of his thought and theology was his religion, and his religion was love of God and man. In advanced old age, he writes in a letter, "Only in love is life, and only in holy love is a holy life. We must love the Elder Brother, and by Him be led back to the Father. If we love not Him with pure heart, we cannot see his face." In his "Meditations," he says, "What ought I to give Him, to whom I can give nothing that is not his, nothing that He has not given me? . . . How can I show gratitude, I who am infinitely indebted, and yet am so poor? By acknowledging Him only, by confession, by returning to God, admiring, loving, glorifying Him, and sweetly enjoying his bounty. . . . So then, I am thine, O God; more thine than mine, and if there is aught in me, it is because Thou hast willed it. . . . In every condition be this the strong anchor of my sinking ship, only to will, because Thou wiltest."

Such being Wessel's belief, it is easy to conceive that he not only disapproved of indulgences, masses for the dead, and the like contrivances, but opposed also those who recommended many prayers, long litanies, countless rosaries, and psalm-singsings as the best religious preparations. He says, "None comes to Jesus except through Jesus, and in Jesus' way; the true way is living faith." Again he says, "Our good works nourish and strengthen faith; but they do not give life, they only strengthen life's ligaments. Christ and the Spirit alone give life. Christ's sacrifice sanctifies us." In the same way he writes,

Rejects papal
impostures.

"No fulfilling of obligation by the beloved pleases the lover unless it be from love. Love is more than the fulfilling of obligation. Faith is the spring of love; faith is well-pleasing by reason of that which it produces."¹

Wessel's approach to the central doctrine of the Reformation is vividly portrayed in his assertion, "The believer's soul is saved through his faith, but not for the sake of his faith." In the same direction point his Bible studies and thoroughly Scriptural theology. How he valued the Bible is shown in the following story, which illustrates at the same time his Christian sentiment. When Francis of Novera became pope, he invited his friend Wessel to ask some favor. The latter with decided frankness replied, "You know, holy father, that I have never striven after great things. But since you are now clad in the office of chief pastor and earthly shepherd, I wish that your calling should correspond to your title, and that you so exercise your office that when the Chief Shepherd, whose head servant you are, shall appear, He may say, 'Thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord!' and that you may confidently reply, 'Lord, thou gavest me five pounds, behold here are other five pounds, which I have gained.'" When the pope remarked that he would take this to heart, but that Wessel must now ask something for himself, the latter said, "Then I beg that you give me out of the Vatican library a Greek and Hebrew Bible." "You shall have it," said Sixtus, "but, you foolish man, why did you not ask a bishopric, or something of like sort?" "Because I did not want it," Wessel said as he accepted the Bible.

On one occasion, when Wessel was at the table in a Cistercian convent, hearing a production read, made up of insipid stories, he laughed to himself in his pleasant way. When asked why he was laughing, he replied, "I laugh at those huge lies. Better were it if the brethren would read the Holy Scriptures, or the 'Devotions of Bernard.'" He laid down this genuine gospel principle, "Only when the clergy and the teachers agree with the true and only Teacher, and lead us nearer Him, ought they to be regarded." Hence he would compare all the utterances of prelates, doctors, bishops, or councils, with the Apostles and prophets, whose words were certainly from God's Spirit.

Wessel's Protestant position further appears in that he deliberately opposes the famous utterance of Augustine, "I would not believe the gospel, if not moved thereto by the authority of the Catholic church."

¹ This last expression is not to be understood as if Wessel counted faith in itself meritorious and to be offered instead of works. He has said, a little before, "We believe that a man is justified through faith in Jesus Christ without works." He is engaged in showing that while the Apostles James and Paul differ they do not conflict. Hence he explains more exactly that while we know a man is alive by his activities, yet a man does not live by these activities, but by that which produces them. This he applies to faith, which he counts as living only when inseparably joined with love; when uniting us with God and Christ it cleanses us from sin and makes us ever holier. By his strong and frequent emphasizing of love, which is given special significance in his doctrine of redemption, justification, and sanctification, Wessel allies himself, as Ullmann correctly perceives, with the mystic theology, while his magnifying the Pauline doctrine of justification through faith points ahead to the theology of the Reformation.

Wessel says, "We believe the gospel for God's sake; we believe the pope and the church for the gospel's sake, not the gospel for the church's sake." In like manner he teaches respecting the church: "We must acknowledge one universal church, but must find its oneness in its one faith, its one divine master, its one corner-stone, not in its having one Peter, or one successor of Peter, in a place of authority." Accordingly, he would believe in company with the church, and in harmony with the church, but would not believe upon the church, because faith was an act of worship, an offering precious to God, which should be presented to God alone.

Wessel's views were strengthened and developed by his residence in Italy, and especially by his stay in Rome. Thither in those days flocked earnest spirits, young and old. Thence from time to time not a few came back with such thoughts and experiences as are ascribed to Martin Luther and also to John Wessel. The repugnance of the latter to entering the clerical office did not diminish. This appears when Wessel, after returning from Italy and making brief stops in Paris and in Basel (where in 1475 he lived along with Reuchlin), accepted a call to Heidelberg to build up its university. He would not teach in the theological faculty, because to obtain the degree of master of divinity he would have had to assume the vows of priesthood. So he entered the faculty of philosophy. His residence here, although short, produced blessed results. The effects of his labors in the Palatinate endured till the Reformation.

For reform the time was not yet come, nor was it work suited to Wessel. Yet he could say with sincerity, "I fear no danger which I incur for the sake of the pure faith; only let calumny be spared." This utterance he made after his return to Holland, when there came a report of the proceedings instituted by the inquisitors of Cologne, against John of Wesel (a contemporary of Wessel). For in imagination he saw the stake prepared for himself. The old man came back to the place of his early training, and labored there the last ten years of his life. He was still fond, it appears, of the mystic theology. The aged teacher, tired of controversy, found under the protection of bishop David, of Burgundy, a welcome opportunity for quiet reflection and religious enjoyment, and also for giving scientific form to his thoughts and experiences. Besides, he could have edifying intercourse with his associates in Gröningen, at the Agnesberg, and in the neighboring abbey of Adwert. In the last, which was renowned for its schools, there lived, a contemporary writer says, many models of monastic excellence. "Not so," says Wessel, "do the thirsty long for the pure spring, the hungry for offered bread, the loving for good news from a far country, as does the wise man for a hidden, restful, faithful, certain, fruitful, cheerful, intelligent interview with his mistress, Wisdom." With a clear insight into the church's condition, Wessel pointed his

young friends to the approach of the time when scholastic teaching would be abjured by all truly Christian scholars. Meanwhile he was the centre of an influential circle of gifted and pious pupils and friends. He gave frequent vent to his dislike of all cant and formalism. Yet he did not oppose order and established customs, provided they brought nothing mechanical into religious exercises. He was himself accustomed, on the day when he took the Lord's Supper, to read to the brethren of the Agnesberg the farewell prayer of Christ (John xvii.), and make remarks upon it. He greatly loved the Lord's Prayer. When asked by the brethren whether he prayed, since he used no prayer-book or rosary, he answered, "By the help of God, I try to pray always. Notwithstanding, I repeat the Lord's Prayer every day; but that prayer is so pure and lofty, that it were enough if I read it but once a year." He wrote a special work upon it, in which he says, "This prayer possesses a hidden power, I know not what, over all other prayers, and secures, to him who carefully uses it, devout feelings in abundance. For a fruitful land, under the spring and summer sun, yields not so many fruits as does Christ's prayer to an enkindled heart. But it requires one to use diligence and care."

It is a noteworthy fact that very often those Christians who are furthest advanced in religious life have to endure, towards the last, the sharpest assaults. Such a struggle was not spared this brave champion and tried witness. It threatened to grow into doubt even of the truth of the Christian religion. Long before he had called that a happy day when he would advance to the eternally perfect life of love. And now his Lord helped him in his extremity, and in the very face of death, to utter this last confession: "I thank God all those idle thoughts are gone. I know none now save Christ the crucified." So fell asleep in the Lord, gently and joyfully, that man of whom Luther said, afterwards, "If I had read Wessel first, my adversaries might have fancied that Luther had taken everything from Wessel, we are so entirely alike in spirit."—C. B. M.

LIFE XI. JOHN WICLIF.

A. D. 1324 ?—A. D. 1384. CLERICAL LEADER, — ENGLAND.

OF the preparers of the Reformation one of the foremost is John Wiclif. He has obtained his place not simply by his success, which was extended and unbroken; he has earned it by his character also, his resolute manhood, Christian wisdom, and untiring zeal. He was born in the North Riding of Yorkshire, in Wiclif parish, in the little village of Sperswell, now extinct. His family, the Wiclifs of Wiclif, were gentry

and well-to-do in worldly things. Like their neighbors they held tenaciously through all the centuries to the marked characteristics of the Saxon Germans.

The time of Wiclif's birth is not certain, but was not later than the year 1324, and perhaps a year or two earlier. Of his childhood and youth no authentic accounts have been preserved. The first distinct facts in his life relate to his early manhood. He had for some time already been at Oxford University, receiving his preparatory training. Probably he was a scholar first at Balliol College, which some fifty years before had been founded by a noble Norman family, the Balliols of Bernard Castle, near Wiclif parish. John proved from the start a zealous student. Confined as he was to the studies of his period, he remained without knowledge of Greek or Hebrew. His writings show that the Greek classics and the Greek church literature were known to him only in Latin translations, and often only by hearsay. But in philosophy and theology (of the scholastic order), Wiclif was so zealous and successful as to become a master. Even his opposers testify that "in philosophy none surpassed him, in scholastic science none rivaled him." Nor did he stop here, but devoted himself ardently to mathematics and natural science, and like every genuine theologian of the Middle Ages, he became versed in the canon law.

When his college course was completed he still stayed at Oxford. Manhood came to him there, engaged in quiet labors, as a graduate and a fellow of one of the few colleges then existing. His course had probably been in Balliol College. But according to its rules, a student, at graduation, must give up his place upon the foundation. Wiclif hence accepted an election as fellow in Merton College, and, in 1356, as seneschal. Some years later, he was made "Master," in Balliol, where he had been a scholar. In 1365 he was chosen by Islip, the archbishop of Canterbury, as president of the new college founded by the latter. He lost this place after a year and a day. Islip dying (April 26, 1366), Simon Langham, a monk, became primate. Adhering to his monkish ideas, he deposed Wiclif and three of his associates and put monks in their places. Wiclif and his comrades appealed to the pope against the archbishop. The lawsuit was protracted, but ended (1370) with the defeat of Wiclif and the confirmation of his successor. The papists have tried to blacken Wiclif's character and motives by explaining his attacks on the papacy and its belongings as a revenge for this wound. The attempt is unjustified. His opposition to monkery, prelacy, and popery sprang from no personal feeling or commonplace motives, but from sound argument and strong conviction.

He had now (1365-1374) become a doctor of theology. He continued the lectures which he had begun as a bachelor of theology. Out of these discourses grew his theological works. Nor did he confine

himself to study, only. He exhibited decidedly practical talents as fellow and seneschal, and at last as president of Balliol. He had been described in archbishop Islip's letter (still extant), which justified the choice of him for the presidency of Canterbury Hall, as faithful, circum-spect, and active. Wiclif had been presented (1361) by Balliol with the rectorship of Fillingham, but had not left Oxford. By leave of the bishop he sent a curate to supply the parish. He was warmly interested in the affairs of his country, like a true patriot. He never busied himself, however, with matters purely political, but only with such as concerned the church. His whole strength at last was spent upon questions of religion.

Until recently it has been believed that Wiclif's zeal for church reform was first shown in attacks on the Mendicant Friars. Such is not the case. He wrote as late as 1360, and even 1370, in praise of the friar orders. His antagonism to Rome had a very different origin. In 1365 an annual payment of a thousand marks, which had been omitted for thirty-three years, was demanded by the pope. This tax had been imposed, in 1213, on king John Lackland by Innocent Third. The matter was laid before Parliament (May, 1366) by Edward Third. It was unanimously voted by the Lords, spiritual and secular, and by the Commons, that king John was unauthorized to place the land, without their consent, under a foreign sovereign. They would support the crown with all their might and means against any step by the pope opposing the king. In this decision the pope (Urban Fifth) silently acquiesced. It was the last of any claim of papal lordship over England. In this great national question Wiclif had an interest. Receiving a challenge from a monkish doctor of theology to write on the subject, he published an argument wholly in accord with Parliament. The gauntlet was thrown down to him because as an expert in church matters he had been given a seat and voice in Parliament (May, 1366), and had wielded undoubted influence.

Some years later (1372) there appeared in England a papal agent, nuncio, and receiver of papal dues, one Arnold Garnier. He was allowed to collect revenues for the pope only on condition that he should first solemnly swear to maintain the rights of the crown and the interests of the nation. Nor did this quite satisfy the demands of patriots. A memorial appeared, written by Wiclif, in which he argued that it was a contradiction to swear not to hurt English rights and interests, and yet collect moneys in England for the papacy, and carry them out of the realm. Wiclif's patriotic and constitutional views came out very clearly, and also his upright and thoroughly Christian character. He opposed papal tyranny from regard to the pastoral office, and from the conviction that the Holy Scriptures were the sure rule of action.

In the summer of 1374 the English government, sending an embassy

to Bruges, in the Netherlands, to treat with the agents of Gregory Eleventh, upon the abolition of certain ecclesiastical taxes, Wiclif on the Continent. named John Wiclif, doctor of theology, with two bishops and four gentlemen of the laity, as commissioners. Wiclif here attained his greatest honor and influence. The repeated nominations of Italians and Frenchmen to church offices in England, and the many taxes for the pope's benefit, had exasperated Englishmen of all classes. These abuses were to be corrected by the deputies. But the negotiations dragged and ended after a year and a day without any satisfactory results. To Wiclif, his residence in Bruges, then a city of note, and his intercourse with statesmen and papal prelates, were of vast benefit; an insight was afforded him into many matters, hardly to be acquired at home. His dealings with papal legates left him with impressions such as were left upon Luther after his return from Rome. Wiclif's frequent intercourse with John of Gaunt (duke of Lancaster, third son of king Edward Third), who was in Bruges, negotiating a peace with France, was also to have its influence on his life.

Upon the day when Wiclif is highest in fortune and popular esteem, full of renown as a scholar and a patriot, honored by his university and trusted by Parliament, statesmen, and sovereign, the storm bursts over him. He is twice, within a year (1377), summoned to appear before ecclesiastical courts: first before a convocation, then before certain prelates whom the pope had made commissioners. The church magnates assembled (February 19, 1377) in St. Paul's, London. Wiclif was ordered before them as guilty of "heretical teachings." But there came with him, as his champions, the duke of Lancaster and the chief marshal, Lord Henry Percy. These nobles were so vehement and even threatening, that the bishop of London, Courtenay, adjourned the sitting. Certain of the Londoners, who felt themselves insulted in their bishop, threatened in turn the nobles. The prelates appealed to Rome. The pope (Gregory Eleventh) issued (May 22, 1377) five bulls against nineteen of Wiclif's propositions. He addressed them to the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, king Edward Third, and the Oxford University. Meanwhile, Edward Third dying, Richard Second was king, and the summons for Wiclif to appear before the archbishop and bishop was delayed till December. Early in 1378, he presented himself before them in the chapel at Lambeth. An official of the king's mother (the widow of the Black Prince) was present, and forbade the commissioners passing judgment. The Londoners broke into the chapel, and took Wiclif's side with noisy threats. The latter escaped with nothing more than an admonition. Soon after this, on Gregory Eleventh's death (March 27, 1378), there broke out that long and tedious schism which shook papal authority to its foundations. Right-minded people were stirred to do everything to help raise up

the poor fallen church. Hitherto Wiclif has been a political reformer of the church. Now he comes forward as a genuine religious reformer, yet still without laying aside in the least his patriotism.

His first efforts were to reform preaching and to exalt the pastor's office. He began by attending to his own pastorate in person. Reforms the pastorate. Then he enlarged his field of effort. There have come down to us many of his sermons, Latin and English, bearing witness to the holy ardor with which he filled the office of preacher. The Latin sermons, of which there are several volumes, were no doubt given in Oxford, before members of the university. His English sermons, of which no less than two hundred and ninety-three have lately been given to the press, were in part delivered to his congregation at Lutterworth, in part prepared as models for the traveling preachers who went out from his school. Wiclif not infrequently criticises the sermons of his day. He denounces as a most grievous sin the preaching, not of God's Word, but of all kinds of stories and legends as far removed from the Bible as possible. His second principal charge is that when the Word of God is used, it is not preached rightly, but with all kinds of tricks of logic and rhetoric. He wants the Word of God preached; for it is the germ of regeneration and spiritual life. It must be preached as it is in the Bible. He answers the question, how to preach, saying, Appropriately, simply, directly, and from a devout, sincere heart. His own sermons, marked as they are by the customs and notions of his times, are yet full of zeal for God's honor, of care for the salvation of souls, of hearty earnestness on behalf of "a life of righteousness in Christ Jesus." With their sincerely devout spirit, their perfect sincerity and honesty, these sermons serve to indicate Wiclif's own religious attainments and modes of thought.

In April, 1374, Wiclif was by the king's favor presented with the parish of Lutterworth, a village in Leicestershire. While he was himself a model of faithfulness in preaching and pastoral work, he toiled every way to raise up preachers of the gospel far and near. This he achieved especially by his traveling preachers. Most probably he had organized a school of Bible ministers before he left Oxford, and had sent them out as volunteer preachers. Afterwards, when he had fully retired to Lutterworth, he was more earnest than ever in such efforts. His people, known as "poor priests," went out barefoot, staff in hand, clad in a long coarse garment of red cloth. From village to village, from city to city, they preached, admonished, and instructed. Wherever they found willing ears they expounded "God's Law" (that is, God's Word) in the mother English, with simplicity and fidelity, with penetration and power.

Wiclif went further. He held that not only should God's Word be preached to all, but the Bible should be the property of all. Father of the English Bible. He therefore commenced the translation of the Scriptures into English. Like Luther, he translated first the New Testament, but

from the Vulgate only, not like Luther from the original. The translation of the Old Testament was undertaken afterwards, not by himself, but by his friend and colleague, Nicholas of Hereford. When the whole Bible had been completed (probably in 1382), Wiclif proceeded to a careful revision and correction. The work was nevertheless not all done, as it seems, until four years after his death. It is noteworthy that the style of Wiclif in his English Bible, compared with his other English writings, excels in clearness, beauty, and force. This translation marks an era in the language of England as truly as does Luther's in that of Germany. As Luther's introduces the modern High German, so Wiclif's perfects the mediæval English.

In doctrine, Wiclif came more and more to the conviction that the Scripture alone is the rule of belief. This view he fully displayed in his work "*On the Truth of Holy Scripture*" (1378), refuting all possible objections. In one important passage he attacked the Romish system, severely criticising the schoolmen's doctrine of transubstantiation. Till 1378 he had been an adherent of the dogma. From that date his convictions changed, and in the summer of 1381 he published twelve short theses on the Lord's Supper, opposing transubstantiation. The serious objection he urges against the belief is its unscripturalness. Besides, it tended to idolatry, since the consecrated wafer received reverence due God only. It was an "abomination of desolation in the holy place." Wiclif held that in the sacrament there remained after consecration real bread and real wine. Yet it was at the same time Christ's body and blood. The body of Christ was thus received and enjoyed, really but spiritually, by the faithful partaker.

These views created an immense sensation at Oxford. The university chancellor appointed several doctors of theology and of law, among them eight monks, to sit in judgment on Wiclif's theses. They decided unanimously that the theses were false and heretical. Thereupon the chancellor issued a decree which declared the essence of the theses, as set forth in two propositions, to be contrary to the church's teaching. He forbade the publication or maintenance of them in the university, under pain of expulsion. Wiclif appealed to the king, but was told to refrain from all oral discussion upon the sacrament. He still in many a volume, large or small, Latin or English, presented his views upon the subject.

In 1382, the new archbishop of Canterbury, William Courtenay, took part against Wiclif and his party. A peasant insurrection had just been quelled, which the Romish side would have been glad to lay to Wiclif's teachings. The archbishop reaffirmed transubstantiation in a church assembly in London (May 17, 1382), and condemned the opposite doctrine as false and heretical. During the meeting, London was alarmed by a fearful earthquake. Wiclif took the visitation as a judgment upon the assembly, and always called it the "Earthquake Council."

The archbishop followed up its decree by sending to Oxford his prohibition of the condemned theses. He further moved Parliament against the Wiclifian traveling preachers. The king, Richard Third, commanded his sheriffs to take the heretics and their patrons into custody. The archbishop proceeded more decidedly to humble the principal men of Wiclif's school, and succeeded with Philip Repington, John Aston, and others. Wiclif himself was cited before a provincial synod, held in Oxford (November 18, 1382). Nothing, however, was done. Meanwhile, Wiclif memorialized the Parliament. Esteemed by the nation, he was handled gently by the hierarchy, and remained untouched for the two remaining years of his life. He continued quietly in Lutterworth village, doing his work as pastor, active as an author and leader of his Bible preachers. The story of his summons to Rome by Urban Sixth is an error, yet he was in danger of such citation. Knowing this, he was yet ready to suffer further for Christ's cause, and to end, if need be, his life as a martyr. But he was spared by the favor of God. After suffering two years from a partial paralysis, he was struck a second time while attending mass in the church of Lutterworth, December 28, 1384, just at the moment of the elevation of the Host. He was not able to speak again. He was relieved by death soon after, on the 31st of December, 1384.

Many years later (May 4, 1415), he was solemnly adjudged a heretic by the Council of Constance; his teachings were condemned, and his bones ordered to be dug up and scattered. The fate of his ashes. This command was carried out twelve years afterwards. Fleming, bishop of Lincoln, being reminded by Martin Fifth (1427) of his obligation to execute the decree, caused Wiclif's remains, that had lain forty-three years in quiet under the chancel of Lutterworth church, to be disinterred, burned, and their ashes thrown into the river.

As we make an effort to present Wiclif's portrait in all its nobleness and grandeur, we are led involuntarily to compare him with one whose life began ninety-nine years after his ended, with Martin Luther. For both toiled with enthusiasm and untiring zeal to reform the church in head and members. Both strove not to tear down and destroy the church, but to build up and restore her to her apostolic perfection. Both stood on the foundation of the Holy Scriptures, refusing human doctrines and traditions. They found in the Bible the only source of truth and rule of faith and life. Both sought to make the Scriptures accessible to the people by publishing them in the popular tongue: Wiclif using the Latin text, Luther the original. Wiclif, however, had not Luther's warmth of soul and genial temperament. He was rather a man of intellect, of clear, sharp, penetrating mind. We feel in Wiclif the keen, fresh breeze of the morning before the sunrise; in Luther, some warming beams of the beneficent sun. To surpassing powers of intel-

lect, Wiclif joined a stout will, constant and heroic in its purposes. His convictions sprang from his moral nature. He reveals himself, as few have ever done, in his books. His life was like his belief, and stands forth in its manliness and vigor before the world. Both he and Luther took, as the heart of their doctrine, Jesus Christ as the only Saviour, the only mediator between God and man. But in viewing the means of salvation, Wiclif did not grasp the evangelic idea of justification through faith. Rather he inclined to credit good works in part with our righteousness before God, and to let the disciple claim some share of merit. Luther, on the other hand, clearly and fully maintained that justification was through faith only, and made this the centre of his creed. For this reason, especially, Wiclif proved not a reformer but only a forerunner of reformation. But even as such, he is most important, and deserving of our reverence. He first had the reforming spirit. He first with heart and life, with all the force of a transcending mind, with mighty will and Christian self-sacrifice, devoted himself to the work of church reform. And his "labor is not in vain in the Lord." — G. L.

LIFE XII. JOHN OLDCASTLE, LORD COBHAM.

A. D. 1360 ?—A. D. 1417. LAICAL LEADER, — ENGLAND.

THE man who lives to himself, though he shine ever so glorious in life, is soon lost to view, leaving no memory of good deeds behind him. The man who does God's work, promotes his truth, and advances his kingdom, bequeathes blessings that endure continually. Though Wiclif had died (1384), his spirit lived; not alone in the "poor priests" taught by him to preach a "free and pure" gospel according to "God's Law," rather than man's device; not alone in the thousands of the yeomanry and peasantry who gladly received the Word of God from the poor preachers; but also in numerous adherents of rank and high position, knights and peers of the realm. For there were such who were assured that they could use their wealth and influence in no better way than to help on a cause which was both to God's honor and to the liberty and welfare of the nation. The Lollards were at the same time Christians who cared eagerly for the soul's salvation, and patriots who longed for England's exaltation. Among the foremost of the patrons and defenders of the Wiclif party, in the noble classes, was John Oldcastle. For his sympathy with it he became an object of assaults, which at last brought a fearful catastrophe, involving this faithful confessor of the truth of the gospel in a horrible death.

Sir John Oldcastle was nobly born. Yet his peerage as Baron Cobham, and his seat and voice in the House of Lords, came to him in the right of his wife. He was an accomplished knight, a brave, able captain,

a gifted courtier, and a wise counselor. He stood high in favor with king Henry Fourth, who, in the autumn of 1411, intrusted him with the forces sent to assist the duke of Burgundy in raising the siege of Paris. But Oldcastle valued God's grace above the king's favors. He owed his conversion, under God, to Wiclif and his doctrine. His first dread of sin, as he openly acknowledged in a trial before ^{Is converted through Wiclif.} the English primate, was excited by the teaching of Wiclif. From that time he resolved to follow Christ, and promote, as he was able, the "free and pure" preaching of God's Word. He attended in person upon the sermons of the itinerant preachers; he stoutly resisted all who would interfere with them; he assisted the Lollards, when threatened by the hierarchy, with his position and influence; he even himself sent out traveling preachers, without soliciting any episcopal sanction.

Such a man, we may be sure, was a thorn in the side of the Romanist bishops. But they lacked courage, or at least opportunity, to attack directly a person so high in position and popular at court. They began, therefore, with his chaplain, one John, who had preached as an itinerant, under his master's protection, in several villages of Kent upon the estates of Oldcastle, and without leave from the bishop of Rochester. He was summoned by the primate (1410) to appear before him, and the churches where he was wont to preach were put under an interdict.

After king Henry Fourth's death (1413), when his son, who as prince of Wales had led a mad career, succeeded him as Henry Fifth, an attack was made directly upon Oldcastle. At first it referred only to a book in his possession. By taking certain offensive passages from it, which Oldcastle had no intention of defending, his foes turned the king against him. Further charges were preferred against Oldcastle by the Convocation (June 26, 1413), which moved his trial for fostering error, and protecting unlicensed itinerants. It was the counsel of primate Thomas Arundel that they first go to the king and lay the matter before him. By this means Henry Fifth was led to try by personal interviews to change Oldcastle, but without success. The latter would not resign his convictions, but held them fast. At last (August, 1413), a very severe rebuke was administered to him by the king at the castle of Windsor. Oldcastle left the court, repaired to his castle of Cowling, in Kent, and fortified it. The king informed the primate of his failure, and called upon him to proceed according to the ecclesiastical law.

At once a written summons was sent by the primate to Cowling castle. No notice was taken by Oldcastle. A second summons was affixed publicly to the door of Rochester Cathedral. When Oldcastle did not appear within the time named therein, he was put under the ban by the primate for obstinate disobedience, and again summoned to answer the charge of heresy. Soon after Oldcastle was cast into the Tower, having probably surrendered voluntarily to the king. From the Tower he

was taken (September 23, 1413) to the chapter-house of St. Paul's, before the archbishop and his court. He was promised by the primate that the ban should be taken off him, and absolution given, if he would petition it. This Oldcastle utterly refused to do, but asked permission to read his confession of faith, drawn up in the English language. This confession is conciliatory in tone, approaching as near as possible to the Romish belief. Yet it is frank and dignified, bespeaking a spirit of true godliness, and of noble, manly courage, and so compels respect from every unprejudiced person. It treats of the Lord's Supper, of repentance, of images, and of pilgrimages. The primate, having counseled with the bishops of London and Rochester, and several doctors of theology and law, could not but acknowledge that his written statement contained much that was good and orthodox. But he asked a more exact and frank declaration on certain points, especially the Lord's Supper and oral confession. Oldcastle refused all further explanations, and could not be induced to acknowledge papal or prelatie decisions as binding in matters of doctrine.

He was led back to the Tower. A second hearing came on September 25th, and the primate again invited him to beg for absolution. The knight replied: "No, verily, that I will not do. I have never sinned against you, therefore I will not beg forgiveness of you!" At these words he knelt down on the floor, lifted his hands toward heaven, and prayed:

*His touching
confession.*

"I confess to Thee, thou ever-living God, that I have in my weak youth sinned grievously against Thee, through pride, anger, wantonness, and unbridled passion. To many persons have I in my wrath done harm, and have committed many other grievous sins. Good Lord! I pray Thee, have mercy." Then he rose in tears, and exclaimed in a loud voice to those standing near, "Look ye, good people, look ye; for a transgression of God's law and his chief commandments they have never yet accused me, but for sake of their own laws and traditions they treat me and others most shamefully. Therefore they and their laws shall, according to God's promise, be destroyed utterly!"

The archbishop continued the examination, questioning the accused upon his belief, repeating certain questions which had been asked in writing. The knight replied with a candid direct confession respecting the Lord's Supper, auricular confession, the sign of the cross, and the "power of the keys." Nor did he hesitate to name Rome as the nest of antichrist, the pope his head, the prelates, priests, and regular monks his body, the begging monks his tail. At one time, he extended his arms and called aloud to all those present, "These who judge and condemn me will mislead you and drag you with themselves down to hell. Beware of them!" He again fell on his knees, praying for his enemies and persecutors. Remaining true to his convictions and answering the

primate and his doctors on every point bravely and composedly, Oldcastle received sentence from the court as follows: "Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, as a pernicious heretic is hereby excommunicated, along with all his comrades and associates in belief, and is handed over to the civil law."

The sentence was not immediately executed. The knight was given forty days for reflection. Towards the end of this period, he succeeded in escaping from the Tower. A company of bold Londoners, in a dark night (October 27-28, 1413), went to the Tower, rescued him, and took him to his home in Smithfield. There he remained unmolested for three months. The pronounced enemies of the Lollards have left us a story which ascribes to the latter a scheme to waylay the king and his brother at their country seat of Eltham. Upon its discovery, the king repaired to Westminster. They then concerted a night meeting at St Giles, near London (January 7, 1414), intending with help from London to put down king and lords, prelates and monks; and they expected Sir John Oldcastle to lead them. But the king was ahead of them in occupying St. Giles, and overwhelmed the mob. Thirty-nine were condemned, by a summary process, and hanged or burned as traitors. It is true there was a night insurrection at St. Giles (January 6-7). But who its instigators and abettors were, is utterly unknown. The plot thought to be connected with it is charged upon Oldcastle. The slightest proof of guilt has never yet been adduced against him.

A royal proclamation was issued against Oldcastle (January 11, 1414). He lay concealed some months, nor is it known when he quitted his house in town. He was discovered first in Wales, in 1417, and after a brave defense was captured and brought to London. His trial took place, December 14, 1417, before the House of Lords. He refused to defend himself, commending himself to God as the One to whom vengeance belongs. He closed by saying, "But with me, it is a very small thing, that I should be judged of you, or of man's judgment." The final sentence was pronounced that he be hanged as a traitor and burned as a heretic. It was literally executed. He ^{His cruel sentence.} was laid on a cart, his hands tied behind him, and dragged from the Tower through the city to St. Giles's Fields. Then he was taken from the cart. Falling on his knees he entreated the Almighty to forgive his enemies. Rising he admonished the crowd of spectators to keep God's law as written in the Bible, and to beware utterly of teachers whose life and conduct were opposed to the Master. He was then suspended by chains between the gallows. A fire was kindled under him, burning him slowly to death. While he had breath, he praised God, commending his soul to his hands. Thus perished Oldcastle, first of Wiclifites, not only in rank and influence, but in moral worth and Christian spirit. His was a steadfast martyr death, without fear and without reproach.

— G. L.

LIFE XIII. JOHN HUSS.

A. D. 1369—A. D. 1416. CLERICAL LEADER,—BOHEMIA.

THE name John Huss awakes in us feelings, and calls up images, not unlike those evoked by the name John Baptist. In spirit we hear "the voice of one crying in the wilderness." The prophet's stern visage rises upon our soul. We think of the morning star, the forerunner and preparer of the way; we see two ages, that knew hot conflict and fierce collision, one side against another, striving for the victory.

We betake ourselves in spirit to the fifteenth century. It is difficult to describe how sad the church's condition then seemed. The Lord's vineyard was a desert; thorns and thistles covered it, in place of vines. The priesthood was grown worldly and even dissolute. The popes, overstepping all limits in their assumptions, led lives scandalous and horrible beyond measure. The monkish orders were following them in the way of ruin. Simony, extortion of every kind, and concubinage were the order of the day. Church assemblies seemed only held for the bacchanalian orgies that went with them. During the Council of Constance, there were no less than fifty thousand strangers in the town, and a great swarm of abandoned women among them. At this time the church saw at her head three pretended vicegerents of Christ, instead of one, alternately excommunicating and cursing each the others. The poor people, designedly chained down by basest superstitions, fainted as sheep without a shepherd. Was it a wonder, when a part of them, casting aside all restraints of chastity and morality, followed in the footsteps of their corrupt leaders, and gave themselves up to every vice, if the other and nobler portion, in sore need of the bread and water of life, gave vent to loud and still louder demands for the church's reformation, in head and in members? Already have met us eminent representatives of this desire for a new birth of all Christendom. They differed certainly in their vision of their object. In Italy, those princes among poets, Dante and Petrarch; in England, Wiclif and his numerous adherents; in Germany, the so-called "Friends of God," who, with the "Brethren of the Common Life" in the Netherlands, wrought in quiet, reforming first themselves. These all were preparing the new future for the church, but in

The church in
Bohemia.

advance of all of them was the Moravian-Bohemian church. It had been founded in the ninth century, by the help of those excellent evangelists Cyril and Methodius, in well-nigh apostolic purity. Only after centuries of continued conflict did it submit to Rome. And now it burned with longing for a return to its ancient position and customs. One of the first pillars and champions of this reforming tendency was John of Milic, archdeacon of Prague. Clad in coarse garments,

he went of his own accord as a traveling preacher, his soul on fire at the unexampled spiritual destitution of the people. Through his earnest words he so transformed a part of Prague inhabited by abandoned women and named "Little Venice," that it became a centre of genuine piety and was called "Little Jerusalem." Like another Samuel, he set up a school of the prophets, and gathered two or three hundred young men in an association, training them without charge, as preachers of a pure gospel. Before this he had, as Luther's forerunner, affixed on the gates of St. Peter's in Rome, upon a visit thither, a notice that on a certain day he would expose the antichrist rising within the church, and warn men against him. John of Milic was joined by a kindred mind in Conrad of Waldhausen, a German hailing from Austria, who in Vienna first, and now in Prague, took the field with all his might against the hollow lip-service of the church. He acknowledged those only as God's children who were moved by God's Spirit. He made successful war on the corrupt orders of the "Begging Friars," "leaky vessels," he called them, who still possessed great popularity and influence. Still a third in this band of faithful witnesses was Matthias of Janow. Less practical than the others, he sought to employ the lever of science upon the degraded church. His writings reveal the germs of the principles that afterwards were unfolded in the German Reformation. The sufficiency of a crucified Christ received by faith, the necessity of a new birth through the Holy Spirit, the universal spiritual priesthood of all believers, and their direct communion with Christ, were with him familiar ideas. His clear perception of faith, as a new life producing from its very nature every Christian virtue as its blossom and fruit, made him an inveterate foe of the false priests and mechanical services of the church.

Nourished upon the food of these three mighty men, influenced as they were by the thoughts of the English Wiclif, yet with an originality and fertility all their own, John Huss grew up. In earnestness, zeal, and learning, he was their equal. He was their superior as a reformer affecting the popular life. John Huss — his name sounds like a trumpet call to repentance [which is, in the German, *Buss*] — was born ^{John Huss's} in the little hamlet of Husinec in Bohemia, of poor and ^{youth.} lowly parents. In their humble cottage he breathed from infancy the atmosphere of an enlightened piety. In his mother, widowed in early life, he found his especial guide in the way of godliness. She was, without knowing it, the voice of the Lord to her child. She gave him in the cradle to God's service. With tears and prayers she herself took him, in time, to the high school in Prague. Two parties were there warring with one another: the high-church, headed by German doctors, and the reformed, under the advanced Bohemian theologians. Huss, influenced by his mother, chose his teachers from the latter, studying his Bible with avidity and thoroughness, and absorbing himself in the fathers, especially

Augustine. In 1396 he received his Master's degree, and gave lectures. In 1401 he was appointed preacher to the Bethlehem chapel. This was a church endowed by two citizens, with the express provision that there "the poor should have the gospel preached to them in their own tongue." His vocation there soon led him to see the religious destitution of the neglected people and the unexampled degradation and worldliness of the clergy. His anger waxed hot, like that of Moses, the servant of God, when he came down from the mount and saw the golden calf and the dancing. His sermons, springing from deepest conviction, insisted on reform and holiness of life. His example added enforcement, perfected as it was, step by step, in the fear of God. His pity, breathing through his words, moved the people. His glowing zeal for the honor of God and the church impressed them in a way till then unknown. He soon had a congregation numbering thousands. So long as he confined himself to lashing the sins of laymen, high and low, he was let alone by his clerical superiors. It gratified the archbishop, Ibynek of Hasenburg, a thorough man of the world, without religious convictions, to see Huss enter the field against the gross corruptions and superstitions of the times. When, however, Huss ventured to tell the clergy their sins and exhort them to practice poverty, self-denial, and the crucifying of the flesh with its affections and lusts, to preach to them, like Paul to Felix, of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, then a change occurred. His noble patron turned to be his worst enemy and adversary.

In 1408 came an event that greatly increased the reform agitation in Bohemia. The foreigners in Prague University, mostly high-church, and opposed to the new theological tendencies, were suddenly deprived of their ascendancy over the Bohemians. By virtue of an edict of king Wenceslaus, a single vote was given them in all university questions, against three to the Bohemians. [Before they had three, the Bohemians one. — Ed.] This created ill feeling, and sent the German professors and students, many thousands in number, away from Prague, and to their own land, where, it may be noted, they gave rise to the University of Leipsic. The Bohemian party was now dominant in Prague, and elected Huss rector of their university. Hitherto kept together by national interests, it now divided. Two parties formed. The religious and ecclesiastical questions, till now kept in the background, became of the utmost importance. Instead of his absent German opponents, Huss all at once beheld a great array of those once his friends, marshaled against him. He heard himself called heretic, and accused of perfidy in that by influencing the king he had brought about the present deserted condition of the university.

From every side the storm burst upon Huss and his associates. He was accused by the priests to the archbishop. He stirred up, they said, the people against them; he preached contempt of the church and her penances; he called Rome the seat of anti-

Huss attacked
by the papists.

christ; he declared every priest that asked money for administering the sacraments a heretic; and he praised the heretic Wiclif, and pronounced him blessed. Immediately an investigation was set on foot against him. At the archbishop's instigation a papal bull soon appeared, which, among other matters, ordered all priests that held Wiclif's heresies to be taken in custody, and strictly forbade all preaching in private chapels. At once the archbishop sought to put the bull into execution, notwithstanding the king, upon petition of the university, had interposed his veto. By his orders, two hundred volumes were committed to the flames in his palace, among them Wiclif's works, and those of Milic and others. This *auto-da-fe* served only to create more enthusiasm in Bohemia for Wiclif and men of his spirit. Huss made appeal to pope John Twenty-third, in a thorough and comprehensive paper, in which he declared himself willing and ready to recant heartily, if convinced of error out of Holy Scripture. Nor could there be justly laid to him, with his practical turn and mode of working, any direct attack on the leading tenets of the church. That these tenets were opposed to the Bible was not yet clear to him. The tradition of the church seemed to him "the historical unfolding of her life, in accordance with Scripture truth." His great thought was the removing of abuses and deformities, and above all, the regenerating of religious life. In his effort for this, he was certainly guided by principles tending to reforms beyond what he thought of. For if, as he believed, Holy Scripture is, in the last instance, the decisive authority; if the true church is wherever the Spirit of God rules men's hearts; if every believer has immediate access to Christ, and needs no intervention of man; if absolution belongs to the priest in a restricted way only, — then Romanism falls. It did not help Huss with Rome, in the least, that he asserted, as a good Catholic, his faith in transubstantiation, in the intercession of saints, in the necessity and holiness of celibacy, and whatever else he believed; nor that he had never thought of laying a violent hand on the hierarchical constitution of the church, which he would clear only from foreign ingredients. He received sentence of excommunication and interdict in its most terrible form. He must be delivered up. The Bethlehem church must be razed to the ground, and in no place that offered him a refuge must the sacrament be administered or Christian burial bestowed.

At the earnest entreaty of the king, who foresaw that Huss's persecution would cause serious disturbance in the land, the latter, after he had first appealed from the Romish See to Christ, his great High Priest, voluntarily banished himself from Prague and his flock. Shelter and protection were given him heartily by the knights in their castles. Thence he unremittingly cheered his people and fellow-believers, in glorious Christian letters, along the pathway of truth. Meanwhile approached November of the year 1414, when was convoked, by pope John Twenty-

third and the emperor Sigismund, a general council at Constance, "for the restoration of the church's unity, and her reformation in head and members." Here the proceedings against Huss must needs come to an issue. Under the protection of a safe-conduct from the emperor, which assured him secure escort there and back, Huss, on October 11th of that year, courageously set out for Constance. In his answer to the emperor he said, among other things, "I will humbly venture my life under the protection of the safe-conduct of your majesty, and with the aid of the Most High will appear at the council." Huss had for companions the faithful knights Wenzel of Duba and John of Chlum, as also the latter's secretary and the deputy of Prague University, the pastor, John Cardinal of Reinstein, all thoroughly in sympathy with him. His journey through Germany was, in places, like a triumphal march, for there were not wanting thousands among the people who with patient waiting longed for a reformation of the church. On November 3d he reached his destination. His bitterest opponents in Bohemia had preceded him; with the rest, Palec, who, directly after his arrival, in a paper pasted on the church doors, had denounced Huss as the most stubborn of heretics. During the first four weeks nothing was done in our friend's affairs. He thus had ample time to prepare for his approaching examination. On November 28th he was suddenly deprived of his liberty, by order of the pope, in the face of a protest, made by the knight of Chlum, and based on the imperial safe-conduct. Soon after he was hurried away to a Dominican monastery on the bank of the Rhine, and thrown into a disgusting cell, close to a sewer, and filled with poisonous odors. At the intercession of the knight of Chlum, the emperor indignantly demanded the liberation of his ward, but in vain. So great was his dread of the church power that he failed to persist in his demand. When the poor prisoner fell seriously ill, a somewhat more airy room in the convent was assigned him. He was again taken ill, but met with little consideration from his adversaries. They intruded themselves upon him almost daily, and visited him with the sharpest reproaches.

On March 21, 1415, pope John fled to escape the indictment against him for his disreputable life. Huss lost, at that time, his jailer, who had actually grown fond of him, and tended him faithfully. His daily supplies were interrupted. He feared that the pope's seneschal, who was with his master at Schaffhausen, purposed to take him with him. He hastened to communicate his anxiety to Von Chlum, who again appealed to the emperor on behalf of his friend. After advising with his council, Sigismund came to no better resolve than to give the prisoner into the hands of the bishop of Constance. By him, Huss was taken to the castle of Gottlieben, and thrown into a dungeon, where he was so chained up by day that he could scarcely move, and by night in bed was tied to a post by his hands. "Now," he writes to a friend, "I begin

Huss goes to
Constance.

truly to understand the Psalms, truly to pray, truly to realize the sufferings of Christ and the martyrs; as saith the prophet Esaias, 'Vexation shall make you understand doctrine.'" After the 1st of June he was taken from his gloomy cell, where he gave place to pope John, who by this time was deposed, and carried back to Constance and confined in the Franciscan monastery. Here he underwent his first examination before the assembled council. His writings ^{His trial by the council.} were brought against him, and out of them a list of charges presented. With steadfast appeal to God's Word and the church's teachings, he made a thorough and comprehensive reply. His opponents, having no answer, raised only a wild uproar. They accepted it as a happy escape from a difficult situation, when the motion was made to adjourn the session because order could not be restored, and to appoint a second hearing on the 7th of the same month.

The 7th of June arrived. Sigismund was present in person at the council. Huss's faithful friends, the Bohemian knights, were present also. The first subject was transubstantiation. Huss could with justice call all present to witness that he had ever taught this doctrine. He had laid great stress upon worthily partaking of the sacrament. He was then accused of having disseminated the errors of Wiclif. With a good conscience he could assert, "I have not taught the errors of Wiclif, or of any other. If Wiclif taught errors in England, that is the affair of England, not ours." He was further charged with having appealed from the judgment of the pope to that of Christ. Huss gladly acknowledged this. He added that there could be no more just or effectual appeal than to Him who one day would pass final judgment on us all. The assembly met this saying with derisive laughter. Finally, in accordance with Romish tactics, Huss was made an object of political suspicion, as a popular agitator and a revolutionist. It cost him little trouble to clear himself of this charge. "But did I not hear you say," exclaimed cardinal D'Ailly, with a loud voice, that his remark might reach the ear of the emperor, "that had you not chosen to come to Constance, neither king nor emperor could have forced you to do so." Huss replied, "I said that had I not wished to come hither, I might easily have remained concealed in a safe retreat, for so many knights, kindly disposed towards me, had declared themselves ready to shelter me within the walls of their castles." "Behold the audacity of the man," screamed the cardinal; and a murmur of displeasure was heard through the assembly. Whereupon the noble knight of Chlum rose, confirmed Huss's assertion, and bore the brunt for him bravely. This occurrence, however, made an unfavorable impression upon the emperor. Addressing the council, Sigismund thanked the prelates for making good their promise to Huss, that he should freely defend himself before the council, adding that in the opinion of many the emperor was by no means justi-

fied in taking under his protection a heretic or one suspected of heresy. He therefore would strongly advise Huss that he should maintain nothing stubbornly, but submit himself with due obedience to the authority of the council on all those points that had been urged against him, and proven by trusty witnesses. If not, the leaders of the council knew well what to do with him. Nor would he, the emperor, take an errorist into his protection, but would rather, with that hand of his, prepare the funeral pile, than allow him stubbornly to continue as hitherto. Whereat Huss, thanking the emperor first for the safe-conduct pledged him, said, "I call God to witness that it was never in my thought to maintain aught with stubbornness, but that I came hither voluntarily, with the resolve unhesitatingly to change my opinion, if I were taught anything better." Huss was then given over to the care of the bishop of Riga, and led back to his prison.

On the 8th of June, Huss was for the third time cited before the council, and if possible more severely harassed than before. His third hearing. Especial offense seems to have been taken at his remark, in one of his works, that a king, pope, or bishop, living in mortal sin, ceased to be a king, pope, or bishop. They interpreted this assertion as if he would make it depend on the character of the holders of offices and dignities, whether they should be tolerated in them or not. The emperor was greatly irritated at the expression. "There is no man without sin," he cried, with a tone and look of deep displeasure. Huss replied that he had never expected that what he had spoken in an interrogative way would be taken didactically or legally. He simply wished to express what his ideal was of a true king, pope, or bishop. His vindication was rejected with scorn. The celebrated chancellor of the University of Paris, the renowned jurist, Gerson, was especially severe upon the prisoner, taking his stand on the letter of the ecclesiastical law. Remarking that he could not engage in the investigation of the sense in which Huss had intended this or that, he expressed the opinion, with significant look, that when errors leading to the overthrow of all civil order were proclaimed, as by Huss, nothing was left save that the secular power should reflect that it did not bear the sword in vain. The invitation was renewed to Huss to recant and submit to the judgment of the council. He replied that he could not recant what he had never taught; and what he had taught could neither from Scripture nor from the church's teachings be proven erroneous. Thoroughly exhausted by these fruitless discussions, in which he was obliged to listen to the repetition of the same charges, and to hear his complete refutations treated with laughter and derision, he at last, in imitation of his Lord and Master, answered nothing, and was led back to prison. At this instant the high-spirited knight of Chlum pressed up to him, and greeted him. Profoundly moved by the prophet-like bearing of the man he loved, as well

as by his admirable defense, he pressed his hand in a way that said more than words could have done. "Oh, what joy," wrote Huss soon after to his friends, "did this pressure of the hand from Sir John give me: for he did not shun to extend his hand to me in my fetters, me pitiable, me rejected and abandoned as a heretic by all."

After Huss knew that the emperor was fully set against him, he could not disguise from himself that he had to expect every day and hour his death sentence. His letters, penned at this time to his kinsmen in belief, breathe the most childlike resignation, and brave, glad, constant faith. Wishing to confess before leaving the world, he asked that his bitterest foe, Palec, or some other, might be his confessor. A doctor of theology, a monk, was sent him, who, after listening to his confession, with emotion and deep compassion, unhesitatingly granted him full and unconditional absolution, though Huss was constrained to refuse his well meant entreaties to him to recant.

The 9th of July, Huss was again led before the council. The assembly presented a more solemn aspect than ever before. The emperor, arrayed in his imperial insignia, and surrounded by his ^{His fourth and last hearing.} princes, sat upon the throne. In the centre of the hall was a pillar from which hung priestly garments which Huss was to put on previous to the act of degradation. Once more the accusation against him was read; he was declared Wiclif's disciple. He attempted to speak, but was peremptorily commanded to be silent. He sank upon his knees, and prayed: "O Lord Christ, whose Word is openly despised by this council, I appeal once more unto Thee, as Thou, when afflicted by thine enemies, appealest unto thy Father, and consignedst thy cause to the Righteous Judge, that we, when oppressed by wrong, might follow thine example, and take refuge with Thee." He made reply to a charge against him that he had said mass while under excommunication. He added an allusion to the safe-conduct given him, and fixed his gaze upon the emperor. A deep blush reddened the face of Sigismund. When sentence was finally passed upon him, he prayed, kneeling down: "O Lord Christ, forgive mine adversaries. Thou knowest that I have been accused falsely by them; and that lying witnesses and calumnies have been brought against me. Forgive them for thy great mercy's sake." This honest outburst of love to his enemies was met by the loud derision of many in the assembly. The act of deposing him from clerical office was then inaugurated, seven bishops taking part. They first clad him in priestly robes. There came to him the image of his Saviour in the purple robe and the crown of thorns. They asked him once more to recant. "How can I recant," he replied, "when I am innocent?" They stripped off his body the several parts of his vestments with forms of imprecations. At the words, "We deprive thee, thou accursed Judas, of the cup of salvation," as they took the chalice from his hands, he exclaimed, "My trust is in

God my Father, and in my Lord Jesus Christ, that He will not take this cup of salvation from me. I hope, indeed, to drink it this day, with Him, in his kingdom." When the cap painted over with devils and inscribed "Heresiarch" — arch heretic — was put on his brow, he murmured, "My Lord Jesus wore for my sake a crown of thorns; shall I not wear this lighter disgrace for the sake of Him? I will, indeed, and that right gladly." "And thus we deliver thy soul unto Satan," continued the bishops. "And I," said he, with eyes turned to heaven, "commit into thy hands, Lord Jesus Christ, the soul Thou hast redeemed."

Huss was now, as one cut off from the church, given over to the secular power. By the emperor's order he was delivered, by duke Ludwig of Bavaria, to the officers of justice. When he was led by them past the church doors, to see his books burned, he could not withhold a pitying smile. Reaching the place of execution, he kneeled down and uttered several Psalms, and with especial emphasis the fifty-first and thirty-first. Repeatedly he uttered the words, "Into thine hands I commit my spirit." "What has he done?" the assembled multitude was heard asking; "he speaks and prays so fervently!" Bidden stand up from prayer, by the executioner, he cried with strong voice, "Lord Jesus Christ, stand now by me, that by thine help I may endure with manful, steadfast soul this cruel and shameful death to which I am condemned because I preached thy Word." Having heartily thanked his jailers for their kind treatment, and once more witnessed to the people that he suffered death for nothing save preaching the pure Word of God, he ascended the funeral pile with heroic composure, and gently as a lamb submitted to the chaining of his neck and body to the stake, saying, "Gladly do I bear these chains for Christ's sake, who hath borne a far heavier burden for me." At this instant, the lord marshal, Von Pappenheim, galloped up to him, and held out a sure promise of pardon and safety if he would recant. "What errors can I recant, when I am conscious of no error? The things falsely charged against me I know well never entered my thoughts, much less were preached by me. The great object of my teaching, repentance and forgiveness of sins to mankind, according to the true gospel of Jesus Christ and the interpretations of the Holy Fathers, I am ready to die for, with joyful heart." The fagots were set on fire. Huss began, with clear voice, singing, "Jesus, thou Son of the living God, have mercy upon me." For the third time he opened his lips, with this ejaculation, when the flames, blown in by the wind, choked his voice. But his lips were for a long time seen moving in prayer. At last his head sank; in peace he entered the church triumphant. The revengeful hate of the demon-inspired priesthood was not yet cooled: they took the ashes of the immolated martyr and threw them into the Rhine waters, that nothing should be left of him to contaminate.

Thus quitted the battle-field the man of whom, a century afterwards, it was well said by him who in Germany completed the work, "Out of John Huss's blood, the gospel we now have was born." His murderers did not escape God's anger. The Bohemians, accursed by the great of earth, rose against them as one man. The emperor went down to his grave in shame and disquiet, the last of his race.

The true title of Huss is Zealot for the Law, rather than Evangelist, in the full sense of the word. His ministry would have certainly proven more extensive, more thorough and lasting, had the chief glory of the gospel, the sinner's justification by God's grace alone, through faith in Christ, shone upon him as upon us, — which was not the case. One layeth the foundation, another buildeth thereupon. The credit surely belongs to him of preparing the way of the German Reformation. Many a prophetic word of his can be interpreted of that movement and of its Corypheus. A three-fold resurrection is already his. He is to-day at the throne of God, adorned with martyr-crown, and bearing the victorious palm. His spirit entered the lists a second time, for the defense of eternal truth, in Luther, his great and victorious successor, so much better instructed and enlightened; and to-day his image lives, not merely in the hearts who are true to the banner of God's kingdom, but — vivid and imperishable, a grain of corn that shall yet bring rich harvests — in the souls of his own Bohemians. — F. W. K.

LIFE XIV. JEROME SAVONAROLA.

A. D. 1452—A. D. 1498. CLERICAL LEADER, — ITALY.

ONCE the Roman church in her might undertook to rule states and subdue princes. No wonder, then, if reforming spirits, who knew what she was, and what a true church was, were tempted to treat her as a mere political mechanism.

Jerome Savonarola, born in Ferrara September 21, 1452, was destined to a grand worldly career by his grandfather, who was a physician in high esteem at the Padua University and the court of the duke of Este. But the youth ran away from home, and wrote back from Bologna that he was become a Dominican. He had chosen poverty for his bride. He had sacrificed his body to save his immortal soul. His father must comfort his mother. Both of them must send a blessing, and he would ever pray for their welfare. His reason for all this, he stated, was the depravity of the world, and especially of Italy. "There is nothing left for us but to weep and to hope for better things yonder." The mendicant Dominicans had then a good share of the church's riches and honors. Savonarola, however, preferred to work, stitching cowls, making

garden, or the like; for he did not dream of simply exchanging a high place in the world for a high place in a cloister. For fourteen years he led this quiet convent life, pursuing theological studies at the command of his superiors, and at times preaching during the season of Lent. He was then sent to Florence, to the convent of Mark, to teach its younger members.

Florence was at that time a busy, flourishing city, master of nearly all Central Italy. Her government for centuries had, by law, At thirty-seven enters Florence. been republican, with magistrates chosen by lot. But the merchant family of the Medici, through their boundless and well managed wealth, were now in power. The head of the family, Lorenzo the Magnificent, successor to his grandfather, ruled despotically, surrounding himself with all the splendors of art and learning.

Savonarola began on the 1st of August, 1489, to give expositions of the book of Revelation in the church of the convent. He was well versed in the Old Testament prophets, and devoted to the study of the future. His leading thought was, God's church must be regenerated; but first Italy must be sorely chastened by God; both events must soon come to pass. The church reform which he looked for was to be moral and religious. Church offices were to be restored to the primitive pattern. The poor were to have relief from the church's superfluous riches. All must repent, and the whole community submit to the rule of the Spirit. Prophesying of reformation, he preached also repentance. He had no thought of overthrowing any church dogma. Yet studying profoundly the Scriptures, he preached that they took us, not to the priests, but to Christ; that unless Christ absolves us, other absolution is nothing; works can save no one, but only a believing surrender of the heart to the Saviour. He has told us that when he preached his subtle doctrines of human invention, he pleased an impatient and fickle people, but when he turned to the Bible he shook men's souls. Full of glowing faith in the church's reformation, he amazed himself by his new power of thought and language. Soon the convent chapel was too small. Galleries had to be erected in the wide aisles of the cathedral to accommodate the masses of people that came on Sundays, even from the mountains, to obtain the bread of life.

After a year in Florence, Savonarola was made prior of his convent. He was put in mind of the old custom of commending himself and his cloister to the prince. He replied, "Has God, or has Lorenzo, elected me to this office? Let us commend our convent to the grace of the Almighty!" A sum of money had been sent the cloister from Lorenzo. Opening the treasury, Savonarola separated the small coins from the gold, saying to his monks, "These will answer our needs; carry the gold to the poor-masters of the city, that they may distribute it." His pulpit censures were addressed not infrequently to Lorenzo. For the palace

was the fountain of the worldliness and godlessness that deluged the city. When worthy citizens advised him to cease this inconsiderate style of preaching, for the peace of the city and the good of the convent, he answered that he preached against vice, as was done in the church of old. "Tell Lorenzo to change *his* ways." When the possibility of his banishment was hinted, he replied, "What is that to me? But let Lorenzo know, that though he be the first citizen in the state, and I a foreigner and a poor monk, it is I who shall remain, while he must flee away!"

The saying was speedily fulfilled, though not as it was meant. Lorenzo came to his death-bed; with many a wrong deed troubling his soul, he sent for the prior of Mark's convent, for he had never seen as true a monk as he. Through him he sought God's mercy. Savonarola laid down three conditions on which he could promise him that his sins would be forgiven. First, if he had living faith, God would forgive him. Lorenzo answered, "I do believe." Second, he must restore all unjust gains; his children would still have as much as beseeemed citizens to possess. Lorenzo, after reflection, said, "Even this I will do." Finally, he must restore the freedom of Florence and the national constitution. Lorenzo turned away. Savonarola quitted his presence.

On Lorenzo's death, his eldest son Pietro inherited his father's power, but not his wisdom, by which he had maintained the semblance of a free government. Savonarola preached the judgment of God in Italy, saying, "The Lord's sword shall come, and that quickly." He foretold the coming over the mountains of a mighty king to chastise the tyrants of Italy, and reform the church by his sword. This was in a time of profound peace, yet in the summer of 1494 the king of France (Charles Eighth) and a great army marched over the Alps to seize Naples as his patrimony and to subdue Italy. Everything in Italy was unsettled by his invasion. Florence rose and drove out her young prince. Savonarola, heading an embassy to Charles, hailed him as a king sent of God to regenerate Italy and the church. He should put down the mighty from their seats, and exalt them of low degree. Serving a higher end than worldly conquest, he must show mercy, especially to Florence; then He who on the cross conquered for his sake would grant him the victory. The king received the monk as a prophet, and left the Florentines to direct their own affairs. Savonarola summoned the people to the cathedral. He spoke highly of monarchy, but Is the leader of Florence. held that Florence's condition demanded popular government. God only ought to be king in Florence, as He was in Israel. Had He not said to Samuel, when they wanted an earthly king, "Hath this people then rejected me?" The Florentines had hesitated between the aggressions of a single ruler and the excesses of a mob. Now the state should be a theocracy, through the fear of God and the common consent. In

this spirit the republic was instituted, and the supreme power reposed in an assembly of the citizens. The magistrates were to be chosen from it by the ballot and the lot, in a monthly rotation.

Savonarola took no part in the details of the government, for he did not understand them. Yet he was depended on for advice. His contemporaries who least agreed with him speak wonderingly of his moral influence. Ill-gotten gain was given up. Mortal foes embraced one another. A mighty love of their fatherland, both the earthly and the heavenly, possessed men's minds. Gaming and dancing were at an end. National airs and love ditties hushed. Religious songs only were sung. At Shrove-tide the people came freely, giving up worldly things, cards, dice, women's ornaments, lewd books and pictures (among the latter some of great value as works of art), and with solemn pomp committed them to the flames.

Savonarola, from a prophet of reformation, became a reformer, yet in the mediæval way. He enforced cloister rules, and since his building was too showy and worldly, and new apartments were needed for those entering, he began a new convent of Mark's, as humble as the stable of Bethlehem. The only earthly goods he prized, his books and pictures of saints, he gave away. Regarding Florence as God's altar whence the holy flame of the church's regeneration should go forth, he was constrained to preach against the degenerate priesthood, and first against the new Babylon, where the worst pope ever known, Alexander Sixth, was now ruling. Savonarola wrote the western monarchs that in place of revering the crime and disease which sat in Peter's chair, which was no priest, nor even a Christian, nor a believer in a God, they should assemble a council to reform the church in its head and its members. The French king seemed inclined to accede. One of Savonarola's letters

Is fallen upon
by Rome.

falling, however, into the hands of the pope, the latter gave this order (October, 1496): "Savonarola, who predicts future things, and thus creates dissensions, who without the church's authorization declares he is sent of God and holds converse with God, shall, under pain of excommunication, refrain from preaching till the completion of an inquiry which is now instituted against him."

Savonarola replied that the knowledge of future things was not forbidden. God speaks to whom He pleases. Yet he had never announced himself a prophet. Could it be shown that he was wrong, he would retract obediently. But in truth the holy father should delay no longer to attend to his own soul. For a while Savonarola ceased preaching; then he resumed, for the pulpit was his throne. But his influence was in danger. Worldly taste and pleasure, restrained by him, raged against this silly rule of a monk. The adherents of the banished prince took courage. All Italy except Florence had united against Charles and driven him out. That city, left alone, stood by France, to the grief of the

Italians. The Franciscans in Florence reproached the Dominicans, whom they envied, saying, A soldier of Christ should not mix himself with worldly business. The pope, hearing of the change of opinion, at once pronounced that Savonarola, as a withered branch, was cut off from the tree of the church for stubborn disobedience and suspected heresy. The latter declared the excommunication void, appealing from the earthly master to the heavenly, even to Christ. Yet he saw his downfall approaching: "For the Master who holds the hammer, when He has used it, throws it down. So He did with Jeremiah, whom He suffered to be stoned when he had finished his preaching. But Rome will never quench this flame; and were this quenched, God would kindle another; nay, already it is kindled, could they but see it." Soon the superstitiously excited populace found a need of choosing between their prophet and the ancient church power, still so revered. Public worship in the city, it was threatened, should cease, if the excommunicated preacher were not renounced. While the crowd remained undecided, Savonarola was challenged by a Franciscan monk to undergo the ordeal by fire. One or both of them should perish; Savonarola certainly should die unless he could confirm his prophecies by a miraculous escape. The latter said it was a tempting of God; but having so often asserted that God would, if necessary, confirm the truth by miracle, and lead him unhurt through the fire, he could not resist the popular urgency. For his comrades, and even women and maidens by scores, were ready to endure the ordeal in his stead. The appeal to God, it was agreed, should be made by two monks, who offered themselves to represent their orders. The Dominican agreed, according to a legally prepared contract, to establish by his miraculous preservation the following articles: The church needs reformation; she shall be sorely tried, but after her trial shall flourish; the unbelieving shall be converted; Florence shall be sorely tried, but after her trial shall again flourish; all this shall come to pass in our times; the excommunication of Savonarola is void; whoever disregards it commits no sin. The two champions were to follow each other down a narrow lane between two long burning piles of fagots. When the hour came, the people in greatest suspense awaited the issue. Both monks, possibly, were afraid of the fire. The Franciscans may have reckoned upon making an issue upon the question how the champions should go through the flames; in what magical monkish garment; whether with the crucifix or the consecrated wafer. At all events, both parties raised so many difficulties that the dispute consumed hour after hour. Finally at nightfall came a torrent of rain, and the magistrates ordered both sides to go home. The whole displeasure of the disappointed throng, who expected a miracle or a fearful spectacle, fell on Savonarola's company, for they were the party that had promised something miraculous. From that day the crowd forsook their prophet. He was jeered at on his way

home. The next night (Palm Sunday) Mark's church was attacked, Savonarola taken prisoner, and the government seized by his bitterest foes. Confessions of his were recited in public, which made his prophesying to be not of divine suggestion, but from reason and the Scripture, and his only object to be worldly fame and power. Seven times that week (Passion Week) he was stretched on the rack. When he retracted his confessions as forced from him, he had new tortures held over him.

The final decision was delayed, inasmuch as the pope intended sending a commission to investigate. In his prison Savonarola wrote an exposition of the fifty-first Psalm. It is the utterance of a wounded spirit crying to God, accusing itself of pride in its mighty achievements, bearing the woes of its fellows, and at length finding peace in the crucified. Luther, who had this little book republished, says, "This is a model of evangelical doctrine and Christian piety, for here thou seest him go not as a preaching monk relying on his vows, his monk's cowl, the mass, or the good deeds of his order, but in trust on God's mercy, just like an ordinary believer."

Savonarola was judged by the papal legate to be guilty of heresy; by the civil power, of general misdemeanor. Two monks were sentenced with him. When the morning of execution came (May 23, 1498), he partook with his comrades of the Lord's Supper. He bade them suffer death in silence, like Christ, who, though so much holier than they, went as a lamb to the slaughter, and opened not his mouth. Of himself he simply said, "My Lord died for my sins; shall not I gladly give this poor life for Him?" He was hanged between his two companions, his body burned on the gallows, and the ashes cast into the Arno.

The traces of his work soon disappeared. His failure was owing not only to his joining revolution with reformation, but to his coming before his time. He was, according to his own definition of himself, a fore-runner and a sacrifice. His memory remains precious to Florence and to his order. Luther writes in his preface to the book already named, "Antichrist then hoped that this great man's memory would disappear and be accursed; but, lo, he lives and his memory is blessed. Christ pronounces him holy, through our lips, even though popes and papists should burst with wrath at the suggestion!" — K. H.

THE CHURCH'S REFORMATION.

PERIOD FOURTH. CENTURY XVI. THE CHURCH'S REFORMATION (OR FROM THE BEGINNING OF LUTHER'S REFORMING WORK TO THE CLOSE OF THE WORK OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE). DIVISIONS OF THE PERIOD : BEFORE THE REJECTION OF REFORM IN THE COUNCIL OF TRENT; AFTER THE REJECTION OF REFORM BY THE POPE AND THE COUNCIL.

LIFE I. MARTIN LUTHER.

A. D. 1483—A. D. 1546. CLERICAL LEADER,—NORTH GERMANY.

MARTIN LUTHER, born at Eisleben, November 10, 1483, sprang from parents lowly in position, but upright and pious. Named Martin (Martinus, or friend of Mars), from his birth on the anniversary of Martin of Tours, he was designated beforehand as a warrior,—a champion of God. Called Luther, the people's lord or ruler (Leute-herr), he was pointed out as one who should sway the hearts of mankind. A prophecy of John Huss, according to a tradition well known to Luther, had declared, "You are now roasting the goose [Huss signifying goose], but in a hundred years you will raise up the swan, whom you shall not roast nor scorch. Him men will hear sing; him, God willing, they will let live, even as they ought!"

Martin grew up under strict and often almost harsh training. He proved in youth, and afterwards, the truth of the saying, "It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth." He felt the yoke when he went to school, first in Magdeburg, to the Franciscans or poor friars, and afterwards in Eisenach. Here his devout singing of the chorals stirred the soul of the pious widow Cotta to give him his support. Gaining thus a good preparatory training, he went to the University of Erfurt (1501). His first intention was to study law; after a year, through outer occurrences which impressed him, and inward struggles arising from a desire for his soul's salvation, he was moved to devote himself to theology. Three years later (1505) he entered the ascetic order of the Augustines in their cloister at Erfurt, not from ^{A monk.} worldly want, but from zeal for religion, to the exceeding displeasure of his father. The yoke of monkish discipline and the disquiet of soul which followed impelled him to a fervid spiritual experience, and pointed

out to him as his greatest problem, How can the soul obtain the pardon of its sins? He was granted of God most excellent advice from the lips of an aged brother monk, and from John Staupitz, the chief of his order throughout Saxony. He was also blessed in the discovery of a Latin Bible, which he read most eagerly. Unmistakable leadings of God were these, preparing him for the lofty vocation to which he was appointed! When twenty-five (1508) he was summoned to the University of Wittenberg, where his especial employment was the delivery of lectures upon the Scriptures. Four years later (1512) he received the degree of doctor of theology. He then "vowed to his most dear holy Scripture, and made oath to it, to preach and to teach it most faithfully and clearly!" Light already had dawned upon him on the leading principle of Christianity,—justification through faith, without any merit of works. When he came to understand the saying, "In the gospel is the righteousness of God revealed," and that not God's own righteousness but man's righteousness in God's sight is meant, "then," as he wrote, "I felt myself wholly a new creature, and that I had found, as it were, a wide-open door to enter into Paradise itself. I beheld my precious holy Scripture as very different from what I had known it before. The whole Bible and the heavens themselves were laid open to my gaze." From this day his penetrating mind shone forth more conspicuously in his daily lectures and sermons. He had, even before the year 1517, attained a clear knowledge respecting repentance, faith, and justification. He had already, by preaching his doctrine in a sermon to the Dresden Court (1516), deeply displeased George, the duke of Saxony.

How could Luther, thus believing, be anything else but highly indignant at the trade in popish indulgences carried on by Tetzel? How could he be otherwise than disturbed in his conscience? He preached upon it in the castle church of Wittenberg, and got little favor from the elector Frederick for so doing. He felt himself still urged on by the growing imprudence with which the indulgences were circulated, and by their corrupting influences. He was impelled, upon the 31st of October, 1517, to post up his ninety-five theses, maintaining the gospel way of obtaining remission of sins. He accompanied them with a challenge to a discussion, on November 1st, the Day of All Saints, when great crowds of pilgrims were to come to the castle church (Church of All Saints) to receive indulgences. Though he anticipated it not, these theses proved flashes of lightning which kindled a flame through the Christian church, and spread as if the angels themselves were carrying them. Nor could Luther be moved to retract them, either by the vehement threats of cardinal Thomas Cajetan, or by the courtly arts and craft of Charles von Miltiz. To the former's question as to where he would live when nowhere tolerated, the answer of Luther was, "Under the broad heaven." He proceeded (November 28, 1518)

Opposes papal
pardons.

to offer in the Corpus Christi chapel of Wittenberg a formal appeal from the proceedings against him by pope Leo Tenth to a general council. He even went (December 10, 1520), with his students attending him, outside the Elster gate of the city, and there burned the pope's book of decretals and his bull against himself, with the words, "Because thou hast vexed the Holy One of the Lord, may everlasting fire vex and consume thee." No vindictive feeling, but a holy impulse, inspired Luther to this bold act. He gave a signal to Christendom no longer to fear the pope, but to condemn his power and cast off his yoke. He acted for the cause of truth and the confirming of the common people.

Luther was led on to Worms by a like spirit. Admonished beforehand of the fate which befell Huss, he replied that if they should kindle a fire all the way from Wittenberg to Worms that <sup>Brave stand at
Worms.</sup> would reach to the sky, he would appear there, because he had been summoned; he would enter the mouth of behemoth between his great teeth to confess Christ, and let God order the result. Again, when he received, not far from the city of Worms, a warning from even his friend Spalatin against entering, he answered, "Were there as many devils in Worms as there are tiles on the roofs, I would still enter!" How the heart of Luther was stirred at that period, and yet how full of repose in God, appears from his prayer in Worms: "O God! O God! O Thou my God! Stand Thou by me, my God, against all the reason and the wisdom of the world. Do this. Thou must do it,—Thou alone. The cause is not mine, but thine. For myself, I have here no business nor aught to do with these great lords of the world. I would rather have peaceful days and live undisturbed. But the cause is thine, and it is righteous and everlasting. Help me, Thou true, eternal God. I lean upon no man. Vain and useless were it. Tottering is all that is fleshly or that savors of the flesh. O God! O God! . . . Hearest Thou not, my God? Art Thou dead? No, Thou canst not die. Thou dost but hide Thyself. Hast Thou chosen me for this work? I ask Thee. Do not I know it! Aye, God has ordered it, for I never my life long thought to stand against such great lords. I never purposed it. O God! help me in the name of thy loved son, Jesus Christ, my defense, my buckler, aye, my strong fortress, through the power and strength of thine Holy Spirit! . . . Lord, where art Thou? Thou, my God, where art Thou? Come! come! I am ready to lay down my life, patient as a lamb. For the cause is holy: it is thine own. I will not let Thee go,—no, nor yet for all eternity. That resolve is fixed in thy holy name. The world must leave me unconstrained in my conscience; and though it were thronged with devils, and this body, which is the work of thy hands and thy creature, be cast forth, trodden under foot, cut in pieces, thy word and Spirit remain good to me. And it is only the body! The soul is thine. It belongs to Thee. It will abide with Thee eternally. Amen! O God, help me. Amen!"

The God to whom Luther prayed was with Luther, and lent him courage to stand fast by the truth, and to present before emperor and empire words of confession which transcend many deeds of great heroes: "Unless, therefore, I am convinced through proofs from the Holy Scripture, am vanquished in a clear manner through the very passages which I have cited, and my conscience imprisoned thus by the Word of God, I neither can nor will retract anything. Here I stand. I can do nothing else. God help me. Amen!"

And yet Luther was so frank as to say in a letter to Hartmuth von Cronberg (February, 1522), "This fine sport which Satan has got up in Wittenberg [the image breaking] has happened for a punishment to me, because when I was at Worms, I, in order to serve good friends, and that I might not appear too stubborn, suppressed my spirit, and would not make my confession before tyrants more pointed and severe. For which cause since that time I have often had to endure evil speeches from the false and ungodly. Many times have I repented of this same humility and reverence of mind." Luther painfully felt the way in which the German nation debased itself, and, in order to please the pope, thrust from itself gospel truth and freedom.

Placed under the ban of the empire for Rome's sake, he was carried by the elector Frederick the Wise, who saw him in Worms for the first and only time, to the Wartburg, as a secure asylum. In this fortress, his Patmos, he began the work of translating the Bible. Translates the Bible. His task, entered upon by him alone with God, and pushed forward with faithful, untiring industry, was completed in 1534. The book breathes the spirit of God; for its writer drank in the spirit of the Scriptures in its fullest measure. Thus the German Bible is filled with a power like that of the original itself.

In March, 1522, Luther felt constrained, in order to save his people from fanatical disturbances, to hasten back to Wittenberg. He did so even against the will of the elector. He did not share the latter's forebodings, but wrote him, "I am repairing to Wittenberg, under a protection more powerful than that of an elector. I have no thought of soliciting the aid of your electoral highness. I indeed hold that I shall protect your highness more than your grace can protect me. If I knew that your highness could or would take up my defense, I would not come to Wittenberg. This matter the sword neither can nor ought to handle or cure. God alone must do this, without any human counsel or aid. Therefore, he who believes most strongly will here render the most assistance. Because I perceive that your highness is yet very weak in the faith, I cannot count your grace the one to protect or deliver me!"

By his zeal and kindness, Luther was soon able to quiet the disturbances in Wittenberg. He exerted himself with like ability in the quelling of the peasant insurrection, bearing witness to the duty of Christians to

be subject to their rulers, and against the crime of insurrection. He insisted on the founding of schools, furthered a visitation of the churches, and gave to the teachers and the people a catechism, that gem of his pen, which expresses the clear, evangelical doctrine with such lively Christian faith and yet child-like heartiness.

Entering into marriage in 1525, he himself relates to us his reasons: "I have not taken a wife because I expected to live a ^{Married.} long time, but that my doctrine might be confirmed by my example, and to comfort weak consciences after me, and that I might retain naught of my old papistical life." Further, he was influenced to marry by his father's desire, and by his recognition of the sacredness of the married condition. Besides, Catharine von Bora came, meeting him with her love.

When the Reichstag met in Augsburg (1530) Luther stayed in Coburg, helping Melancthon especially by his counsel and comfort, and by his strong prayers, as once Moses gave help by his uplifted arms.

The latter years of Luther's life passed amid toils and conflicts. At one time his anxieties led him, after going away from Wittenberg (1545), to write to his wife, whom he had left behind, "I would gladly arrange it so that I might not have to return to Wittenberg. My heart has grown cold, so that I no more like to be there. I wish that thou wouldst sell the garden, with hoof, house, and yard [*huf, haus, und hof*]. After my death the four elements will not allow thee to be in Wittenberg. It were better, then, to do what will have to be done, during my life." Nevertheless he was constrained to return thither. But the end of his life was drawing near. He went (1546), at the desire of the counts of Mansfeld, to Eisleben, arriving January 23d. He had first preached in Wittenberg (January 17th), with forebodings of his end, exhorting his people to constancy in the faith and against apostasy. Reaching his former place of abode, he said, "If I can but reconcile my loved lords, the counts of Mansfeld, here in Eisleben, to each other, I will go home, lay me down in my coffin, and give my body to the worms to devour." He preached in Eisleben four times (January 31st, February 2d, 7th, and 12th). One prayer and hope had often been uttered by him. As he says, "I have with great earnestness prayed God, and do now pray Him every day, that He would hinder the design of the foe, and suffer no war to come upon Germany in my life-time; and I am assured that God has certainly heard this my prayer, and I know that while I live there will be no war in Germany." His desire was granted him. There was fulfilled in him the saying, "The righteous is taken away from ^{last illness and} the evil to come." He fell ill on the 17th of February. ^{death.} Feeling his end approaching, he prayed, "O my Father, God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Thou God of all comfort, I thank Thee that Thou hast revealed to me thy dear Son Jesus Christ, in whom I believe,

whom I have preached and confessed, whom I have loved and praised, whom the evil pope and all the ungodly dishonor, persecute, and revile. I pray Thee, my Lord Jesus Christ, that my soul may be dear to Thee. O heavenly Father, if it be so that I must leave this body and be torn away from this life, yet know I surely that I shall ever abide with Thee, and none shall pluck me out of thine hand." He repeated the words, "God so loved the world that he gave his Son," and "He that is our God is the God of salvation, and unto God the Lord belong the issues from death." He added thrice, "Into thine hand I commit my spirit. Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth." And when Justus Jonas said to him, "Reverend father, will you die steadfast, clinging to Christ and to the doctrine which you have so constantly preached?" he answered emphatically, "Yes!" Soon after he fell asleep, on the morning of February 18th. Let my soul die the death of this righteous man, and my last end be like his!

Let us venture a look into the soul of this man of God. Its grand features are truth, faithfulness, faith. His was a Nathanael's soul, free from guile, hypocrisy, or double dealing. His heart lay open before all men. His speech was the perfect expression of his soul. Even the man who has little perception of what constitutes sincerity and loyalty must be impressed by this in Luther's discourses. If uprightness and honesty be German characteristics, what German has ever possessed them in greater measure than Luther? Yet in Luther the German was thoroughly lost in the Christian. His was a genuine, hearty faith. His very being was penetrated with the truth of God's Word, and especially with the truth of Jesus Christ and the glory of his holiness. His faith was a part of himself, the very spring of his thought and life. To impute to the Scripture or to Christ falsehood or deception would have been to him a fearful crime; his whole nature would have revolted from it. Hence his firm, immovable position on God's Word as on the eternal rock. The very essence of this Word to him was the sinner's reconciliation through Christ, his pardon, his justification before God through faith without works. But faith with him was a thing of life and power, nay, the fountain of all life and all power. Distrust of faith as he taught it will never be felt by those who consider what that faith wrought in Luther and by him. Nor did he depreciate good works, but only their use in the service of pride, ignorance, and vanity. His faith grew from his profound recognition of human depravity and weakness. "It is the property of God to make something out of nothing. Therefore of him who is not yet nothing God cannot make anything. Man out of something makes something; but it is a vain, useless work. Therefore God receives only the forsaken; heals only the sick; gives sight only to the blind, life only to the dead, penitence only to sinners, and wisdom only to the foolish." Luther's faith was Luther's power and symmetry. It

Luther's religion.

gave him his work and his consciousness that he was called of God. He says, "To a good work a man goes by a certain call of God, not by a setting apart of himself to it, or by what he would call his own plan." It is certain that Luther did not undertake the reformation of his own fancy. "That unawares and with no thought or purpose of my own I am come into this dispute and quarrel, I call God himself to witness." If any man's work may be counted pure, then may Luther's. Who makes so little of his own name or of himself as "chief"? He declares, "Let them attack my person who will, and as they will! I am no angel. But my doctrine, since I know that it is not mine but God's, I will suffer no man to attack unresisted." He testifies frankly, "For myself, I know not Luther; I will not know him! I preach not him, but Christ. Him the devil may take if he can, if he but leave Christ in peace." Of the purity and candor of him who sinks thus his own personality, his "I," we have the fullest assurance.

Luther's faith and assurance of his divine vocation gave him also his heroic courage. His work led him into the severest con- ^{Luther's cour-} flicts. He challenges his foes: "Come on, then, all to- ^{age.} gether, as you are together and belong together, devils, papists, and fanatics, all in a heap! Up and at Luther! Ye papists from before, ye fanatics from behind, ye devils from every quarter, track, hunt, pursue, sure that you have the game in front of you! If Luther falls, you will have joy and victory. I see clearly that it is all lost trouble; there is nothing won by scolding, by teaching, by admonition, by threat, by promise, by entreaty, by supplication, by patience, by humility, by pretending or coaxing! Whatever I try, however I change or turn, it is of no avail!" He took this opposition as a good sign. "If the world were not vexed at me, I should then have to be vexed at her and afraid that what I was doing was not of God. Now that she is offended at me, I must be strengthened, comforted, and assured that my enterprise is right and of God."

He met conflict within; and, as a wise Christian to whom the power of the prince of darkness is no fiction, he deemed that Satan was using his weapons against him, and hurling fiery darts into his soul. He makes confession: "Oh, would God — would God that my foes could experience for a quarter hour the misery of my heart; how surely I could affirm that they would be changed and saved! But enough of this, lest I be impatient of the chastening of God, who smites and heals, kills and makes alive. Blessed be his holy pleasure and his perfect will! Surely one so hated of the world and its prince must be pleasing to Christ. If we were of the world, the world would love its own."

Luther also tasted deeply the comfort of the Holy Spirit. "What does it concern me if the world calls me a devil, if I know that God calls me his angel? Let the world call me a seducer as long as it pleases,

while God calls me his faithful minister and servant, the angels call me their comrade, the saints call me their brother, the faithful call me their father, the distressed call me their saviour, the ignorant call me their light; and God to all this says, Yes! And it may be the angels say it too, and all creatures! What triumph, forsooth, has the world over me now? What great harm has it done me?" Clear sun-gleams are these into the soul of Luther, showing its lowest depths, disclosing the solid rock of his assurance of God's love. We may know whence came the hardy courage by which he cried, "In God's name and at his call I will tread on the lion and the adder; the young lion and dragon will I trample under foot! It shall be begun in my life, and accomplished after my death!" It was the same courage which gushed forth in his hymn, "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott," with an overflowing tide of heroic song.

Would it have been a strange thing if his boldness had induced arrogance? But instead Luther excels in child-like humility and simplicity. He had not a mock humility which would make him disclaim powers which were possessed by him. But true humility and simplicity shine brightly forth in him. He never boasted of divine inspirations; he drew from the Word of God alone. He did not count himself authorized to preach in places other than those to which he was expressly called. He was compelled almost against his will to write much; and what a treasure of Christian truth is laid up in his writings! Yet he wished that all his books might perish, if they were to lessen in any degree the reading of the Holy Scriptures. He judged that it was hardly according to the New Testament to write many books. The Apostles had written few, and before they wrote they had preached personally to the people, and had converted them. For his part, "if he had been able, in his whole life, with all his powers, to make one single person better, he was ready to thank God and let all his writings after that perish."

How courteous and friendly Luther was to every one, all who knew him bore witness. He makes, in fact, this notable confession: "I am warned, and not only by my fellow-townsmen, but by letters out of many countries, that I should not make myself so common to everybody, and I blame my too abject spirit. I have also often resolved that to oblige the world I would make myself somewhat more grave or more saintly (I hardly know how to express it), but God has never granted me the gift of accomplishing it." The words of Christ, "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven," were verified in Luther. He was from first to last a child-like spirit. He once exhorted his congregation, "Let none be ashamed of 'Our Father,' of the Ten Commandments, or the Creed. Let us stay with the children, and we will assuredly never be lost. God help us so to do. Amen!"

Could a man like this be lacking in love? His life was full of love. The Reformation was a work of love as truly as a work of faith. From love to the poor misled Christian people he undertook his difficult task. He knew something of the sorrow which Christ felt over the fainting and scattered flock. He gladly served all, and shared what he had with all, though he was not rich. He loved his friends; he loved his wife and children. Let the charming letter witness which he wrote from Coburg to his little John (see page 276, note 2). Those who have denied him the gentle qualities of the heart should hear what he has written on the word "liebe" (meaning both love and beloved): "Whoever knows German knows well what a hearty, fine old word it is, the 'liebe' Mary, the 'liebe' God, the 'liebe' prince, the 'liebe' man, the 'liebe' child. I know not that the Latin or any other language can utter the word 'liebe' with the heartiness and satisfaction which belong to it in our German tongue, as it pierces and tingles the heart and all the feelings."

But the violence of his language against his opponents? His unyielding manner towards men of different opinions? What, ^{Luther's violence.} forsooth, would the mildness, moderation, anxious timidity, of a Melancthon have done against the foe? The popish beast could be beaten only by a club such as Luther wielded. Erasmus himself acknowledged, "God has given the world in these last times, when great and sore plagues and diseases have increased, a severe, sharp physician." He held stoutly to his belief because it was to him a matter of conscience. He wrote to Capito, "My love is ready to die for you, but whoever touches the faith touches the apple of my eye; impose what you will upon our love, but beware of our faith in all things." To Bucer: "You will ascribe it not to my stubbornness, but to my genuine conviction and the necessity imposed by my faith in matters in which you would honestly act otherwise, that I must refuse assent to this agreement." In 1538 he wrote, "Just as strongly as our opponents insist on unity of loving do we insist on unity of teaching and of believing. If they will leave us that uninjured, we will praise the unity of love as much as they, but in all cases without detriment to the unity of the faith and of the spirit. For if thou lose that, thou hast lost Christ. If He be gone, then indeed the unity of love will be of no profit. But on the other hand, if thou preserve the unity of the spirit and of Christ, it hurts thee not if thou art not at one with such as pervert and debase the word, and thus destroy the unity of the spirit. Therefore, rather will I let not only these but the whole world fall away from me and be mine enemies than that Christ fall away and be made mine enemy. And this would happen if I should let go his clearly revealed word, and follow their vague dreams, wherein they force the words of Christ to their own meaning. To me the one Christ is more and grander than all the unnumbered onenesses of love."

A chosen instrument of God was Luther, whose equal had not been known in Christendom since the days of Paul. He was the chief combatant and champion against the power which held the world bound; all its hate he drew upon his head. He was the restorer of the pure evangelic doctrine, revealing its source to all by his Bible. Luther's Bible became to the church universal not only the occasion of new versions, but their fountain. Luther was the apostle of the German nation. He glories in Germany. "Nothing," he says, "has ever been told so much to the praise of us Germans — nothing, I believe, has ever exalted and preserved us — as people's saying that we are a sincere and constant folk, whose yea is yea, and whose nay nay. We have yet a spark (may God cherish and increase it!) of the ancient virtue, so far, at least, that we are still a little ashamed and displeased to be called hypocrites, although foreign and Greek ill-breeding is gaining a hold." This last fact made Luther call the Germans the apes of all other nations; he said, "We Germans are such fellows that whatever is new we take and stick to it like fools. Let a man try to turn us from it, and he will only make us more crazy after it." Half a thousand years earlier, abbot Siegfried of Goerz had made complaint, in a letter to Poppo, the monkish reformer, of the German aping of the French. Who cured the German nation of this folly as Luther, in whom shone forth the pure German? By him the German people obtained the Bible. By his mighty preaching the German people were taught the gospel. By his hymns the German heart was inspired with celestial truth, for music was with Luther a consecrated art, a second theology. When Luther struck the chord, it resounded in a thousand songs. Where in the church is such a treasure of holy song as was gathered by Luther? The German church is a Croesus in psalmody.

Would that Luther's word could be listened to; would that German thought and Christian sentiment could blend in this nation, as they blended in Luther! Then would Germany be new born. But if his word dies out, Germany's glory is gone. Would that Germany could again be taught how great a gift God bestowed on her when He gave Luther! — L. H.

LIFE II. MAGDALENA LUTHER.

A. D. 1529—A. D. 1542. CHILD-LEADER, — NORTH GERMANY.

ON May 4, 1529, Martin Luther is writing a letter on business to his friend, Nicholas Amsdorf, pastor in Magdeburg. By his side, in excellent spirits, is his wife, Catharine von Bora, who three hours later is given a little daughter. The next morning the happy father tells his friend, with thanks to God, of the joyful event, and begs him to stand godfather

He writes, "Most estimable, worthy sir : God, the father of all goodness, has been graciously pleased to make me and my dear Katie a present of a little daughter. I beg you, therefore, for God's sake, to take upon yourself the Christian office of a father in Christ to the poor little heathen, and assist her to become a Christian through the venerable and divine sacrament of baptism." This daughter was Magdalena, in whose soul God found great delight, and so hastened to remove her from this evil world ; for she had not completed her fourteenth year, when the Lord who gave her took her to heaven by a gentle death.

Luther's household, into which Magdalena was born, was then an established fact. Luther had learned from God's Word that to forbid marriage was contrary to the will of the Lord, his Creator, and that monastics vows, whether taken from constraint or in ignorance, were wrong, and not binding upon the conscience ; marriage was a holy state ordained by God, and having the promise of his blessing. He had therefore unfettered the consciences of priests, monks, and nuns from their vows of celibacy, as early as the winter of 1522, when he abode in the Wartburg. Many of them had married before Luther, who was anticipating an early death for himself, had thought of taking the step. Finally, when left alone in his Augustine cloister with the prior Eberhard Brisger, who was also preparing to leave him, Luther made up his mind to quit the deserted abode, first, however, delivering it over to his sovereign. Before this he had turned it into a resting-place for poor pilgrims, who were suffering for the sake of the gospel. After the death of Frederick the Wise (May 5, 1525), his brother and successor, John the Constant, presented the monastery with its garden to Luther. It was a rambling, tumble-down place, which required rebuilding and constant repair, and then only a third part could be made habitable. Thus the cloister became Luther's home. Thither, on June 13, 1525, he conducted Catharine von Bora as his wife. Shortly before this date (June 2d), he had written the elector Albert, ^{Luther's house-keeping.} archbishop of Mainz, exhorting him to marry, and make a principedom of his bishopric, and give up the false name and appearance of a spiritual potentate. Though Luther looked at marriage soberly, knowing its crosses and cares, he was untiring in sounding its praise : " But this state," he says, " is for a pious and God-fearing person." Then he goes on to say, " There can be no more lovely, affectionate, and gracious relationship, communion, and companionship than a good marriage, in which husband and wife live in peace and unity. On the other hand, nothing can be more bitter and painful than this bond, mutually broken and severed. The next worst thing is the loss of children, which I have experienced."

Luther was called upon to part with two of his children by death. When Magdalena died, he had already lost one daughter, Elizabeth, but

the blow was less painful, because at her death she was hardly a year old. The stone which covers her grave is preserved to this day in the old church-yard of Wittenberg. Close by lies a granddaughter of Melancthon. Magdalena was sent to the sorrowing parents instead of their dear Elizabeth, just nine months after her death, and was an extremely sweet and loving child, gentle and obedient. For two years and a half she was, 'excepting their eldest-born John, their only child,'¹ and when Luther was on his travels he seldom forgot, in writing to his wife Katie, to send greetings to his two children, Hänschen and Lenchen, as well as to their cousin Lena. When he, at the time of the Augsburg Reichstag, 1530, where the confession was made, was staying in Coburg, he wrote the charming letter, so well known, to his four-year-old John, about the children's paradise of which he had a vision.² Lenchen was too young for him to write to her, being little more than a year old.

We are not at all sure that she did not have to thank her cousin Lena for her name; the latter is first mentioned by Luther in a letter of February 15, 1530, as one of his family. This often-named cousin Lena was an orphaned young woman, a daughter of Luther's sister, who was taken by him into his home, and proved a great help to his wife, till she married (November 27, 1538) a worthy friend of Luther, Ambrose Bernd, of Jüterbog, treasurer in Wittenberg, by whom she was left a widow (in January, 1542). Luther often called to mind the death of Ambrose, who was a devout man, and departed out of this world well prepared, quietly falling asleep without a taste of death's bitterness. He wished many times that he might slumber at last as gently

¹ Luther had six children: 1. John, born June 7, 1526. 2. Elizabeth, December 10, 1527; died August 3, 1528. 3. Magdalena, May 4, 1529; died September 20, 1542. 4. Martin, November 7, 1531. 5. Paul, January 28, 1533. 6. Margaretha, December 17, 1534.

² The letter is as follows: "Mercy and peace in Christ, my dear little son. I am glad to hear that you learn your lessons well, and pray faithfully. Go on doing so, my child, and when I come home I will bring thee a pretty present.

"I know a very beautiful, delightful garden, and in it are a great many children, all dressed in little golden coats, picking up nice apples under the trees, and pears, and cherries, and plums. And they sing and jump about, and are very merry; and besides, they have beautiful little horses, with golden bridles and silver saddles. Then I asked the gardener whose garden it was, and who were these children. He said, 'These are children who love to pray, who learn their lessons and are good.' Then I said, 'Dear sir, I have a little son called John Luther; may he come into this garden, too, to eat such apples and pears, and ride on these beautiful little ponies, and play with these children?' And the man said, 'If he loves to pray, learns his lessons, and is good, he may, and Lippus and Jost, too [little sons of Melancthon and Justus Jonas]; and when they all come together, they shall have pipes, drums, lutes, and all sorts of music, and shall dance, and shoot with little bows and arrows.'

"And he showed me a fair lawn in the garden, made ready for dancing. There were pipes of pure gold, drums, and silver bows and arrows. But it was so early that the children had not had their breakfasts. So I could not wait for the dancing, and said to the man, 'Oh, my dear sir, I will go away at once and tell all this to my little John, that he may be sure to pray and to learn well and be good, that he also may come into the garden. But he has a dear aunt Lena; he must bring her with him.' Then said the man, 'Let it be so; go and write him this.'

"So, my dear little son John, learn thy lessons, and pray with a glad heart, and tell all this to Lippus and Justus, that they too may learn their lessons and pray. Then you will all come together to this garden. Herewith I commend you to the Almighty God; and greet aunt Lena, and give her a kiss from me. Thy dear father, MARTIN LUTHER."

and happily. Luther was at that date (1542) much occupied with the thought of his own death, and made his will, little thinking that his loved daughter would precede him and go that very year. So God had determined it.

The first of September, Magdalena was taken seriously ill. Her brother John, the playmate of her childhood, now a youth of sixteen, had several years before this been sent away from home, which the constant stream of friends and visitors made a most unquiet place, to Luther's faithful friend, Marcus Crödel, at Torgau. Hence he did not know of his sister's illness. Luther therefore wrote the following letter:—

"Grace and peace to my dear friend, Marcus Crödel. Please do not let my son John know what I am now writing. My daughter Magdalena is at the point of death, and will soon be at her heavenly Father's right hand, unless God otherwise orders things. She has such a longing desire to see her brother that I must send the carriage for him. They have always been so fondly attached that perhaps she may rally again at the sight of him. I do what I can, that my conscience may not hereafter reproach me for neglecting anything. Therefore, please let him come at once in the carriage, without telling him the reason why. He shall soon return to you, whether she die in the Lord or be once more given back to us. Fare thee well in the Lord. Only tell him that it is a secret which he shall know as soon as he comes to us. All the rest are well."

For fourteen days the loved child hovered between life and death. Once, during this period, Luther said, "I love her very dearly, and would like to keep her, if Thou, O Lord God, wouldst leave her with me; but if it is thy will, dear Lord, to take her to Thyself, I shall rejoice in knowing that she is with Thee." And to the child he said, "Magdalena, child, my precious little daughter, thou wouldst like to remain here with thy father; and thou wouldst also willingly go to that Father above, wouldst thou not?" "Yes, dear, darling father [Herzensvater], as God wills," she answered. When she lay in the last agony, he fell down on his knees in her chamber, by her bedside, weeping bitterly, and prayed God to release her. She fell asleep September 20th, at nine o'clock in the evening. The night before her death her mother had a dream that two beautiful youths were come to conduct Magdalena to a wedding. When Philip Melancthon, the next morning, heard of this dream, he said, "The young men are the good angels who will come and conduct this young maiden into the kingdom of God, to the real marriage." And indeed it was so, for she was a true child of grace, as Luther, though with the father's heart in him deeply smitten, yet strong in faith and with Christian resignation, acknowledged to his friend Justus Jonas (September 23d): "You will have heard," he writes, "that my dear daughter Magdalena is born again into the everlasting

Luther by his
child's death-
bed.

kingdom of Christ. My wife and I, it is true, ought only to give thanks to God, and rejoice at so happy an issue and blessed departure, whereby she is saved from the power of the flesh, and from this world of the Turk and the devil; but natural love is so strong that we cannot say this without many tears and sighs; indeed, we are almost broken-hearted. For the thought of our pious, obedient daughter, her looks, her words, her whole being, as she was in life and death, is too deeply imprinted on our hearts, even for the death of Christ (and what is the death of all men compared to his?) to chase away all grief, as it should. Therefore, sing thou praises to God in our stead. For He has truly wrought a mighty work of grace in us, in that he hath so glorified our own flesh. You know how gentle and caressing and overflowing with love she was. Praised be our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, who hath called, elected, and highly glorified her. Oh, that to me, and to all of us, may be granted such a death, or rather such a life! This is all that I beg God, the father of all comforts and all mercies, to bestow upon us." Somewhat later he writes to Magdalena's godfather, Amsdorf, to thank him for a letter of condolence: "Yes, I loved her dearly, not only because she was my own flesh, but because she had such a gentle, patient disposition, and was so child-like in her submission to me. But now I rejoice that she lives with her Father, and sweetly sleeps till that day. And as our times are bad, and will grow worse, so do I wish for myself and all mine, also for you and all yours, such a last hour, so full of faith and sweet peace; this were indeed sleeping in the Lord, neither seeing nor tasting death, nor experiencing the least particle of fear."

With words not unlike these Luther also went through the sad offices connected with the burial of his loved one. When her body was laid in the coffin, he said, "My dear Lenchen, how happy art thou now!" Then gazing on her, as she lay there, he went on, "Ah, thou dear Lenchen, thou wilt rise again, and shine forth as a star, nay, as a sun." The coffin having been made too short, he said, "The bed is too small for her, because she is dead" (the body had lengthened in death); adding, "The heart indeed rejoices, but the flesh mourns and weeps. The flesh cannot consent; the parting is difficult to bear, beyond measure. How wondrous that we know and are sure that she is so well and at peace, yet we are so sad!" When the people came to the funeral, and offered him condolence, after their wont, he replied, "Ye should be glad that I have sent a saint to heaven; yes, a living saint. Oh, if we could only die such a death! Such a death I would willingly accept this very hour." When one said, "That is true, yet we would all like to retain our loved ones here," Luther answered, "Flesh is flesh, and blood is blood. I am rejoiced that she is yonder. The sorrow that overcomes me is of the flesh." When the coffin was covered with earth, he said, "There is a resurrection of the body." When they returned from

His child's funeral.

the burial, "My daughter is now provided for, both in soul and in body. We Christians have no cause for sadness. We know, too, that these things must be so. We are most certainly assured of the life eternal, for God, who cannot lie, has promised it through and for the sake of his dear Son." When the mother wept and sobbed, and could not be comforted, he said to her, "Dear Katie [Käthe], think whither she has gone. She is well off! But flesh and blood must be flesh and blood, after their own sort. The spirit is alive and willing. Children do not dispute, but as they are told, so they believe. With children all is plain. They die without pang or fear, — no disputing or struggling with death, no pain of body, — as if they were falling asleep." When his son John weakly cherished his feelings, weeping a great deal and writing mournful letters from Torgau, making his mother's heart heavy, Luther sent him grave, fatherly admonition.

In all this home picture there is nothing extravagant, nothing artificial; nothing of that idolatry of the flesh which is often seen in the midst of the refined, secular culture of our times; nothing of sanctimoniousness, suppressing the God-created feeling of our natures, but the divine life and the human heart appear in their true relations one to another in all simplicity and truth. Faith keeps a rein upon the flesh by the power of God's Word. Nature denies not her weakness, which through grace is sanctified, not obliterated, — rather, by renewed innocence, is touchingly glorified. Whoever reads this story, and visits the home of Luther, in Wittenberg, let him, while contemplating the great reformer, also call to mind his daughter Magdalena, so early called away, and her child-like, loving words: "Yes, Herzensvater, as God wills." — H. E. S.

LIFE III. PHILIP MELANCTHON.

A. D. 1497—A. D. 1560. LAICAL LEADER, — NORTH GERMANY.

LUTHER in one place says that never in the progress of God's kingdom has there come any great revolution without the way being prepared by a revival of letters and of languages, even as John the Baptist prepared the way for Christ. This holds good respecting the preparation for the divine work of the Reformation in Germany. Two agencies were needed to open the way for it. One was the religious life gushing from the depths of the devout hearts of the Mystics; for from among those enlightened Christians came John Staupitz, to influence, directly, the mind of Martin Luther. The other was the revival of letters, rising with Erasmus of Rotterdam, by which the knowledge of the Greek language was restored and the New Testament given to students in its original language. These two causes, which together helped prepare the way for the Reformation,

will be found repeatedly exerting their influence as the Reformation goes on. The thorough religious enthusiasm of Luther must unite with the thoughtful, clear, profound learning of Melancthon, who is an Erasmus transfigured, his heart purified and filled with evangelic fire.¹

Philip Schwarzerd (black earth) was the name, in the German, of the great man whose memory this story is designed to celebrate. By the usage of the times, it was translated into Greek, Melancthon, or, as it was written by him for the sake of euphony, Melanthon. He was born at Bretten, in Baden, February 16, 1497. There was a preparer of the Reformation, John Reuchlin, who had been of great service by restoring the study of the Hebrew and of the Old Testament in the original, as well as by combating the Dominicans and the Inquisition. To him Melancthon was related. To his care the young Philip became largely indebted for his training. Melancthon is to be counted with the great men who, maturing early, show in youth the very tendencies which are to distinguish their lives, and who still do not grow old soon, but go on toiling and originating with the strength of youth to the very last. It was speedily recognized by Erasmus that Melancthon would one day eclipse him.

Melancthon while still a youth found his field of labor in Wittenberg.²

Called to Wittenberg.

He was to translate into the language of science what was revealed by the Spirit to the mighty, apostle-like Luther. He was to mould and confirm the same. He was to produce a learning inspired of God, which should accept as its loftiest task the searching of the depths of God's Word, in humble submission. He was to fathom ever more deeply the exhaustless treasures of wisdom which are hidden in Christ. When Wittenberg, on Reuchlin's recommendation, gave him his call, he was just twenty-one. The youth hesitated to leave his native land to devote himself to so difficult a work in a strange country. He was reminded then by his kinsman Reuchlin of God's word to Abraham: "Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee." The relation which sprang up between Luther and Melancthon, the man and the youth, — the fatherly love of the elder and the child-like, enthusiastic devotion of the younger, — was from the very first beautiful. When Luther stood in

¹ When Christ awakes new evolutions or creations He employs characteristics — twofold, at least — which shall be complements of one another. When a work of God is to be done, it is to be understood that He who appoints the end will, by his manifold wisdom, also bring together all the means required for the attainment of the end. By this, then, is the German Reformation shown to be a work prepared of God, that by the side of the older Luther the younger Melancthon was placed, so that when by the creative religious enthusiasm of Luther the first excitement was enkindled, a scientific expression might be given it by the aid of Melancthon.

² In accord with the ancient national characteristic of Germany, — that religion should be the soul and centre of culture, and that all great intellectual achievements should spring from minds touched by Christ, — the higher schools were formed into work-shops of the Holy Ghost; the young spirits were appropriated by Him, along with their power in literature, which He would use as his own voice. Wittenberg accepted such a vocation, and was the first seat of the German Reformation.

great peril, after the Reichstag at Augsburg (1518), he wrote to Melancthon: "Act the man, as thou dost always. Teach the youth what is right. I go to sacrifice myself for them and for thee, if it please God so." Melancthon was warmed and kindled by Luther's holy fire. He wrote of their relations (August 11, 1519): "I love the studies of Luther, and the holy learning; I love Martin's self of all things on earth most dearly, and I embrace him with my whole soul." When the tempest from Rome burst upon Luther, after the Leipsic discussion, Melancthon wrote (April 17, 1520): "I would rather die than be obliged to part from this man." When Luther had been excommunicated and was threatened by the greatest danger, Melancthon wrote (November 4, 1520): "Martin to me seems impelled by a divine spirit. We may help him to a happy issue of his work more by prayer than by advice. His safety is dearer to me than life. Nothing sadder could befall me than to lose Martin." He designates Luther as the "only" man; the man whom he dared prefer to the great men not only of that day, but of all former centuries, — to all the Jeromes and Augustines.

While Melancthon saw in Luther the loftier stature, the nobler spirit whom he dared not censure, but before whom he must bow, Luther perceived in what degree Melancthon was transcendent. When, on the occasion of the famous Leipsic discussion, which influenced so decidedly the progress of the Reformation, a public share in the conflict was taken by Melancthon through a letter concerning it, the conceited Eck counted his dignity hurt by the way in which Melancthon blamed the fencers' arts and lack of results which were exhibited. He expressed himself in a tone of supreme contempt upon the young man at Wittenberg, — who, indeed, knew some Greek, — daring, instead of minding his own affairs, to meddle with a question of religion. Luther, on the other hand, declared, "Though I be master and doctor, and have almost all Dr. Eck's titles, I am not ashamed, if the view of this grammarian differs from mine, to yield my opinion."

The thought which to Luther was the centre of the Reformation was fully grasped by Melancthon, — the sinner's justification solely through faith in his Saviour. This his books and letters clearly prove was to him a heart question. Gentle as he was, and thoroughly wedded to quiet study, conflict of spirit was not unknown to Melancthon, as he sought holiness before God and engaged in thorough self-examination. He turned to the truth named to obtain peace of conscience and joy. He laid hold then of the work of reformation with holy love and strong courage. He wrote to Philip, the landgrave of Hesse (1524): "See what comfort the wounded conscience finds in the Word, when it attains to the consciousness that righteousness is to believe that our sins are forgiven through Christ without our making compensation, without any desert of ours! I know men who, when their consciences could find no

comfort by making satisfaction for themselves, or by good works of their own contriving, had lost, until they heard this doctrine, all hope of their salvation. Now, not only have they attained such hope, but strength and courage also for the conflict with evil. So much depends on our rightly understanding the gospel."¹

Melancthon gave the German Reformation its first compendium of doctrines and of duties. He arranged for the learned what Melancthon's "common-places" Luther had presented in the language of every-day life. It accorded with the nature of the Reformation that this book sprang from Melancthon's lectures on the writings of the Apostle whom the Reformation especially followed, and on that letter of his which was the chief support of the movement, the epistle of Paul to the Romans. The grand tendency of the Reformation declares itself from the first publication of this book of Melancthon, or from 1521.²

In Melancthon's relations to Luther there appear successive stages. At first, as a youth, he was completely carried away by the power of Luther's enthusiasm. He was attuned by his grand spirit. Yet his own strongly marked individuality, penetrated as it was by the spirit of Christianity, was of service to the Reformation. After the year 1521, his own peculiar apprehension of truth was shown more and more, yet

¹ To John Brentz, the Württemberg divine, on the occasion of his presenting certain difficulties, Melancthon wrote as follows (May, 1531): "Turn thy gaze wholly from self-renewal and the fulfilling of the law to the promises and to Christ; reflect that we are justified, that is, made acceptable to God, and are given peace of conscience, for Christ's sake, not for the sake of our own self-renewal. The new life in us is imperfect. Hence we are justified by faith only, not because it is the root of life, but because it takes hold of Christ, for whose sake we are found pleasing to God, the new life forming in us also. Though this new life must follow, yet of itself it cannot give the conscience peace. Not love, which is the fulfilling of the law, but faith justifies men; not that it is itself a virtue in us, but only because it lays hold of Christ. We are justified not on account of love, not on account of the fulfilling of the law, not on account of our new life, — albeit these are gifts of the Holy Spirit, — but on account of Christ. We do nothing save take hold of Him by faith." He closes this explanation with the words, "This is the true doctrine; it exalts Christ's glory, and wonderfully quickens the conscience." From Christ as the only ground of salvation, appropriated by every one through faith, Melancthon was led, like Luther, to Christ's revelation of himself in his word, the Bible, as the only source of the knowledge of salvation. It was he who first unfolded with scientific accuracy and clearness the Reformation principle in this second aspect. This he did the first time he took part in open controversy. In the writing in which he defended himself against the aspersions of Eck (August, 1519), he said, "There is one plain meaning to the Scripture, as celestial truth is the simplest of truths; and we can attain it by comparing Scripture with itself, according to its connection. We should search the Scriptures for this object, to try human doctrines and statutes by it as by a touchstone."

² The humility of learning is shown when Melancthon recognizes that after all attempts of former times to explain the Trinity, the creation, the union of two natures in Christ, nothing was perfected. He shows the knowledge of sin and of grace to be essential to the gospel. He enters upon that alone which is directly connected with this foundation fact. Thus the practical tendency of the Reformation is opposed to former movements (which sought to explain and decide too much in theology, and did not perceive the bounds and limits of human knowledge, nor separate the essential and non-essential) in a very significant way, easily understood, because of this very opposition, and justifiable in its very one-sidedness. At a later day Melancthon, while keeping to this practical tendency, laid aside his one-sidedness and greatly enlarged his compendium. The many editions of the same until his death are a picture of the progressive development of his theology. We discover in the manifold changes the unfettered, free-inquiring deliver into God's Word, who can declare of himself that he must every day unlearn much, and that he was conscious of pursuing theology with no purpose other than holiness of life.

still in complete unison with the spirit of Luther and the doctrine which he unfolded.

The man of learning, gifted peculiarly with gentle spirit, thoughtfulness, and clearness, made himself felt when he strove to soften by his modes of expression, and to guard against misapprehension, what Luther had ruggedly uttered with fiery spirit in the conflict of debate. In reference to the Romish church there were two ways possible: either to magnify the differences which existed, in order to keep pure and entire the Reformation and the evangelical church; or, amid the diversities of the churches and their doctrines, to bring out their higher unity, to moderate and limit the opposition at first too strongly presented. Both ways were needed for sound progress in reformation. If both were not observed, mistakes would be made in one direction or the other. The representative of one view was Luther; of the other, Melancthon. The latter's position appears in the work written by him on the occasion of the first visitation of the churches of Saxony (*Directions to the Clergy for the Right Presentation of Gospel Doctrine or Visitation Articles*; 1527).

While some who held fast to the letter of Luther's doctrine, as he had uttered it in debate, accused Melancthon of treachery to evangelic truth, the adherents of the papacy made him brilliant offers, on the supposition that he was about to return to the old communion. Luther, however, recognized in his friend's work his own spirit and doctrine in changed form, and said, in relation to slanders against him, "Whoever intends to do good must leave to the devil his jaw, that he may chatter." Henceforward Melancthon had to strive hard against a party which often forms about great men, — the party of blind imitators, the narrow zealots who copy great men more in their faults than in their virtues, the former being so much easier to do; who hold to the shell without the kernel, the letter without the spirit. In every deviation from the letter of Luther's utterances these saw a deviation from true doctrine. They exalted what Luther had presented in rugged form, and thus showed their zeal for orthodoxy. Of such Melancthon said that Luther hated their way more than he did popery. Instead of softening the heat of controversy and keeping away strange passions, they rather by their preaching poured oil upon the fire. Since the thoughtful, gentle spirit of Melancthon was most opposed to their wild course, marked as it was by fleshly zeal, they from the first directed against him their fiercest hate. They called him cold as ice, and accused him of indecision. Thus began those inner dissensions which afterwards proved so destructive to the evangelical church.

When the controversy upon the Lord's Supper rose between Luther and Zwingle, Melancthon declared against the Zwinglian view as making the communion a mere commemoration of the redeeming sufferings of Christ, and turning the sacraments in general into mere symbols of con-

fession. It was important, he held, to exalt the divine, the present Christ, who was to be discerned and received in the sacrament. He asserted that Zwingle's doctrine presented only the absent Christ as if in a drama. He wrote to the Swiss Ecolampadius, "The appeal to reason cannot convince one who remembers that he must decide in reference to heavenly things by God's Word, not by geometric proofs, and who has learned that there are no arguments which can control the conscience when it has departed from God's Word." He said as it were prophetically, "If we reject a doctrine because it contains something supernatural, we will soon have to go further, and deny the Trinity, Christ's godhead, yea, even Providence and personal immortality, because everything that is an object of faith contains something beyond reason."¹

Though Melancthon counted opposition to the Zwinglian doctrine important, he lamented deeply throughout that what Christ gave as a pledge of his deepest affection was made the occasion of sundering hearts, plunging them into conflicts and hatreds. He early wrote to his trusted friend Camerarius that he saw no other issue to this controversy than that men should be led into profane discussions and disputes, and their attention drawn away from the essentials of salvation. He was forced to lament that all the fairs were overwhelmed with books, treating of this one question, as if it were the whole of Christianity. He often declared that if he could weep a flood of tears equal to the Elbe, he could not bewail this conflict sufficiently. He sought from the first an understanding upon the question by a calm, passionless investigation according to the Scripture.

We now come to the Augsburg Reichstag (1530), so important in the history of the evangelic church. Melancthon, the foremost theologian of his side in attendance, took two papers, prepared by him along with Luther and other theologians, of which one was a confession of essential articles of faith, the other a list of the Romish doctrines especially to be rejected. These two papers Melancthon was to blend into one whole. Thence rose the "Augsburg Confession," or, as it was called at first, "Apology, in defense of the Protestant doctrine." Its purpose was to defend the evangelic church against the charge of heresy, to prove its doctrines truly catholic, and yet as mildly as possible to set forth the Romish beliefs to be rejected. Melancthon was especially fitted to do this by reason of his peculiar char-

His great work
at Augsburg.

¹ Events have been fulfilling Melancthon's prophetic utterance more and more, even to the final denial of what is supernatural or beyond reason. This is the disease of our own age, the source of most of its evils and of the worst, nor will relief from them come save by a return to the principles of genuine Christianity which Melancthon proclaimed. We are met more and more by this highest problem of life, — to accept the gospel, with its substance above reason and nature, and known only by revelation, or the unbelieving way of looking at things, by which man loses God and himself together, and nothing is left him save to immerse himself in sensual pleasure, and to say, using the watchword of this school, as Paul repeats it, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die!" — the resignation of skeptic despair.

acter, already referred to. When Luther received the confession, he declared his entire satisfaction therewith, saying that he ought not to change anything, for he could not express himself nearly so gently. He named this Augsburg confession "the gentle stepper." The paper was drawn up in both Latin and German. A glorious day in the history of the evangelical church and of our fatherland was that 25th of June, when this confession was presented openly in the presence of the emperor and the states, in the name of all its supporters! It was the emperor's wish that it be read in the Latin, in which it would have been understood only by a few. But the elector of Saxony, John the Steadfast, declared, "Since we are on German ground and soil, we may be allowed to talk pure German." It glorified the German tongue that in it such a simple and powerful witness for the Saviour Christ was openly expressed. Luther wrote at the time, "The grandest thing that happened at the Reichstag was that Christ was proclaimed and extolled in so plain a confession." In his letters to Augsburg he was wont to distinguish Melancthon by the title of the confessor.¹

We approach now what was for Melancthon the most severe and critical period. To avoid a religious war, a final attempt was made to harmonize the two sides by negotiating on the ^{Negotiates with Rome.} points in controversy. But it is ever bad to treat religious questions in diplomatic conferences, such as may take place respecting war and peace or the boundaries of empires. Such efforts were among the troubles of that period. There were two opposing tendencies in men's views of Christianity and the church. One held to the stand-point of a hierarchical development, freed, perhaps, from excrescences and abuses; the other would purify and renew everything in dependence upon Christ as the unchanging source of salvation and of the church, — on his Word apart from all human contrivance. Such a controversy might exalt the knowledge of the Christian truths received by all, but there was no escaping the conflict when once entered upon. It would not be softened or removed by any negotiations, as long as neither party would yield its stand-point or principle. Luther was therefore quite right in his declaring that the pope and he could never agree unless the pope would give up his popery. Melancthon proceeded in these conferences according to his peculiar tendency of mind and those principles of his already re-

¹ There did not result from this Reichstag, as was expected from the manner in which it was summoned, any effort to compose religious differences on the basis of the confession. It was handed over for refutation to the most extreme doctors of the opposite side. These prepared a "confutation." When it had been read in public, a copy of it was asked by the Protestants. This was offered on condition that they would keep it secret and not answer it, — a condition they would not accept. Some of them had been able to note down much of it during its reading, and thus Melancthon was enabled to prepare the first draft of a reply. Afterwards, when the "confutation" was published, Melancthon drew up a complete defense of the confession. Thus rose that royal work of Melancthon, in defense of the confession (*Confessio Augustana*), known as the "Apology" (*Apologia Augustana*).

ferred to. He would surrender no essential doctrine. He would not give up justification through faith alone.¹

But in externals, in church government, he was ready to yield. He declared himself willing to accept the ancient structure, with the papacy at its summit, as the government of the evangelic church. It must, however, be with such conditions as would preserve the true doctrine. If such an arrangement had been made, it had been a great detriment to the evangelic church, injuring her life more and more. We here see how every peculiarly great talent inclines to an extreme, unless balanced by opposite talents. It needed a Luther, without whom the Reformation as a new creation had not existed, by the side of the mediating, compromising spirit of a Melancthon. Yet, while Melancthon occupied this stand-point, his very timidity, as the zealots deemed it, had more of spirit and courage than he would have shown had he simply aided their rugged opposition to the papacy. He could not satisfy the representatives of the Romish system nor the emperor. Because he yielded in one thing, he was expected to yield in another. His firmness in what to him seemed important was considered obstinacy by men who looked at the subject only from a diplomatic stand-point. They laid the blame upon him when no result came from the efforts at compromise. Melancthon offended also the zealots of his own side, and became a constant object of their suspicions. He adhered to his principles when, without regarding the outcry which he thus excited against himself, he added to Luther's Schmalkald confession (1536), which (in its fourth article) rejected every visible head of the church as both unnecessary to the church's true unity and injurious, his own declaration that he was ready to accept the supremacy of the papacy in the evangelic church as an ordinance of man, provided the pope would support the gospel, that is, the pure, reformed evangelical belief. Thus, also, he held at the Regensburg Reichstag (1541). There the first effort was made for an "interim," that is, a temporary adjustment of religious differences, to hold till final action was taken by a general council. Such an adjustment had been planned by John Gropper, a canon of Cologne, and Gerhard Volkroeck, an adroit diplomatist in the train of the imperial minister cardinal Granvelle, probably with assistance from others. By mutual agreement the two sides were to be brought near each other; that is, as John Frederick said, the new wine was to be poured into old bottles, the new cloth sewed on the old garment. Nothing could come out of it. Melancthon,

¹ Even in the Reichstag at Augsburg, as we learn from Melancthon's own lips, there were some who would have suffered a diluted form of the doctrine, such as recently has been heard from members of the evangelic church who have apostatized from her true essence. They would signify only that man's righteousness proceeds from the disposition. He must worship God with a pure heart. If they may wrench the doctrine in this sophistical way, they may find traces of it in the old writers before Christ, and may indeed be amazed that it has caused so much controversy. But Melancthon, as we have seen, was penetrated with the doctrine in its true meaning, and asserted it most important to keep unsullied this jewel of the evangelic church.

the profound scholar of history, whom his deep historical insight gave something of the prophetic, recognized from the first, as he compared such efforts at compromise with similar ones of old, that nothing would be gained, but had would be made worse. When he had to take part in the arrangement, he felt unable to depart from the views which he had laid down, however much ill will was thereby excited against him. He often regretted that he was obliged to take part in these diplomatic negotiations. He had to undergo self-denial in so doing. His simple manners and frank nature did not fit him for diplomacy or intercourse with the great men of church and state. He would have preferred his books, his learning, his instruction of youths, holding this, as he did, far nobler and more important than all these public discussions. By them his life was embittered.

Here we must bring up a thing which we have deferred so as not to break the historical connection, but which is of moment in characterizing this great man. The year 1540 proved to him a hard year. Profound sorrow was given the theologians, because they were not able to withhold Philip, the landgrave of Hesse, who fell into subjection to his sensuality, after he had done so much for the Reformation, from unchristian bigamy with Margaret von Sala. Melancthon, especially, could not get over his regret that he was obliged, against his choice, to be present at Rotenburg, at the celebration of the marriage. His grief weighed upon him. With oppressed spirit and forebodings he left Wittenberg to go to Hagenau, to renew the unpleasant negotiations for compromise. Upon going out of the door, he said, "As we have lived in synods, we will die in synods." On the journey his slight frame gave way to his mental conflict. He was taken, at Weimar, with a severe illness, which brought him to the brink of the grave. He was weary of life. His tender conscience gave him no gladness in prolonging it. In this extreme hour Luther was summoned quickly from Wittenberg. He was frightened at the appearance of his friend, who seemed so near death, and who would hear no encouragements nor consent to take anything. Luther went to the window, praying with the ardor peculiar to him, and with the assurance of faith which removes mountains. Strengthened through prayer, and filled anew with divine strength, he turned to Melancthon's bed and insisted that he should eat. When he refused, Luther commanded him in the name of Christ to take something, saying, "Thou must eat, or I will excommunicate thee." The power of his word and look forced Melancthon to yield. It proved the beginning of his recovery, which he ascribed to Luther, saying in a letter to Camerar, "Luther suppressed his own sorrow that he might not increase mine, and with the utmost greatness of soul sought to strengthen me, not only by comforting me, but by constraining me. If he had not come to me I should have died."

We have seen Melancthon side by side with Luther, maintaining his own individuality. The two mutually recognized their diversities, yet were thoroughly joined in the unity of the spirit. The Lutheran and Melancthonian elements should always unite and mutually complete each other for the prosperous growth of the evangelic church and its theology. The sundering of these two tendencies of the Reformation, a schism in which one or the other will be put down, must exert the most hurtful influence on the progress of the reformed church. In such schism was the germ of the evils which followed. The party of narrow zealots for the very letter of Luther's doctrine, which has been referred to, had increased. Some of them, in contact with Luther, were able so to use the weakness of the man, now oppressed by the burden of his toils, growing soon old beneath the tribulations befalling God's work, and gloomily disposed often by sickness, as to excite in him suspicion of his old friend and fellow-laborer, and to scatter seeds of discord. He was told that he cherished a snake in his bosom. Melancthon had much to suffer and endure. Only by his foresight and thoughtfulness, his gentle forbearance, moderation, and patience, was the breaking out of an open strife avoided. Melancthon was afraid that he would have to leave Wittenberg. Luther's great soul was happily able to recover itself from these discords. As long as he lived, the party of narrow-minded, passionate zealots were restrained, in a measure, by his authority. Everything changed at his death. Many another sad occurrence followed, kindling the long-smouldering fire into flame. Inner feuds rose in the evangelic church, lasting till the death of Melancthon, filling his life with bitterness, in many ways injuring his blessed usefulness, yet giving him many opportunities to prove his gentleness, mildness, patience, and moderation.

Close on the death of Luther came the Schmalkald war, and the victory of Charles Fifth. The electoral office was transferred from the magnanimous John Frederick, who was cast into prison by the emperor, to the young duke Maurice of Saxony, who had left the evangelic party. The emperor decreed the new "interim" of Augsburg, a worse piece of patchwork than ever, and more full of disaster to the cause of Protestantism. Melancthon declared himself against it in the most open and emphatic manner, showing what disquiet of conscience would be produced by it, what a tender subject the worship of God was, and what need there was to avoid all changes that would offend and lead men astray. His utterance, which was communicated to the emperor, offended him. Charles was incensed already by a report that a recent libel against him had been written by Melancthon. He was barely pacified by the elector Maurice, after having asked that Melancthon be given up to him as a disturber of the peace. Further negotiations on church affairs in Saxony ended in the Leipsic "interim." Respecting this Melancthon considered that he must act on the same principles as before, and so drew upon himself re-

newed obloquy. A change came, when Maurice turned to be a champion of religious and political liberty, and secured the peace of Passau. Still the old controversies went on. The Melancthon school was a mark of passionate attack by the theologians of the opposite party. The two theological schools, the one in the restored University of Wittenberg, with Melancthon at its head, and the other in Jena, waged stout war on each other. Melancthon took pains to banish harsh expressions respecting absolute predestination, irresistible compelling grace, and denial of coöperation to the will in conversion. He founded a system of doctrine upon the New Testament attributes of God, more conformable to God's saving counsels and actions, and more in agreement with the needs of the human soul. In Melancthon we find doctrine in agreement with life. Often, in seeking comfort for himself or his friends, as they lost dear children, he would say, "This love to our children which God has implanted in our hearts is a pledge to us of the love of God to his only begotten Son and to us. A God who has planted such love in our hearts is no stoical God, no God of iron necessity."

Melancthon had further trouble with the party of narrow zealots respecting the sacrament. He remained true to his position, opposing the Zwinglian view. But all that he counted essential was the real presence of Christ in the ordinance as a means of true, supernatural fellowship with Him. He wished a composition on this basis of the strife which separated the two portions of the evangelic church. For this object the Wittenberg "Concord" was formed (1536), but not as Melancthon wished. He preferred a clear understanding upon the ques- Hopes for union with Calvin. tion, rather than a covering up of differences. Since Calvin's view approached Melancthon's, an agreement was hoped for. But the strife, which broke forth anew in the last years of Luther's life, continued. Melancthon cherished thoughts of a thorough union, for which the time was not come. He said, a few months before his death, in a letter of advice to the elector of the Palatinate, on the occasion of the controversy in Heidelberg, "The Son of God is present in the ordinance of the Supper, and here works in believers; He is present, not for the sake of the bread, but for the sake of man." He appeals to the expressions in the last discourses in the Gospel of John respecting Christ's fellowship with believers. "In such words of true comfort," he says, "Christ testifies that we are his members, and that He will raise up our bodies." Thus Melancthon wrote, facing the rude storms which filled the last days of his life with toil and care. As much as he strove to avoid strife and preserve Christian unity, he would not deny what he considered the truth, cost what it would. He expected proscription. He had been threatened by his raging foes with having left to him not a foot of ground for a resting-place.

Amid controversies so painful and oppressive to his soul, amid ingrat-

itude and misapprehension which he had to endure, Melancthon in his closing years became filled with an unutterable longing for home. He would fain be away from conflict, in the land of peace,—away from the darkness of earthly life, where there is so much strife over the veiled and unknown, in the light of immediate vision. He was comforted by a profound presentiment that he would soon go thither, rescued from the discords of earthly existence. He wrote in May, 1559, "Not unwillingly, if God please, will I depart out of this life. As the wanderer who makes his way in the night eagerly looks to the morning dawn, so do I eagerly await the light of the celestial 'Academy' on to-morrow." "In yon heavenly fellowship," he writes to a friend, "will I again embrace thee, and joyful will we talk then with each other at the fountain of heavenly knowledge." In August of the same year: "I think every day on that last journey, and eagerly await that light in which God will be all in all, and sophistries and calumnies be left far away." The thoughts of this letter are also expressed in some words which Melancthon wrote a few days before his death, and which were found on his desk. In them he presents his supports in his impending departure out of his earthly life, and reckons among them that he will be freed from the rage of theologians, will attain to the contemplation of God and Christ, and will perceive clearly all that was veiled and hidden here below,—why we were created as we are, and how in Christ the two natures were united.

Of the period of Melancthon's last illness we will cite a few things characteristic of the man and of his surroundings. Duke
Incidents of his last days. Albrecht, of Prussia, a generous patron of all who labored for the church or for science, who had maintained a lively correspondence with Melancthon respecting the affairs of the church and the state, desired to gratify him by a token of respect. He did not know, however, whether to send him money or something else. He turned to Justus Jonas the younger, of Wittenberg, for advice. The latter consulted Melancthon's son-in-law, Kaspar Peucer, the elector's physician, professor of medicine and history. The latter, as Jonas reported to the duke, replied, "I would rather that no one would send my father-in-law money. If money is sent him, it does neither him nor his children good, for he saves it not. I see how he does when his salary comes in: he gives it away till not a farthing is left. Anything lacking in the household I must supply. Thereby none of us are any too well off." Jonas therefore advised that a beaker be sent Melancthon. One was purchased of the value of a hundred dollars. When it arrived, Melancthon was dead. Before his death (April 19, 1560) he heard read several favorite portions of Scripture: Psalms xxiv., xxv., and xxvi.; Isa. liii.; Christ's priestly prayer; and Romans v. The last words which he spoke audibly were, "The saying of John is ever before my

eyes, and upon my heart: As many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name." — A. N.

LIFE IV. HANS SACHS.

A. D. 1494—A. D. 1576. LAICAL LEADER, — SOUTH GERMANY.

"Of a maker of shoes a sweet singer has grown,
And grand poet to teach us that 'great is our Lord;'
For He chooseth as pleaseth Him, knowing his own;
The poor cobbler he showeth his grace-giving word."

So we find written in Latin verse under an engraving (on copper, by Lucas Kilian, of Strassburg) of the year 1617, which represents the bust of Hans Sachs in advanced old age; and we heartily give our assent. A contemporary of Luther, Sachs imbibed with wonderful correctness the leading ideas of the Reformation, clung to them with the fidelity of conviction, and strove successfully to give them life among the people of Germany.

Hans Sachs, son of a master tailor, was born in Nürnberg, November 5, 1494. He was apprenticed to a trade which was very flourishing there, and, while it furnished abundant support for a family, did not hinder one who followed it from public usefulness. He became a maker of shoes, and was never ashamed of his calling. He grew up to it at home, "with good manners, with modesty and reverence." He was taught in the Latin school of his city the elements of learning such as his times required. According to custom, he became an apprentice at fifteen, and at seventeen (1511) set out on travels, as was usual. Thus he became acquainted with a large part of Germany, making stays in the larger cities. He reached home when twenty-one (1516), and clung to Nürnberg with affectionate devotion until the end of his career. He soon (1519) established a home of his own, marrying Kunigunde Creutzer, of Wendelstein, near Nürnberg, and was so prosperous that he removed (1540) from the suburbs into the city. There, at 969 Flour Street (Mehlgässlein), near Hospital Square (Spittelplatze), a memorial tablet invites citizens and strangers to visit the home which his name makes famous. Here he plied his trade to extreme old age, never laying it down till compelled by the loss of sight and hearing. After his first wife's death he married Barbara Harscher (1567), who survived him. He himself died in his eighty-second year, in the night of January 19-20, and was buried January 28th, in John's Cemetery. He had ever been a loving, trusting husband, and enjoyed to the full the honors falling to him as a citizen. He left no children, two sons and five daughters having died before him.

But his especial work of life had been appointed him of God in another province, an ideal region. It is a striking fact — would it might occur again in our day! — that many artisans of that day Artist as well as artisan. were able with the vigorous practice of their calling to combine higher pursuits, the prosecution of which usually demands the whole mind. Hans Sachs found his real task, given him by God, in poetry, — in minstrel song, then flourishing. Nor was he more than one in a throng of artisans who strove for laurels in song and poetry. Sachs enumerates twelve leading master singers who, one after another, had conducted the school of song at Nürnberg, from Conrad Nachtigall down to his own instructor, the linen weaver, Lienhard Nunnenbeck, whose successor he himself became, in the guidance of the general society of the master singers, who in his time numbered some two hundred and fifty in Nürnberg.

The mere study of his life convinces us that Sachs's poetic work was ordained of God. His home training fitted him to address in song the popular thought and moral sense. The school he attended was indeed conducted, as he tells us, "according to the bad usage of our time." It gave him but a partial and soon-forgotten knowledge of Latin and Greek. Yet he there learned to speak "distinctly, correctly, and clearly," and to love and practice the rudiments of the art of song, and many sweet, pleasant instrumental pieces. He acquired, too, a lively interest for all useful knowledge, which he kept as long as he lived. When an apprentice he found in Nunnenbeck a valiant leader of his art, and fell enthusiastically in love with it and its higher aims. On his travels, he visited the chief seats of poetry in Germany, and not only began himself to compose, but to form classes, in Frankfort-on-the-Main and other cities. He came, when in Wels, to a full consciousness of his calling. Repelled by the rough ways of ignoble comrades, he renounced their follies, and turned his mind to the noble art, as he, in Hesiod style, tells us in his "Story of the Muse's Late Gift." On his way to the imperial park, he was surprised by the Muses, as he slept on the grass among the flowers by the fountains. He says of one of them:—

"The goddess looked with kindly gaze,
And said, O youth, wed poesy;
Give German song thy coming days,
Devote thyself to minstrelsy;
Therein promote God's royal name,
Tell men his deeds of noble fame."

When Sachs doubted, and spoke of the inexperience of a youth hardly twenty, he was given by the Muses "a steadfast will, desire and feeling, great diligence in learning the principles of his art, and every gift he required." Thus endowed he sang his first song (1514), "The Mystery of the Godhead." He showed thus at the start the direction he

would thereafter give his art. When on those same travels he met Martin Luther in Augsburg (1518). From him he received his final consecration to poesy, and his thorough resolve as to the way he was to take to reach a crown of immortal glory. Thus he came back (1519) to his home with settled purpose and thorough definite mental aims to devote himself to both his earthly and heavenly calling with all his powers.

The interest he took in Luther was shown by his zeal in collecting his writings. By 1522 he had forty productions of Luther, and looked on them as the choicest treasure of a library which he had gathered with great pains. "All these books," he says, "have I, Hans Sachs, collected, to honor God in his Word and to benefit my neighbors. 1522. The truth abides eternally." The next year he salutes Luther, his teacher, as the "Wittenberg nightingale now heard everywhere."

"Wake, wake! the dawn is near! A wondrous song I hear in green hedge rising clear;
It is the nightingale! It sounds o'er hill and dale; night shall no more prevail.
In east the day draws nigh, morn's rosy red climbs high, the clouds and darkness fly;
The broad sun gazes down; now pales the setting moon before the coming noon!"

He then goes on to unfold his full understanding of the faith as preached by Luther. He tells it simply and plainly, as if from his own innermost conviction. It is made plain that Hans Sachs possessed the books of Luther not outwardly only. He is roused and possessed by the spirit of Luther. He is become a thorough evangelical Christian. Sachs was enriched by all that was called into life by Luther's Reformation. His library soon contained Luther's translation of the Bible. Sachs and the Bible. Compelled before to do with the early versions, he found in Luther's work, in both form and substance, what his soul longed for. At once his minstrelsy adopted its rules for its future creations. It should avoid all deviation from the language of Luther, and look upon such as a mistake. There is a marked difference to be seen between his earlier and his later songs. He owed to Luther release from the Middle-Age confusion of tongues and scholastic talk far removed from real life. He now became thoroughly intelligible and popular. After the complete Bible of Luther was printed, Sachs, without wearying, rehearses treasures of Bible histories, and presents whole books in poetic form. He makes but slight change or addition, and this only from the requirements of his rhyme.

In the year 1523, Luther's attention turned to sacred song. Immediately Sachs's poetry assumed a new character. As early as 1525 there appeared in Luther's style some spiritual songs founded on the Scripture, for the laity to sing, as, for example, "Ein schöne Tagweiss von dem Wort Gottes" (A Christian Song against the Terrible Threatening of Satan). His old songs he remodeled. In place of "gentle Mary" he spoke of "gentle Jesus." He sang no more of the "the Heavenly

Lady," but of "the Heavenly Christ." In the same way, Heyden, the rector of Sebald, was then singing, instead of "Hail, thou queen, mother of mercy," "Hail, Jesus Christ, thou king of mercy."

Sachs followed Luther's track also in prose writings (1524). In four His great prose works. dialogues, published together, he assailed his opponents with ready, cutting wit, convincing argument, and evangelic statement. The leader in the dialogue and champion of the good cause is a shoemaker, John, evidently the poet himself. The first dialogue, "Discussion between a canon and a shoemaker, wherein the Word of God and the true Christian character are maintained," goes thoroughly into the question whether laymen have any right to join in the discussions of the learned, and seek on their own account for the truth of the Holy Scriptures; also, whether the clerical order, with the pope at its head, is founded upon the Scripture, and whether public worship which admits the invocation of Mary and the saints is allowable. All these questions he answers in accordance with the opinion of Luther and the latter's little work, "On Christian Liberty." The second dialogue, following Luther's book "On Clerical and Monastic Vows" (1521), rejects all these ordinances of the hierarchy, and calls the monks from their cloisters to enter life and go to work, "to which they are born as truly as are birds to fly." The work of Sachs widened when he not only opposed the upholders of the old system, but in his two later dialogues administered to the friends of the new system excellent counsel and admonition. They were to renounce all immorality, according to the light given them, cease from useless controversy, and, on the other hand, practice that patient love which would rather yield in matters of indifference, and avoid scandal and offense, than rush into untimely and foolish quarrels.

Sachs, beyond any poet of his day, made the spread of classic letters, so helpful to the German Reformation, subserve the ends of his Muse. Translations of the old writers were appearing in great numbers. They were quickly given a place in Sachs's library, and made serviceable in his poetry. To these may be added also what the Middle Ages and later centuries had produced, the stories of countries and cities, the popular tales. Petrarch and Boccaccio, Reuchlin and Erasmus, Luther and Melancthon, — their treasures were all turned to use. Hans Sachs was clearly the most comprehensive writer that Germany has ever produced.

In the year 1529 Luther's catechism appeared. By the year following Sachs had turned both parts of it into poetry, wholly in accordance with Luther's meaning. Thoroughly attached to Luther as he was, and bound up in his writing, he did not suffer himself to be cast down by his death (1546). In a royal elegy he offers comfort to Theology, which he portrays as "a woman in snow-white robe, following the bier, wring-

ing her hands and tearing her hair," and adds the following pointed lines : —

" Our God still cares for thee; thy friends are here, a royal band still striving;
Thou 'lt not forgotten be. The church of God yet lives, its strength reviving;
The powers of hell now flee. Take courage, then, nor mourn if Luther leave thee;
A hero, conqueror, he! the battle won, no foe remains to grieve thee."

Sachs himself was one of a knightly royal company, that took pains to perfect the work of the great reformer and maintain the faith in utmost purity. In Sachs's time Nürnberg was one of the very first of German cities, and in a certain sense the German capital. Sachs was a chief ornament of Nürnberg, holding a most important place as musical director and member of the city council. Nürnberg's disposition to help the Reformation to the utmost sprang from her citizens as a mass. While Sachs was but one among them, his voice had great effect in securing the acceptance of Lutheran views, and in conferring upon the city great advantages. Nürnberg as a state and Hans Sachs are closely related. They both wanted church reform, and through it the renovation of Germany. When the Turks overran Hungary (1532), and threatened Vienna and Germany, Sachs published a poem of two sheets, "Against the Bloodthirsty Turk." He summoned the whole nation to arms, to fight as one man valiantly against the ancient foe of Christianity. Beginning with the emperor, he calls Charles Fifth to let his eagle crest appear; with fiery, penetrating words he summons the holy empire, and every rank and station, to come at once to the field. Nürnberg, accordingly, was one of the first in the field, doing even more than her share, and all the states were stirred to lively emulation.

Sachs like Nürnberg held to the emperor, even at times when such allegiance was of doubtful propriety. Thus they not only aided him against France (1536), but also in the Schmalcald war. Sachs made but once a direct attack on the papacy, at the time (1527) when the troops of Charles entered Rome as conquerors. He then aided Andrew Osiander, preacher of Lorenz church, who published the predictions of Abbot Joachim of the thirteenth century. The citizens of Nürnberg took no offense at his work, but the council feared the displeasure of the victorious emperor, whose subjects they loved to consider themselves, and passed a harsh censure on the poet. None the less Nürnberg held to the Reformation, taking part not only in the protest at Spire (1529), but also in the Augsburg confession (1530), rejecting the views of Zwingle. She would "not value the emperor's favor above the grace of God." This same year, Sachs issued a series of valuable poems in aid of the work of Luther.

In the years 1541 and 1542, Sachs raised a strong voice against discord in the realm, first during the Nürnberg Reichstag, when he wrote the "Captivity of Truth," warning against all self-seeking in opposition to

God's Word, and also in a poem (1544), which advises the restoration of the common good ["*respublica*"] and of peace and harmony. In the same mind he opposed margrave Albrecht, the foe of his city, when he beleaguered Nürnberg (1552). Sachs helped by the pen his city and his fatherland as a good patriot till the end of his life. When he reached sixty he thought that he must lead the rest of his life in quiet, "free and at leisure from all poetic labor;" but his muse would not release him, calling him to work even with his feebleness to the glory of God. As his life hastens to its close, he sits at his table, with long beard, silently looking at his books and his open Bible, which to the last he counted the gem of his library.

Beautiful, rare example of one who fulfilled his life and work in the noblest way, and royally met the demands of his twofold occupation! His character corresponded to the aims of his life. From youth, his heart avoided corrupting influences. Even in the jest and humor of which he was so fond, he never let anything escape him which would incite to sin. When he approached such thoughts, — and his use of secular books furnished too frequent occasions, — he used ever to add a word of excuse, saying, "I pray, lay not the blame of this to me, Hans Sachs." At times, indeed, the patriarch of minstrelsy is a child of his generation, and speaks in a popular way, with a wit inclining to coarseness and rude jest. Yet he is for the most part kept therefrom by his evangelic thought and pure frame of mind. He was very modest in his estimate of his own morality, as he shows by his censure of himself near the end of his life, in his poem "The Works of God are Good."

Hans Sachs must thus ever be given a place among the evangelical leaders who cherished Christianity and fatherland, and did good service to both in their generation. . He was ever true-hearted, guileless, cheery, and gracious. By his help the free city of Nürnberg became a metropolis of a popular, fertile literature, of which the Bible was the foundation, reverence and piety as well as spirit and aspiration the characteristics. Such a school of letters ever rises up when there is revival of the German national spirit, and advances grandly to the task of regenerating the fatherland, delivering it from aliens, leading it back to noble efforts and real Christianity. — F. R.

LIFE V. JOHN BRENTZ.

A. D. 1499—A. D. 1570. CLERICAL LEADER,—SOUTH GERMANY.

JOHN BRENTZ, a venerable reformer, was born June 24, 1499, at Weil, then a free city of Swabia, now a country town of Württemberg, at the southeastern border of the Black Forest. His father, who was mayor of the city, and his mother, whose maiden name was Hennig, took, as Brentz records in his will, the greatest pains with their children's education, especially in religion. Their adhesion afterwards to the evan-
gelic faith, to which they were won by John, laid a penalty upon them, even in death, for they were refused burial in the church-yard, and were laid outside the city in unconsecrated ground. John went to preparatory schools in Vaihingen and Heidelberg; then entered the Heidelberg University (1512), and was welcomed by a company of eager youth, among them Melancthon, Ecolampadius, Bucer, Lachmann, and Schneff, all destined to share with Brentz, ten years later, in the work of religious reform. When Luther came to Heidelberg (1518), after his ninety-five theses had stirred all Germany, he expressed his glad hope that these young men, unlike the old who were confirmed in their notions, would spread true views of Christianity. Brentz attained success in Heidelberg as a teacher and preacher, though suspected by the papists. When twenty-three (1522) he accepted a call to preach in Swabian Hall, and won popularity there both by the substance of his sermons and by his graceful delivery. Gently but decidedly he opposed Romanist abuses in doctrine and worship, and strove to make his church and school evangelical. He taught, respecting the worship of saints, that we should not ask for them what they did not ask for themselves. We should not set up in opposition to God beings whose lives were united with God. There should be no dividing of our prayers.

When the peasants revolted (1525), Brentz taught that they should rather submit to their rulers than resist. Their course would not promote Christian love or brotherhood. They should present prayers to God and implore the rulers who oppressed them to lighten their burdens. He advised the city to defend itself against the peasants. If it yielded, it would be lost. He strove to perform the double task of bringing not the people only, but the princes, to a knowledge of God's Word, that they might rule their subjects rightly. He especially devoted himself, as did Luther, to the work of education. He anticipated Luther by a year in preparing a catechism, the first of the reformed church, the "Catechism of the Christian Faith for Youth at Swabian Hall" (1528). He was drawn (1525) into the controversy on the Lord's Supper, opposing the Swiss view, and defending Luther's view of the or-

First to write a
catechism.

dinance from the Scriptures and the Fathers. He met Luther once more, at the Marburg colloquy (1529). At the same time he came to know Ulrich, the exiled duke of Württemberg. At the request of duke Ulrich, when the latter had been restored to rule in Württemberg, Brentz led in the reform of the University of Tübingen. He not only reformed his own church, he was asked to give counsel elsewhere, by the nobles in Kraichgau, in Hohenlohesse on the Lower Neckar, in the Swabian free cities, and in Franconia, especially in Nürnberg and Anspach. He was taken by the margrave George of Brandenburg to the Augsburg Reichstag (1530), and was elected one of the negotiating committee. He also attended conferences at Schmalcald, Worms, and other places. On his return home from Augsburg occurred his marriage with Margaret Gräter, a worthy widow. They were given six children, of whom three survived their parents.

Soon after Luther's death (1546) there began the fearful Schmalcald war. The troops of the emperor entered Brentz's parish. With great difficulty he escaped their endeavor to seize him, taking with him his family and his most valuable papers. He ran great risk from letters which he, so long in favor of submission to the emperor and peace, had written to justify the Protestants. These letters, in which he maintained that their self-defense was right, were found and carried to the emperor. Brentz had to hide in the forests from December 21st, on through the cold winter, till the departure of the emperor's troops permitted his return to his plundered dwelling. He was not long left undisturbed. He could not approve the "interim," which the emperor sought to enforce as a means of combining Romanists and Protestants in creed and church worship. He said that it was impossible to serve two masters opposed to each other. It was a mistake to suppose that the friends of the "interim" would tolerate the reformed doctrine, if the reformed would accept their ceremonies. They would insist that people acknowledge the primacy of the pope, while the Bible ascribed no supremacy to Peter, or any of Peter's successors. Besides, Brentz utterly rejected private confession to the priest, the mass and transubstantiation, and the prayers for souls in purgatory. This strong opposition of his to the "interim" stirred the fury of the papists. Cardinal Granvella ordered his seizure, living or dead. Brentz first took refuge in the castle of Hohenwittlingen, near Urach, in Württemberg. When no longer safe there, he went to Basel. He wrote from this city to John Calvin, describing the sad condition of Germany, and received in reply a charming letter, full of comfort and admonition, with the assurance that Calvin remembered him continually in his prayers. Brentz met, in Basel, duke Christopher of Württemberg, then governor of Mömpelgard. He also received news of the death of his wife. He could not rest, thinking of his orphaned children. He hastened back to Stuttgart. News of fresh persecutions coming to duke Christopher, Brentz was advised by him to escape as best he

could. With a loaf of bread under his arm, according to the story, Brentz went to a house in the upper part of Stuttgart, and there hid in a space between a pile of wood and the roof. ^{His notable escape.} During two weeks constant search for him was made. All this time, a hen came where he was, at noon every day, and laid an egg in a nest. On this egg he kept himself alive, till the Spanish soldiers withdrew, and he could leave his hiding-place. He next took up his residence in Hornberg, by the Black Forest, in the disguise of a bailiff. At one time, when he advised a preacher in the region not to preach so long, he received the answer, "You bailiffs always think the time spent in church too long." A great many thought that such a bailiff was never seen before, for he neither swore nor drank. At last, when the preacher was ill, and was consoled by Brentz from Scripture and his own thoughts, he exclaimed, "Oh, sir, you are no bailiff, be you what you may!" Brentz entered into a second marriage in 1550, with Catharine, daughter of his friend Isenmann. They were given ten children.

No sooner had duke Christopher assumed rule in Würtemberg (1552) than Brentz was called by him, first to Ehingen castle, then to Stuttgart as "provost." He not only preached, but faithfully counseled the duke in all church questions. He prepared the Würtemberg confession of faith, which was laid by the duke (1552) before the Council of Trent. Afterwards Brentz wished to maintain it there in person. But notwithstanding he was shown courtesy, he was not publicly heard, for "it did not seem fitting to the assembled fathers to be instructed by those who should render them obedience." Brentz was author, in the main, of the Würtemberg church constitution of 1559, which was followed by the church of electoral Saxony, in 1580, and by others. After Luther's death he was, next to Melancthon, the leader of the German church. He was therefore called to bear a part in many ^{The "three mighty men."} discussions, especially on the sacrament and the doctrine of justification. We need not be surprised to find that in his varied labors he had sad experiences, and often little thanks. Once, a strange preacher, visiting Stuttgart and hearing Brentz preach, to his astonishment found the church empty, and after the service was over expressed to Brentz his amazement. Brentz, on his way home, led him by a spring, and asked him what was the chief excellence of that spring. When his guest could not reply, Brentz said, In that it continues flowing whether many come to drink, or few: the preacher of God's Word must do the same. Brentz, in his closing years, was very active in religious efforts on behalf of France. The hope was entertained that the evangetic faith would prevail in that kingdom. But duke Christopher, who had been called in by the king of Navarre as a mediator, found himself deluded by the French sovereign, and the cause of the gospel in France basely betrayed.

On the death of his beloved ruler, Christopher (December 28, 1568),

Brentz looked forward to his own departure. He had already made his will, on the occasion of the breaking out of a plague (1566). In it he bore witness to his conviction of the divine character of the Scriptures, and to the church's teachings, so far as they agreed therewith. He blessed the grace of God, which, by means of Luther, had spread abroad the true light. He expressed his gratitude to the princely house of Würtemberg, which had pitied him in distress, and had cared for him and his family with countless kindnesses till his life's close. God would certainly take them into his keeping and preserve them in the true Christian faith. Towards the close of the year 1569, Brentz, in the midst of his labors, was taken with paralysis. He revived, but in August, 1570, was attacked by a severe fever. The last day of August he received the Lord's Supper, with his family and his brothers in office. He exhorted the latter to Christian steadfastness and unity, referred especially to Paul's farewell to the elders of Ephesus, and closed by repeating the one hundred and thirty-third Psalm. Silently praying God, he expired Monday, September 11th, and the next day was buried near the pulpit of the cathedral. He had, a short time before his death, chosen the spot, so that if ever any one from that pulpit preached a strange doctrine he might lift his head from out his grave and call to him, "Thou liest!"

Brentz's writings were everywhere esteemed. Many of them were translated into foreign languages. Luther thought so highly of them as to declare that no theologian had explained the Scriptures so well as Brentius; that he was often amazed at his ability, and had doubts of his own powers. With an allusion to the fourfold vision which came to Elijah at Horeb, Luther said that his share was the mighty tempest, which rent the mountains and tore the rocks asunder, while Brentz's was like the soft whispering of the breeze. Twenty years after Brentz's death, the Roman Catholic pastor of Oeffingen, when talking with deacon Wolfart of Cannstadt of the wealth of the monks, unlocked a huge chest, and showed him the works of Brentz, saying, "These are my wealth; I prize them more highly than any money." — J. H.

LIFE VI. ZACHARIAS URSINUS.

A. D. 1534—A. D. 1583. CLERICAL LEADER, — SOUTH GERMANY.

Two periods are plainly visible in the Reformation in Germany: one when the great religious movement rose under the personal guidance of its first leaders, when with full hands they scattered broadcast the blessed seeds of gospel truth; the other, when the first generation had been called home from their labors, and a second took up their work, guarding the Lord's ripening harvest, weeding out all foreign growths, and

plucking up each growing tare,—in a word, the period of the compacting of the evangelical communion into denominations with their various confessions of faith. To this period belongs Ursinus. A member of the reformed church of Germany, he is perhaps the most renowned and honored of all her theologians in the many countries in which the reformed church has taken root. To him chiefly we owe that most popular confession and book of instruction, the Heidelberg Catechism, which, accepted by reformed people everywhere, has now entered upon its fourth century of usefulness.

Zacharias Bär (in Latin Ursinus), born July 18, 1534, was the son of respectable although not wealthy parents. His father, Andreas Bär, was at the time of his son's birth a deacon of the Mary Magdalene church of Breslau. Afterwards he became ecclesiastical inspector and teacher of theology in the Elizabeth school of Breslau. The mother, Anna Roth, was of noble descent. Young Bär early showed great talents, which were carefully fostered by his father and teachers. When hardly sixteen (1550), he was advanced enough to ^{Studies at Wittenberg.} be sent to Wittenberg University. Such hopes of his future were excited by his school testimonials that the council and merchant guild of his native town resolved to help him with a yearly stipend. He spent nearly seven years in Wittenberg, interrupted in his third year by the plague, which along with the condition of political affairs made his return to Breslau seem advisable. It was now the last decade of the labors of Philip Melancthon, which had blessed so many thousands of youths by teaching the gospel at this centre of the Reformation. It was also the time when the peace of the church was disturbed by the violent controversies between Luther's followers and Calvin's on the doctrine of the Supper. Melancthon's last days were greatly saddened by the spiteful, abusive spirit of the zealots for the extreme tenets of Luther. Young Bär had been reared in Breslau in the peaceful Melancthon view. He attached himself closely to his revered teacher, and was loved by him as by a father. He was suffered to accompany Melancthon to Worms (1557), to a church conference. After its close the promising youth was enabled by the help of generous relatives to travel for purposes of study. He went by way of Heidelberg and Strassburg to Basel and Zürich, thence to Lausanne and Geneva, and then by way of Lyons and Orleans to Paris. Returning to Wittenberg (September, 1558), he visited Tübingen, Ulm, and Nürnberg; Melancthon's powerful recommendations secured him everywhere an excellent reception. Calvin was then living, and other contemporary founders and leaders of the reformed church and doctrine. Ursinus (to use now his learned title) made the personal acquaintance of nearly all of them, and won their profound esteem and love. Calvin made him a present of his works, recording in them, with his own hand, his regard for the young man, with his good wishes.

The journey was of great use to Ursinus. In Paris he increased his knowledge of Hebrew, acquired the French, and obtained a deeper insight into the state of the church in the various countries and districts which he visited. All his life through he kept up the acquaintanceships formed during this year, and with important results.

Meanwhile, his friends in Breslau had been striving to obtain an appointment at home for their scholar. An appointment as teacher in the Elizabeth gymnasium met him upon his return to Wittenberg. He accepted it from love and gratitude to his city, yet with a heavy heart, for the strife between the parties of Luther and Melancthon was so hot there that he doubted his ability to maintain a public position in the midst of it. His convictions, too, which were ripened by travel, inclined to a decided adoption of the views of Calvin. Though at one with Melancthon in his love of peace, and thoroughly attached to the good man to the end, he could not approve his master's wavering between the views of Luther and Calvin, and refraining from an open expression of his opinions. Thus Ursinus was soon known in Breslau as a hateful Calvinist. He replied to his assailants in an able production, yet longed to leave a position which had grown painful. A few days after the death of Melancthon he received permission to retire. The best testimonials were given him, and the desire was expressed that he would soon accept some other position in his native city.

His surrender of office was a sacrifice cheerfully made to his deep convictions. When asked by his uncle Roth whither he Leaves home for conscience' sake. would go, he frankly replied, "I will leave my fatherland, and that cheerfully, since it does not allow the confession of a faith which I cannot conscientiously give up. If Philip, my best beloved teacher, were living, I would go to none save him. Now that he is dead, I will go to the men of Zürich, who, though little thought of here, have a renown in other churches which our preachers can never destroy. They are pious, learned, and great men, with whom I am determined to spend the remainder of my days. For the rest God will provide." He did as he had said. Without tarrying in Wittenberg, whose theologians would gladly have made him one of their number, he hastened through to Zürich (October 3, 1560). He renewed his intimacy with the clergymen and theologians of that city, especially with Henry Bullinger and Peter Martyr. To the latter he felt especially drawn, and counted himself fortunate in enjoying his "heavenly instruction." Ursinus prized the privilege allowed him in Zürich of speaking out his convictions and holding communion with men of like belief. For all this, his love for his home was not less ardent. He writes from Zürich: "If our people would consent to my teaching, openly and officially, the doctrines of the Swiss churches on the sacraments, divine providence and election, free will and church traditions, and would maintain church disci-

pline, I could soon show them with what burning zeal my heart is filled for my fatherland." The hope of his Breslau friends that he would return was never realized. Soon a wider and more grateful field of labor opened to him in the reformed churches of the Palatinate.

Otto Henry, elector of the Palatinate, dying (February 12, 1559), was succeeded by Frederick, duke of Simmern. In him were the noblest princely qualities, and above all the fear of God. He had promoted reform in his little dukedom, as decidedly as Otto in his electorate. Otto stood by Lutheran views as held by Melancthon. Frederick was a decided Calvinist. Following the rule adopted by the German Reichstag (1555), that each prince should decide the religion of his state, Frederick strove to give the Calvinistic confession, to which he honestly adhered, the predominance. The faculty of theology in Heidelberg was designed to aid him in this effort.¹ It was Frederick's strong desire to attract the revered Peter Martyr to Heidelberg from Zürich. The latter, pleading his old age, recommended young Ursin in his stead. Thus in his twenty-seventh year Ursin became one of the pillars of the reformed church. Through him and his associates Heidelberg won a renown far beyond the limits of the Palatinate. Ever since it has been counted a stronghold of the reformed faith.

Ursin's chief work in Heidelberg was to superintend Sapienz College, a preachers' seminary, which was designed to be a home to the students of theology, and yet a part of the university. It ^{His work in Heidelberg.} had been founded by Otto to supply the call for preachers in his territory. Frederick enlarged it to accommodate seventy students, and placed it under his consistory. To conduct the training of so many candidates was no slight task for young Ursin. He was called to lecture not only upon theology as a science, but also on preaching and catechising. Even general lessons in philosophy were undertaken by him when required. He received the degree of doctor (August 28, 1562), and undertook the chair of dogmatics, which had been held by Olevian. After six years he resigned this (to Zanchi), on account of his oppressive duties. His lectures demanded from him thorough, conscientious preparation. Then a multitude of special duties was devolved upon him by the elector. Further, there were scholarly works to be written.² When-

¹ Even in the reign of Otto Henry, several men who professed the reformed theology were placed in the university, among them Peter Boquin, a fugitive French Calvinist, who became professor of theology. Otto's court preacher, Michael Diller, also held to the reformed confession. Frederick, however, first thought of making the university and theological faculty decidedly Calvinist. Taking the advice of the Zürich and Geneva divines, he associated with Boquin E. Tremellius, as professor of theology, and Caspar Olevian, the latter a pupil of Calvin. The celebrated Jerome Zanchi joined them in 1568.

² In the establishment and organization of the churches in the electorate he took less share than his friend Olevian. Olevian was especially adapted for practical church business, for establishing a new order of public worship and a church consistory. The latter, composed of ministers and laymen, was to exercise authority in school and church matters. Olevian was released from university duties, made a member of the consistory, and given a place as preacher in Heidelberg.

ever Frederick wanted a scholarly presentation of the Calvinistic faith, he made Ursin his spokesman, champion, and critic. Of all Ursin's works of this kind, none was so important as his share in composing the Heidelberg Catechism. He and Olevian were commissioned by the elector¹ for this work, and entered upon it with all the zeal and affection which such a work required. They first studied conscientiously the excellent catechisms already existing in the reformed church, and especially Calvin's and Laski's. From this material Ursin made drafts of two catechisms, a larger and a shorter, both in Latin. These were designed to serve as an introduction to a work for the people, and to set forth the doctrines which it should present. They answered the purpose. These drafts by Ursin were turned into German by him and his associate, and after a great many changes were published in what is now known as the Heidelberg Catechism.²

¹ Frederick found in the beginning of his reign that the catechetical instruction of youth in his dominions was sadly neglected, or at least left to the pleasure of each individual pastor. He found need of a positive and uniform training in Christian faith, and of a catechism which should state the chief Christian doctrines clearly and comprehensively. Thus not only would the young and unlearned be better cared for, but preachers and school-masters would have a definite guide and rule to go by in their instructions, and would not be left to inculcate any new doctrine that entered their heads, however little authorized by the Holy Scripture.

² In the clear, concise German style, we may see the share taken by Olevian, also, in the arrangement so much admired, in the division into three parts, and the simple Biblical construction. The two men each displayed their peculiar merits in the composition of the book. A careful study of it will show that besides being a text-book for youth, it was designed to be a brief compendium of theology, a kind of confession of faith for the church of the Palatinate. Many points are therefore more fully treated in it than in other catechisms of the period which were meant simply for youth. It not only transcends the needs of youth in some particulars, but in the doctrines of salvation which especially suit the age of childhood it employs expressions which require for their full understanding the riper experience of mature minds. Yet this exceptional manner of treating subjects is no detriment to the catechism as a manual for youth. Its merit, besides what has been named, arises from the simplicity and naturalness of its divisions: (1.) Of man's misery. (2.) Of man's redemption. (3.) Of thankfulness. Then comes a masterly treatment of details. Under the first head, the ten commandments are not taken in detail, as in Luther's catechism, but in their sum in Christ's words (Matthew xxii. 37-40). In contrast with this image of a life in thought and deed pleasing to God, to which man is appointed, is placed the depth of the sinful depravity of man as he is, in and through Adam (as shown in Question 5, etc., respecting hatred to God, and Question 8, respecting man's inability for good, and his natural tendency to evil). When the mind has been thus strongly awakened to a sense of the misery of sin and of the wrath of God, in the second part comes the doctrine of redemption, by the God-man, with an extended explanation of the Apostles' Creed. Among many matchless definitions may be named those of true faith and justification (Questions 21 and 60). In Question 65 is a definition of the sacraments as holy signs and seals of God's promises in the gospel; then follows, in true Calvinistic terms, a treatise on the power of the keys. The third part gives an exposition of the ten commandments. As the law was in the first part a mirror to man of his sin and misery, so in the third part it is presented very differently as a guide and rule of Christian life. Thus the catechism maintains this leading thought of the reformed system: that the law attains its highest end in its importance to the lives of grateful believers. Throughout it is maintained that the good works arising from fulfilling the law are not, as Romanists hold, meritorious, but are fruits of the new heart given in regeneration,—are tokens of our gratitude for our redemption. Last, under the third part comes an exposition of the Lord's Prayer, as an especial inculcation of spiritual worship and thankfulness. We have then in the catechism the three heads common to all Christian catechisms, but conceived and arranged after the reformed theology. Of single passages in it, none is more famed than the answer to the first question, "What is thy only comfort in life and death?" and to the eightieth question, with its severe condemnation of the Romish mass as "an accursed idolatry." The first edition of the catechism was printed without this expression. But when the decree of the Council of Trent appeared, the elector was moved to recall the first edition, as far as possible, and to place in the second this sharp expression, which gave offense to the Romanists, and played quite a part in the coming history of the Palatinate.

The work appeared in 1563, with an order from the consistory that the Sunday afternoon services should be devoted to its explanation. Its contents, for this reason, were officially divided into fifty-two parts, one for each Sunday; and again into ten lessons or sections, to be read every Sunday before sermon. Soon the book was translated into Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, as well as into most of the living European languages; for in all the Reformed churches, without exception, the "Heidelberger" received approval and acceptance as a confession of faith. Sermons on the catechism became popular in other lands,—for example, in Holland.¹

While the church of the Palatinate was thus cared for in its inner life, it had no lack of outward conflicts; and in these Ursin had his share. The setting up of a Calvinistic church in the electorate made a great noise inside Germany, and outside, also. From one side the elector got great praise, from another blame and sharp attack. His neighbors, duke Christopher of Würtemberg, margrave Charles of Baden, and count-palatine Wolfgang of Zweibrücken, sought untiringly to draw him from the reformed side. The question of the Lord's Supper was again debated. On this, Ursin, at the elector's request, replied to the attacks made on the Reformed doctrine of the Supper, which was much perverted. This reply, which was one of his most noted works, appeared (1564) under the title, "A Thorough Investigation of the Holy Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the Theologians of Heidelberg University." The same year the theologians of the Palatinate and Wittenberg held the renowned conference at Maulbronn, in the presence of the princes of both parties. In this assembly, which proved as unsuccessful as unedifying, Ursin led the many theologians of his side in opposing Jacob Andreaë, the chancellor of Tübingen.²

To such attacks from without, on the church of the Palatinate, were

¹ This dissemination is easily traceable to the form of the catechism. A late theologian of the reformed church (Sudhoff, *The Lives and Writings of Olevianus and Ursinus*, Elberfeld, 1857), says rightly, "Singular power and unction are diffused over the whole work. Its fresh, awakening tones address the soul. It is a confident, joyous declaration of Christian assurance of salvation. The reader's heart and will are addressed, as well as his intellect. Clear, popular ideas are beautifully joined with a deep feeling of devotion, a serious, observing spirit, and glad assurance. He who has once read his catechism must also see how indissolubly these great excellences are bound up with the style, so forcible and dignified, and yet so simple. What true-hearted, rational, and yet lofty rhetoric is in the answer to the question, 'What is thy only comfort in life and death?' 'That I, with body and soul, both in life and death, belong not to myself, but to my faithful Saviour Jesus Christ, who with his own precious blood hath paid the ransom for my sins, and delivered me from all the power of the devil; and so preserves me that without the will of my heavenly Father not a hair can fall from my head; yea, that all things must serve to promote my salvation; and therefore, by his Holy Spirit, He also assures me of eternal life, and makes me sincerely willing and ready henceforth to live unto Him.'"

² When (1573) Andreaë reproached the clergy of the Palatinate with introducing into their belief the abomination of Islam and the doctrines of the Koran, there appeared (1574), *A Confession of the Theologians and Clerks of the Church at Heidelberg, upon the one true God in three Persons, upon the two Natures in the one Person of Christ, and upon the Holy Communion of our Lord Jesus Christ*. These doctrines were treated with masterly skill and sagacity, while at the close is a short abstract of the Reformed doctrine of the Supper. Ursin had a large share in this work; and, indeed, by some the whole is ascribed to him.

added fightings within. The true Calvinism of the Heidelberg Catechism is seen in its views (Questions 82-85) on the necessity of a parish presbytery for discipline, and especially for excluding unworthy persons from the sacrament. The advice of Calvin, on this great question, had been sought and obtained by Olevian. It was the serious purpose of the elector to introduce presbyterian government into his dominions. But the carrying out of the plan, in the midst of the union of church and state, involved great difficulties. The Reformed churches in German Switzerland, founded as they were under the care and favor of the state, had, like the Lutheran churches of Germany, adopted principles and customs in reference to the church and state very different from those of the churches of France and Holland, which grew up in face of political oppression and persecution. The latter were used neither to expect help from the state, nor to suffer its intermeddling. They aimed at independence in their church government, and conceived of nothing so important as a strict discipline over their members, not by the state, but by the church's own officers. The diversity of view already seen in Switzerland was now experienced in the Palatinate. Regulations in harmony with the catechism were sought by Olevian and the Calvinists from other countries. On the other hand, the exercise of discipline by the church was stoutly opposed by a party led by Thomas Erastus, professor of medicine, a native of Switzerland. He defended the customs of Germany and German Switzerland. The details of the conflict (1568) need not be repeated. Suffice it to say that it involved the deep question of state church and free church, which has since so often agitated the reformed communion.

Ursin, as a native of Germany, it was hoped by Erastus, would take the side of the latter. The hope was vain; Ursin stood by the doctrine of his catechism. He was not the man, after his sacrifice in youth of an honorable career in Breslau for sake of conscience, and production in manhood of able books on the subject, to take back deliberately all his words and actions. He bravely declared, "If not a village or a city can do without discipline, without statutes and penalties, neither can the church, the home of the living God, do without church government and discipline, though these are to be very different from civil enactments." Nothing moved Ursin from this conviction: neither the outcry against Olevian, the "Hierarch," nor the cutting remarks upon the "foreigners," nor the disfavor with which he, as well as Olevian and the foreigners, was regarded by the Heidelbergers who disliked discipline, as well as by the scholars, courtiers, and officials, who sided with Erastus, and who, as might be expected, from the state of the case, included some of doubtful or, as was proved later, of loose character. So little was Erastus able to measure Ursin's faithfulness to his conviction and strength of character that he charged the latter with acting like a "madman."

Wants a free church.

Ursin's disposition was, in fact, shy, timid, and gentle. He took to heart the ceaseless theological disputes. He was especially pained by the Maulbronn conference. He withdrew as much as possible from all controversies, and lived in his student labors. Here his work was out of proportion to his scanty support, for, besides the teaching and government, the business interests of the college were on his shoulders. His strength gave way. Sleeplessness and pain attacked him. His noble mind was darkened by an excess of melancholy. He longed to leave the Sapienz College, which he called his "tread-mill" and "torture-chamber," to find some more quiet position. A call from Berne (1571) to enter the theological faculty of Lausanne seemed to promise the desired repose. But his resignation was twice refused by the elector, and he would not go against his prince's leave. He yielded himself to the situation. Some alleviation of his work, as well as increase of his salary, was promised. He had never entered marriage by reason of his want of health. He now, at forty, formed a happy union with Margaretha Trautwein, in whom he found a faithful wife and loving support. They had one son.

At last the storms he had long foreseen broke over Ursin's head. The elector Frederick, dying (October 26, 1576), was succeeded by his son, Louis Sixth. The new ruler was a zealous Lutheran, and not disposed to respect or tolerate the institutions promoted by his father. He only thought of how he could revolutionize them in favor of his own party. With relentless severity, he set to work to execute his purpose. All the entreaties of the clergy, the university, the council and guilds of Heidelberg, to be permitted the free exercise of their religion, were in vain. The churches were taken from the Reformed, the Reformed consistory was replaced by a Lutheran one, the theological faculty dispersed, and all preachers and teachers persecuted, unless they accepted the Lutheran confession. More than six hundred preachers and teachers lost their places on account of their belief. Ursin gazed with deep sorrow on the destruction of what he had labored to build with such love and self-denial. But one protector was left Calvinism in all the Palatinate, — Frederick's second son, John Casimir, who had a small dominion on the left bank of the Rhine, including Neustadt. This generous prince gathered, as far as his means allowed, the scholars whom his brother drove from Heidelberg, and founded a new academy. Ursin was one who sought refuge in Neustadt, and taught (after May, 1578) in the so-called Casimirianum. He carried with him his illness, low spirits, and melancholy.

Closes life an
exile.

Yet he still toiled, preparing an exposition of Isaiah and a learned commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism. He had to take up once more the defense of his creed. The so-called "Form of Concord" had been drawn up by the Lutherans, dividing them from the Reformed. Ursin

undertook the painful task of maintaining against attacks and mutilations the doctrine of the Reformed (in his "Christian Memorial upon the Form of Concord"). The writing of this pamphlet was Ursin's last important public effort. At the end of the year 1582 his illness returned with new force. Skillful treatment and tender nursing brought no relief. He gave way under his toils, which he continued almost to the last. He was called away at six o'clock on the evening of March 6, 1583, from the church militant to the church triumphant. Glowing testimony to his faith and joy in leaving earth was borne by his colleague and comforter in sickness, Francis Junius. He was buried in the church of Neustadt. He has been named by the grateful Reformed church, as his epitaph says in simple, truthful words, "A great theologian; a refuter of errors respecting Christ's person and his Holy Supper; mighty with both tongue and pen; a sagacious philosopher, wise man, and careful instructor of youth."—H.

LIFE VII. ULRICH ZWINGLE.

A. D. 1484—A. D. 1531. CLERICAL LEADER, — GERMAN SWITZERLAND.

ULRICH ZWINGLE was born the 1st of January, 1484, in Wildhaus, a mountain village of the Tockenburg, between the Churfürsten range and the Sentis. He was the third of eight children. His father was chief magistrate (*amman*) of the district; his father's brother was pastor, first of Wildhaus, then of Wesen; his mother's brother was abbot of the cloister of Fischingen, a day's journey from Wildhaus. Zwingle was thus, if not of a wealthy, of a well-to-do and reputable family. His first lessons were given him by his uncle, the pastor of Wesen. After he was ten years old, he spent three years in St. Theodore's school, in Basel, under George Büchli, who considered him one of his best pupils. From Basel he went to Berne, to be taught by Henry Wölfl. The latter was not unfamiliar with the sciences, had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, read the classics, and pursued the study of music with his students. In the two last named Zwingle excelled. He was sought by the Dominicans as a member of their body. This order, which had fallen into disrepute by a fraud (the Jetzger imposture), was devising means to regain its lost popularity. Zwingle, instead of joining it, preferred to visit the University of Vienna (1499). He there passed two years in study, forming especial intimacies with Joachim von Waat, of St. Gall, who was afterwards burgomaster of Vadian, and with Glarean. He came back to Wildhaus in 1501. The next year, when he was eighteen years old, he became teacher in Martin's school in Basel, but pursued, at the same time, the study of the Bible, under Thomas Wittenbach, of Biel. He

also became intimate with Leo Juda, attained the degree of master, and at twenty-two years of age was called to be pastor of Glarus, a parish which at that time included a third part of the canton. ^{His first pastorate}

In addition to all his duties in his parish, Zwingle attended to founding its first school, and educated faithful youth, especially in the classics, among others Valentine Zschudi. For himself he was devoted to the study of Picus and Erasmus, and above all of the Bible. He copied the epistles of Paul in a little book, adding in the margin the expositions of the best interpreters. He learned almost all of the Greek Testament by heart. He was besides keeping abreast, with keen insight, of the course of Swiss politics. He wrote thereon (1510 and 1511) two didactic poems, "The Labyrinth" and "The Fable of the Ox and the Wild Beasts." Afterwards (1512 and 1515) he went as an army chaplain with the forces of Glarus to the campaign about Milan. Of his first campaign (1512) we have an account by him in Latin verse, evidencing his extensive and unusual acquirements, and also his independence and soundness of judgment in questions of politics. As a youth, he neither went to excess with the roving scholars, or Bacchantes as they were called, nor grew stupid, hypocritical, and depraved among the monks. He remained a free child of the Alps. His studies and his experience, his rare powers of mind and will, had one object. He was designed by God for a reformer in the church and in the commonwealth. He appears first as a political reformer, a preacher of republican virtues. He had seen with his own eyes, and had experienced in its worst form in the Milan expedition, all the evil of the freebooting soldiery of the day, of the buying and selling of men, and of the taking pensions in pay for them. He had been in the battle of Marignano, so unfortunate and yet so glorious for the Swiss. After he had come back safe to Glarus he preached more severely in opposition to a freebooting soldiery, and drew upon him enmity by the very power of his eloquence and reputation. The papacy had taken note of him already, and conferred on him a yearly pension of fifty guilders, to win him over to its side. He received and used it, as he said, solely for the furtherance of his studies and the purchase of books, and, as it proved, to arm and equip himself the better against popery, which had become so depraved.

When thirty-two (1516) Zwingle was called by the abbot of Einsiedeln, Conrad von Hohen-Rechberg, a thorough monk, to be pastor of that parish, a place sought by pilgrims from the ends of the world. He accepted the invitation. The people of Glarus gave him up unwillingly, and for a long time kept the place of pastor open, that he might come back to them. He effected great results by his sermons in Einsiedeln. ^{Begins reform work.} By his proclaiming the gospel, he caused much of the money which was brought for the purchase of indulgences to be given away to the poor. He was supported both by the knightly abbot and by the lord of the district, baron Theobald von Geroldseck, and also

by his friend Leo Juda, who was now his deacon. He beheld ever one thing that was needful, — the free proclamation of the gospel. He talked and corresponded on this with the leading people of the country, whom he often had opportunity of meeting in Einsiedeln. Before leaving Glarus he had gone to Basel to pay a visit to Erasmus. He was also in favor with the archbishop Schirmer. He was advised by the papal legate Pucci (August 14, 1518) that he had been appointed by pope Leo Tenth one of his Begins work in Zürich. chaplains. The same year he accepted a call of the cathedral canons to the great church of Zürich. He had been chosen by them almost unanimously as preacher to the people. He was obliged to keep two assistants, and could not have supported himself had not a place as canon been given up to him by his friend the canon Engelhard.

The day he was thirty-five (January 1, 1519) Zwingle began his work as preacher in Zürich by giving an exposition of Matthew, stating beforehand that this was the style of preaching which the earliest of the church fathers employed, and was the most needful and effective. He soon acquired great influence. He barred the way of Samson, the Swiss Tetzel, with his horrible sale of indulgences; what was perhaps more, he brought it about that Zürich refused to enter the new league which the other twelve states (or cantons) formed (May, 1519) with Francis First, the king of France. The Zürich people were already thoroughly republican, with a government of their own making. The hatred of the partisans of France was now brought upon Zwingle and his sermons. The latter went on doing their work. Days of fasting ceased to be observed strictly. The church worship remained unchanged until 1522. Request was made by Zwingle and ten of his associates of their bishop and the joint governments of the confederacy for permission to clergymen to marry. The Constance bishop sent to the canon of the cathedral a remonstrance of sixty-nine articles on the subject. Zwingle defended himself in his "Archeteles" with such freedom of speech that he received a warning from Erasmus; for that scholar, as is known, would keep the favor of all. To put an end to the controversy, now increasing through the confederation, the Zürich government invited every one to a public conference (Thursday, January 29, 1523). In this assembly Zwingle upheld the cause of the gospel triumphantly, opposed as he was by Faber, Zwingle reforms Zürich. the vicar-general of the bishop of Constance. The council decided that the preachers should continue to teach the Scriptures. After the close of the discussion, Zwingle wrote out his conclusions, three hundred closely printed pages, constituting his confession of faith. The powerful canton of Berne also declared in favor of a free gospel. There, as in Zürich, the convent doors were opened. Some of the nuns married. First among the Swiss clergy to take a wife was Roubli, the pastor of Witikon, in Zürich. This, with the impatience and

violence of the image-breakers and the rising communism of the anabaptists, called for a second conference in Zürich (October 26, 1523). Zwingli showed from the Scripture the unscripturalness of images and of the mass, and insisted upon the abolition of both of them. But those writers understand neither Zwingli's intellect nor his heart, who say that he intended in the Lord's Supper a mere memorial celebration, a mere object lesson. The bodily presence of Christ he neither would nor could admit. But of the spiritual presence of the Redeemer, and of the spiritual effect of the sacrament when faithfully received, he had the loftiest apprehension. He was the furthest removed from depreciating the divine in the ordinance, or reducing it to a mere outward figure. "Who dreams of doing any such thing!" he exclaimed in this conference, amid his tears. He was equally free from despising the arts. He himself composed music and poetry, and played upon several instruments. Art, however, had grown so secular, both in Zürich and elsewhere, that a decided lesson was needed. Zwingli would not destroy works of art, but when taken out of the churches would preserve them. He was not responsible for the image-breaking violence, nor for the anabaptist excesses. These rose from the war of the peasants in Germany. Münster visited Frickthal. In Waldshut the preacher Hubmeyer was his adherent. The latter preached with an accompaniment of profane music (as Rouge did in the wine-cellar of Frankfort, in 1848). He celebrated the Supper in the same manner. A troop from Switzerland joined their company. These communists spread themselves in particular over Eastern Switzerland, sacking the cloister of Rütli. In two conferences (January and November, 1525) Zwingli endeavored to correct these people, who acknowledged no authority. It was to no purpose. Finally, some of their leaders were put to death, as rebels, by drowning (1527).

By this time Zwingli had married (April 2, 1524). His bride was a widow, Anna Reinhardt. The cloisters of Zürich had been abolished (November 3, 1524). Zwingli received no pecuniary gain by the latter movement. His share in it was disinterested and benevolent. The property of the cloisters was used for religious and charitable objects. Yet some of it, as, for instance, the mass ornaments and chalices of the cathedral, fell to the public treasury. The cathedral chapter ceded its authority as a court to the civil government. Thus the government became the bishop. Zwingli, like the other reformers, made the mistake of thinking that the civil government would continue ever attached to the church. Otherwise they would have set up a presbytery in the place of the bishop. Zwingli, however, caused the civil rulers to take an oath of allegiance to the gospel. All these changes and innovations imbittered the districts which clung to the old religion. These too wished to abolish abuses, independent of the pope, and even against his will. In this they showed the reform spirit. They even called an assembly in Aargau, in

Baden, in a district regarded as dependent on the other cantons, or ruled by them in common. To it they invited the great debater, Eck, of Ingolstadt. The conference took reform ground, for before this its members had said that only a general council could treat upon church doctrine or order. Zwingli did not attend the Baden meeting. No safe-conduct, he knew, would be assured to a heretic like him. Yet he lent his untiring aid to Ecolampadius, who was there in his stead. His repeated messages were borne by one Thomas Plater. The papal party claimed a victory in the discussion (October, 1526). On the other hand, Zwingli and a hundred preachers gathered in Berne (January, 1528), and in a conference greatly helped the cause of the Reformation in this canton. Here, too, the civil power took the bishop's office, and required an oath of allegiance from every pastor. It abolished the convents. The people, however, of the wealthy convent of Interlaken proposed to be their own rulers. Aided by eight hundred Oberlanders, these Haslithalers rose in rebellion. They were put down by Berne, by force of arms, their ringleaders beheaded, and one of them quartered.

Zwingli helps
reform Berne.

A league (the *Bürgerrecht*) was now formed between Zürich and Constance, in support of the Reformation. It was joined by Berne, then by St. Gall, which adopted reform in spite of its abbot, and finally by Basel, where reform was carried by force. The soul of all these negotiations and alliances of Zürich was to be found in Zwingli. He took part in the Zürich government. He unfolded, even before the Berne conference, a plan of defense against the Romish cantons, — for he had acquired some experience of military matters. The five Romish cantons had already used force. They had already put to death, in Lucerne, Hottinger of Zürich, the image-breaker, and three adherents of Zürich, Wirth of Stammheim, with his two sons. These were illegally beheaded in Baden, without having committed any crimes. The Zürich preacher Kaiser also had been burned in Schwytz. A league, too, had been formed with the Austrian duke, Ferdinand, king of Bohemia and Hungary (February, 1529).

War was declared against the five cantons (Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Luzerne, and Zug) by Zürich (January 9, 1529). Berne opposed any aggressive measures. Mediation was attempted by Aebli, the chief man of Glarus. Zwingli disapproved, saying, "Yield not to their pretenses." Still peace was made. Zwingli remarked, "You will yet repent of this peace, wringing your hands." The five cantons were forced to give up their alliance with Austria. As to reforms in the districts ruled in common, the majority of voices was to decide. This was the first peace of Cappel, and, as Zwingli rightly perceived, was no peace, for reforms spread in the districts held in common. Zürich lent aid to the people under the abbot of St. Gall, — for Zürich and Glarus, with Luzerne and St. Gall, were protectors of St. Gall. Zürich ruled in St. Gall arbitrarily. Zwingli taught there (notwithstanding ancient laws and covenants)

that for a church officer to exercise civil power was unscriptural. "If that be so," said the subjects of the abbot, "we will rule ourselves." Further, Zürich acted illegally, striving to rule in Thurgau, St. Gall, Tockenburg, and Rheinthal. In all these the Reformation prevailed. Synods were assembled in them, attended by Zwingle, who directed and aided them. When there came to St. Gall an officer of Luzerne to act in his turn as magistrate of St. Gall, he was made to swear to support reform. The officer of a lord of Unterwalden, hostile to reform, was put in prison in Zürich, and beheaded.

These events, in fact, took place while Zwingle was at the conference of Marburg (September and October, 1529), in company with Luther. Zwingle meets Luther. That enthusiastic supporter of the Reformation, Philip of Hesse, then twenty-five years of age, desired that Luther and Zwingle might come to an agreement upon the Lord's Supper. It was out of the question, although the two reformers were one in their reverence of the Saviour and the ordinance. Zwingle had ever been independent of Luther. He had entered upon reform at an earlier day. He had indeed circulated Luther's writings, yet he looked at Scripture and history with his own eyes. He was not behind Luther in knowledge of the languages or of the Bible, nor was he his inferior in eloquence, in untiring effort, in theological zeal and capacity. In their manner of life, however, the two men were wholly diverse. When the question was how to act towards the emperor Charles Fifth, the foe of reform, Luther, the friend and subject of his prince, and Zwingle, the republican, could not comprehend each other. Luther preached Paul's precept of unqualified obedience to authority, and an age of martyrdom, if need be. Zwingle preferred Paul's other expression, "If thou mayest be made free, use it rather." In his confession of faith, presented to the Augsburg Reichstag (1530), Zwingle spoke of deposing wicked rulers, and yet Luther and Zwingle both of them decidedly opposed the rebel anabaptists and other communistic companies of their period. Zwingle expressed the greatest respect for Luther, and offered him the hand of a brother. But Luther said, "No need of brothering and fellow-membering; you have not the right spirit." Zwingle parted from him with pain and tears. Nor was Luther reconciled to Zwingle to the day of his death.

Zwingle and the landgrave Philip came to understand one another. Large plans were devised between them for the protection Zwingle in politics. and extension of reform, and the union of all the Protestants [as they were called after the Reichstag of Speyer, 1529]. This was when Zwingle left the ground which until this time he had weeded and tended, planted and watered, as zealously as Luther, and betook himself to a strange field of action, coming thereby into contradiction to himself. The biographer and editor of his works, Melchior Schuler, says of him, in his excellent and accurate Swiss history, "Most noble was his

bearing towards Luther, who out of stubbornness and temper abused him so undeservedly, and caused the writings of Zwingli and his friends to be burned in the territories of Saxony. Zwingli applauded Luther's services, allowed writings of the latter abusing himself to be sold without hindrance (there was a 'censor' in Zürich after 1522), and replied to him with calmness and dignity. None the less Zwingli, from his enthusiasm for his belief, from the vehemence of his character, from the injustice and opposition of his foes, and from the power of circumstance, fell into mistakes which led him to do wrong. In this way the progress of the Reformation was hindered, and himself plunged into a conflict to fall a sacrifice to his own bravery."

A new contest and war were hastened by the violent way in which Zürich helped and the Romanist cantons hindered the advance of reform in their common territories, especially in St. Gall. Zwingli, who had ever preached so stoutly against a hireling soldiery, now favored alliance with Venice and France for the side of reform. His friend Collin negotiated with Venice and the French ambassador. Zwingli advised in favor of the French alliance. Francis First did not care for reform, but for Lombardy. Zwingli wrote to him (June, 1531), and sent him his confession, which is still in existence in Paris. On the other side, the Romanist cantons sought the help of Austria and the emperor. Strassburg joined the reformed league. Hesse also, it is thought, took part, but Berne refused, probably from jealousy of Zürich's strength in the East. The public conferences now held inflamed the strife. At last Berne declared a blockade of the five cantons (May 21, 1531). This measure, calculated to madden them without any result, had always been opposed by Zwingli. Its effect, in fact, was to strengthen and goad on the foe. Zwingli resigned his office (July 26th) into the hands of the government, and proposed to leave Zürich. The landgrave of Hesse had proffered him a refuge. Urgently entreated by the Zürich council, he said (July 29th) that he would stay and endure till death. He went (August 10th) to Bremgarten, to bring the ambassadors of Berne to a decision. It was in vain. With a foreboding of approaching death, he took leave of his friend Henry Bullinger, who was to be his successor, commending the church to his care. While Berne lingered and Zürich was irresolute, the five cantons armed themselves and declared war (October 9, 1531). All was confusion and treachery in Zürich. Her troops gathered in a small detachment to enter the conflict, without waiting for the reinforcements coming from every direction. Zwingli joined their march, and fought, cheering on his comrades. He fell in the front rank, bravely, under the blow of a stone and the thrusts of lances.

Zwingli dies in battle.

Thrice the dying man rallied. "What misfortune is it?" he cried. "They can slay only the body, not the soul." The enemy, finding him,

as he lay on his back, looking up to heaven, advised him to confess and invoke the saints. He replied, "No." He was thrust through by the lance of a freebooting soldier. Canon Schönbrunner, of Zug, said, as he looked on the body of the hero, "Whatever may have been thy creed, thou wast a loyal ally." There fell with Zwingle twenty-five brother ministers, twenty-six members of the government and sixty-four other citizens, and in all five hundred and twelve persons. Thus ended (October 11, 1531) the battle of Cappel, so disastrous to Zürich, in which Zwingle died, at the age of forty-eight, a faithful shepherd in the midst of his flock. His dead body was treated shamefully, — quartered, burned, and its ashes strewn to the winds. His spirit lives in the intellectual life of Zürich, which he awaked, in the untrammelled proclamation of the Word, which he commenced and greatly promoted, and in the unselfish love of country, as cherished by the noblest spirits after the pattern of Zwingle.

The centennial anniversary of his entrance into office (January 1, 1519) has in three centuries been celebrated with profoundest regard, and will be celebrated in centuries remote. A pear-tree, standing where he fell on the battle-ground of Cappel, in sight of the Alps, once marked the place where his blood was poured out and his life ended. The tree has disappeared, but the noble shoot which his life sprang from, — the tree of life, — planted in the soil of Zürich, and cultivated there, has grown strong, enriched by his blood. In the place of the pear-tree a monument of granite rock now stands, commemorating the rock on which he stood, on which the church also stands, — the rock from which Zwingle never was moved. — A. E. F.

LIFE VIII. JOHN ÆCOLAMPADIUS.

A. D. 1482—A. D. 1531. CLERICAL LEADER, — GERMAN SWITZERLAND.

JOHN ÆCOLAMPADIUS (Hausschein or Hüsgen) was born in 1482, in the Swabian city of Weinsberg. His parents were well-to-do citizens. John was an only surviving child, loved by them as the apple of the eye. John's father would have had his son seek fortune as a merchant. His mother, a woman of intelligence, devoted him to learning. Her own father was a citizen of Basel, a member of the Pfister family. Her son was destined one day to carry blessing to the city of her ancestors, beyond all that she could anticipate. After John had acquired the elements in the school of Heilbronn, he went to Heidelberg, where he received the degree of bachelor when fourteen, and soon after master of philosophy. Already his comrades had translated his German name Hausschein into its Greek equivalent, Æcolampadius. Such was the custom of the period.

Destined for the law, the youth betook himself to the renowned school of Bologna. But neither the law studies nor the Italian climate agreed with him. After six months we find him again in Heidelberg, devoting himself to the science which his heart chose, that of theology. As it was then pursued in the universities, it had certainly, at first glance, very little to attract. A sound mind could only be hurt and repelled by the scholastic form which hid and even disfigured its real beauty. Scholasticism in its leading men into the depths of theology had served its day and was past its bloom. Thorns, however, remained, entangling often nobler spirits, and allowing them to free themselves only with toil and difficulty. Œcolampadius shunned the thorns as well as he could. He indeed studied the great master Thomas Aquinas, but passed by the subtle Duns Scotus. He felt more drawn to the theology which joined to a keen logic a deep mysticism, as a certain form of religious thought was then designated. He took as his model in this the chancellor Gerson. He perceived that not science, but devoutness of thought and life, constitutes the true theology. By this only he could save his own soul or the souls of others. His first call to let his light shine came when Philip, the elector of the Palatinate, gave him his two sons to educate. This work did not, however, long detain him. His parents had purchased a living for him, according to the custom of the times, in their city of Weinsberg. He would not enter the office till thoroughly grounded in learning, and especially in a more extended knowledge of the languages of the Holy Scripture. He devoted himself in Heidelberg to Hebrew, under the care of a baptized Spanish Jew, Matthew Adrian. He had already made acquaintance with Melancthon in Tübingen and Reuchlin in Stuttgart. He had come into relation also with Brentz and Capito.

Thus, well stored with knowledge, and aided by intercourse with the first men of his period, he became a priest in his native town. Priest in Weinsberg Doing much good here, he was called by the bishop of Basel to preach in the cathedral of that city of Switzerland (1515). His stay there was temporary. He returned to Weinsberg, where already he had published a writing ("De Risu Paschali") on the side of reform. He satirized in it the immorality of his age, which in the churches at Easter time excited the people to laugh by droll stories and jests, and thus compensated them for the coming Lent. Called again to Basel by Erasmus to lend help in the latter's second edition of the New Testament, he remained a short time; then, having received the degree of doctor of theology, he accepted a call to Augsburg (1518). As preacher in the chief church of the city, he found an opening for reform effort. He used his leisure, meantime, for his own training and for literary labor. He was an especial student of the fathers. So greatly was he disposed to a quiet, meditative life that he resolved to exchange his office as a priest for the life of a monk. He entered the old minster cloister of the order of Bridget.

in the bishopric of Freisingen. He passed two years in learned study, attaining more and more of hidden truth by the help of the Bible. The monkish life by no means accorded with his growing convictions. We find him leaving the convent and acting as preacher in the castle of Francis von Sickingen at Ebernburg, near Mainz. Here he was allowed full liberty to conduct God's worship according to his convictions. He made Latin ceremonies give place to German preaching, and human ordinances to the divine Word. Yet he went to work prudently, and, as he said, "allowed one thing for sake of custom, and another for sake of love." The truth needed to mature in his own mind and many a thing to be cleared away before he could safely appear to do the work of a reformer. Yet his day was not far off. It was before the death of Sickingen (not after, as is usually said), that Æcolampadius left Ebernburg to go to Basel, on the invitation of his friend, the publisher Kratander (November, 1522). He at first lived in scholarly seclusion, enjoying a noble hospitality, and toiling for his friend upon a translation of Chrysostom. Soon the door opened for him to go to work in the church of Basel.

A vicar was needed by Zanker, the pastor of Martin's church, who was sick. Æcolampadius took the place without salary; Finds his place. soon after a lectureship in the university, with a slight compensation, was given him by the council. And so, in 1523, he began his academic work with lectures on the prophet Isaiah, over which Luther expressed his joy in a letter to him dated June 23d. His career had begun. He whom Basel loves to call her reformer was possessed of pulpit and professor's desk. True evangelical thought had reached Basel before. A large part of the people inclined to reformed doctrine as it reached the masses through Luther's writings. Still the new rising Christian liberty found first in Æcolampadius personal support, eloquent defense, and strong championship. Every day he preached to the people what he had presented to his students, in a scholarly form, the day previous. Nor was he unsupported in his reforming effort. He had a trusted friend in Zwingle of Zürich, keeping up a lively correspondence with him, for mutual encouragement. The Basel council by degrees entered into his reforms. When it made him permanent pastor, it gave the Reformation a decided impulse. He did not lack for active opposition. He found suspicions excited against him, as an agitator, on the part of the majority of the clergy and of the university. The worldly-wise Erasmus withdrew more and more from him. He was given many troublous hours by the riotous anabaptists. He attempted to correct them in conferences, first in his home, then in Martin's church and the council chamber, but in vain. He also had a part in the unhappy controversy on the Lord's Supper, in which he took an independent position, sharing in general in the views of Zwingle; he differed from him, in part, as to the support of it from Scripture. Though disliking learned discussions, he was obliged

to take part in two famous debates, and exerted in both of them a great influence. One was the Baden conference (May, 1526), where, in Zwingle's absence, he maintained the cause of reform against its bitter opposers, with Eck as their leader; the other, the Marburg colloquy (October, 1529), in which he and Luther tried to come to an understanding on the Lord's Supper. He distinguished himself in both by a calm, dignified demeanor. We find him also at the Berne assembly (January, 1528), but in the background as compared with Zwingle. All this while the reform movement (whose detail we cannot follow here) was going on in his own city, he exerting a quiet but decided influence. His correct view of reform appears in a pastoral letter addressed to the pastors of his region (during a church visitation in the autumn of 1528). He showed in simple, beautiful words that all who wished to purify and improve the church must begin with themselves. The servant of Christ must see that the pattern of his life accords with the purity of his creed. "Let it be our wisdom to preach Jesus Christ, the crucified. Let the object of every discourse be to extol the riches and glory of the grace of God to us." He exalted love above severity, expressing the wish that frequent brotherly conferences might take place, for mutual warning, support, and encouragement.

When reform had carried the day in Basel (February, 1529), by the resolute will of the citizens, in the face of threatening tumults, it was a doubly happy circumstance that one like *Æcolampadius* grasped the helm, and undertook to steer the little vessel, tossed of waves and winds, into the safe harbor. He not only had to toil in the enterprise, but also to vindicate it after the adherents of the old church, and Erasmus among them, had turned their backs upon the heretic city, and withdrawn from its university their help and favor. The tearing down, for which so many hands were ready, as was seen in the image-breaking, was easier than the building up. This wanted not only active hands, but a clear, strong head and a pious, believing heart. *Æcolampadius* gave both head and heart to the service of his city. He succeeded, naturally, to the superintendency of the church after the departure of the bishops. He was the restorer of the university. He attracted to her Simon Gryn us and other men of learning. He also cared for the under schools, which were now separated from the church and under the care of the state. He promoted, by the Latin schools, as they were called, a thorough academical training. A friend of morality, he favored discipline for adults in the church, as well as for youth in the school. In this he differed somewhat from Zwingle. The latter, disliking anything that resembled the old priestly tyranny and forcing of consciences, would not allow the church to excommunicate, but left it to the Christian civil magistrate to punish vice. *Æcolampadius* distinguished between state policy and church discipline. He did not carry out his desire in this suc-

cessfully, for the government would take only half-way measures. He was less successful still in bringing the other Swiss cantons to his views. Haller, in Berne, opposed him. Of all Swiss reformers before Calvin, Æcolampadius had best declared and emphasized the church's independence of the state. ^{Upholds church discipline.} "More unendurable than antichrist," he was convinced, "does the state become when she deprives the church of respect. She, it is true, bears the sword, and justly. But Christ has given to us medicines for the restoration of the fallen. He has said of the transgressor, Let him hear, not the state, but the church." Æcolampadius would have given the synod more power than the state allowed it. He wished it to be not a mere means for preserving clerical discipline, but a representative of the whole church. Through it and in it the church was to attain the consciousness of her divine vocation. We have still some addresses to synods by Æcolampadius, which show how highly he esteemed the office of an evangelical preacher and pastor, and how thoroughly he made it a matter of conscience to defend the temple of God from profanation, and to breathe into the languid, sick body of the church a new life. Before he could fully carry out his noblest views (and what mortal ever is granted such privilege!), he was summoned away by Him whom he had served with singleness and fidelity. He was deeply affected by the death of his friend Zwingli in the battle of Cappel (October 11, 1531). He did not tarry in following him. His death was not on the battle-field, yet he fell under the load of work which he had undertaken for his Master. He had been admonished in vain to spare himself. He was intent upon working while it was day. He felt that his end was near.¹ He warned his friends of his departure (November 21, 1531). A few years before he had married Wilibrandis Rosenblatt, of a noble family, and had been given three children, Eusebius, Aletheia, and Irene (or Piety, Truth, and Peace). To his dear friends, among whom we place his servants and his lodger, John Gundersinger, he said, "Sorrow not, my loved ones! I shall not part from you forever. I go away from this vale of sorrow to the blessed life eternal. You should be glad to know that soon I shall be in the place of endless bliss." He celebrated the communion in company with his wife, their kindred, and the servants. He said, "This holy meal is a sign of my true faith in Christ Jesus, my Lord, Saviour, and Redeemer, — a true sign of the love which He hath bequeathed to us; be it my last farewell to you." The day following he assembled his brethren in office about his bed, and impressed upon their minds the church's interests. He reminded them of Christ's saving work, admonishing them to walk in his footsteps, and to show a love all the stronger as the times grew dark and

¹ An ulcer on the os sacrum long troubled him, and finally compelled him to take his bed. The disease gradually spread to the inner organs. All medical art was of no avail against his obstinate malady.

stormy. He called them to witness that he had meant well to the church, and had not, as his enemies charged, led her to ruin. They, as they stood around, gave him their hands, and solemnly promised him to think of the church's welfare. Finally, the day before his death, he asked to see his little children, "the pledges of his wedded love." He told them they must love their Father in heaven. He charged their mother and kindred to see that they fulfilled their names, and proved pious, peaceful, and God-fearing. His last hour drew near. The clergy were all by his bedside. As a friend entered, he asked him if he brought any news. Upon his replying no, he said cheerfully, "Then I will tell you something new. I will soon be with my Lord Christ." When one asked whether the light was troubling him, he pointed to his heart, saying, "There is enough light here." At daybreak, November 24th, the first rays entering his chamber fell upon a form from which life had just fled. With the sigh, "Lord Jesus, aid me!" the faithful shepherd fell asleep. The ten ministers were by him, kneeling, and accompanying, with silent prayers, his soul, as it struggled to leave its frail tenement. His grave is in the cloister of the cathedral of Basel. Near by are the graves of Jacob Meyer and Simon Grynäus. Their epitaph, composed in 1542, reads thus:—

"So Ehr, gut, kunst hülffend in Not,
Wer keiner von disen Dryen todt."

But the divine Word, which we may apply to our *Cæcolampadius*, expresses far more when it says, "Remember them . . . who have spoken unto you the word of God, whose faith follow."—K. R. H.

LIFE IX. OLAF PETERSON.

A. D. 1497—A. D. 1552. CLERICAL LEADER, — SWEDEN.

No sooner had the Reformation risen in Germany than its flood began to pour in all directions. Its truths were so plain, the errors of the ancient church so palpable, the assaults upon her abuses so well grounded, that a large part of Latin Christendom was at once won over. Still the old usages resisted everywhere this movement of the Spirit. The spectacle thus exhibited in the various nations and governments of Europe is unsurpassed in interest. The moment Luther and Melancthon published their views, a throng from neighboring countries hastened to their side. One and another of these hurried from Wittenberg back to their homes, to begin with enthusiasm a task the completion of which would demand the greatest efforts. Of the lands thus brought into the conflict, each one reveals to the student its own peculiar form and color, different from every other. The reformers prove as diverse as the lands whence

they sprang. Their similarity in some things is evident. Their diversity is much more prominent. While these active spirits followed largely the counsel and example of Luther, and agreed in the main with his principles, they went every one of them his own way, unlike that of Luther or any other.

Germany's influence was felt in the largest degree by the Swedes. With our other Scandinavian neighbors they accepted the Lutheran reformed constitution, which they strictly maintain to-day, and by means of which they have grown great and renowned. Yet how different were the occurrences by which evangelical religion won the day here from the course of events in Sweden!

The story of the beginning of the Reformation in Sweden is easy to be told. At Oerebro, in the province of Nerike, lived a master-smith named Peter Olafson, who had two sons: Olaf, born in 1497, or the ^{Peterson's family.} same year with Melancthon, and Lawrence, born in 1499, called Olaus Petri and Laurentius Petri. Their father and their mother (who was named Karin, daughter of Lorenz) were plain persons, and pious after the fashion of their age. Faithful and energetic, they had the welfare of their sons very much at heart. They gave them early to the care of the Carmelite monks, who had a great reputation for their learning. The youths soon mastered the rudiments, outstripping their fellows, and were set apart to become priests. Their parents wished them to go to Rome for their theological course, to an institution founded in that city by Bridget, the Swedish saint (who died in Rome in 1373, and was declared a saint in 1391). Thither, or to Paris, where was a similar school for the aid of Swedes, the youthful Swedes were used to go, that they might come back with the glory obtained by residence in those cities, and with enlarged efficiency. But these brothers were directed on their pathway in a very different direction. Hardly had they left Sweden and entered Germany, when they heard of Luther. Hastening to Wittenberg, they entered as students of theology. They found the warmest welcome and most friendly assistance. Their names were entered on the matriculation book, after an examination, with remarks of approval. Luther was then in his first era, and growing every year towards the apprehension of his great vocation as a reformer. Olaf, with Lawrence, listened to Luther's lectures on the Bible, and being received into the Augustine cloister lived under the immediate eye of the master. Soon ^{Lives with Lu-ther.} he won Luther's regard. When the latter was made vicar of the Augustines (by Staupitz, 1516), Olaf went with him to visit the convents in Meissen and Thuringia. He there became a witness of Luther's activity at this juncture, and was introduced to his manner of thought and life. He learned also the defects of the monasteries by personal observation, and saw the way in which they must be cured. Thus it became easy for Olaf to mould himself after his revered master.

He had a share in all that occupied Luther's attention. He saturated himself with the truths of the Bible. He was present with Luther in 1517, when the latter formed the brave resolve to oppose the selling of indulgences, when he nailed up his ninety-five theses on the church door, and when he plunged into the battles which followed. At twenty-one (1518), Olaf became a doctor of philosophy; his brother, who was nineteen, taking the degree at the same time. In August, 1518, his equal in age, Philip Melancthon, came to be professor in Wittenberg, and gave the prevailing movement a new impulse. The brothers were among his first pupils, gaining from him an insight into the Greek language and philosophy. At the time when Luther said of the university, "They are all as busy as ants," the two Swedes were included in his praise. Everything was favorable to their thorough understanding of the Bible. This was their chief gain which they carried with them, when they left Wittenberg and the university, not without taking counsel with Luther, and returned to their homes in Sweden (1519).

Sweden had witnessed startling events while Olaf and his brother were in Wittenberg. Christian Second, who ruled Denmark and Norway, wished to reëstablish the union by taking the crown of Sweden. He met defeat in a great battle near Stockholm (July 22, 1518), from the regent Sten Sture, but resolved to make a second effort. He spent a whole year in preparation. An excommunication and interdict against Sweden were published by the pope. Christian was authorized to execute them by force. In the very midst of these disorders, Olaf, with Lawrence, reached home. He sailed from Lübeck, but was detained by a storm. He repaired to Wisby, in Gothia, and found opportunity here to labor after the fashion of Luther. One Antonellus Arcimboldus had been sent by his brother, Angellius Arcimboldus, the papal legate, to carry on a trade in indulgences. Olaf instructed the people and their admiral, Norby, upon the hurtful and selfish character of this traffic, and so successfully that the peddler of pardons was driven away. Norby also took his money from him, which made Olaf, who hated selfishness of motive, dissolve relations with the admiral. Olaf made his way to Strängnäs, where his old bishop, Matthew, received him joyfully, and soon made him canon and archdeacon of his cathedral. Thus Olaf's time of training came to a close. He now had an office in which he could show what was in him, and make an entrance-way for his belief. With

Begins his life
work.

youthful zeal and full devotion of his powers, he at once began his work. First he addressed himself to the young prebends and choristers, to whom he gave Bible expositions which met great applause and drew pupils to him from every direction. An open dispute with the dean of the cathedral was of great help to him. One large advantage obtained thereby for himself and his fatherland was the friendship and complete adherence of archdeacon Anderson, a man of

about his own age, who joined himself to the reformed doctrine and to Olaf absolutely and finally, and by his knowledge of life and his extended culture was of the greatest help to the good cause. Anderson, Olaf Peterson, and Lawrence Peterson, together, are the leaders of the Swedish Reformation.

Strengnäs first became through them the home of reforming agencies, which rapidly extended to city and country, and even to remote provinces. To employ all Olaf's talents in church revival, Matthew made him rector of the cathedral school, following the advice of Anderson. Great results ensued. Beginning with the youth, Olaf exerted a profound and ever-increasing influence on the entire province and nation.

Before this came to pass, Olaf, with his brother and the whole evangelical movement, had been in the greatest danger. Christian Second had (in the beginning of 1520) repeated his attack on Sweden, divided his opponents, and taken the capital. With most peaceful and friendly promises, he invited the nobles to Stockholm to his coronation, resolving on a bloody revenge, to which the archbishop Gustavus Trolle had advised him. The third day of the festivities (November 8, 1520), the citizens were summoned to the market-place, where, before noon, two bishops, twelve nobles, and many citizens were put to death. Olaf, hearing that a violent death threatened bishop Matthew, even though the latter had most decidedly favored Christian, hurried to the place of execution. At the sight of the corpse of his loved patron, he cried out, "Oh, what a tyrannical, unmanly deed, to treat thus a pious bishop!" At once he, with his brother, was seized, and would have been executed, had not Edward Leuf, who was with them in Wittenberg, exclaimed: "Spare the youths! They are not Swedes, but Germans! Spare them, for God's sake!" Saved thus, they returned to Strengnäs, stronger in the consciousness that the hand of God was protecting them. Through this tragedy at Stockholm, which won Christian the name of a cruel tyrant, and gained archbishop Trolle the deep and deserved hatred of the people, a great deliverance came to Sweden: she threw off the Danish yoke by the aid of Gustavus Ericson, that "noble, handsome, wise, prompt youth, whom God excited to save his country." After many fearful conflicts which laid his country waste, Gustavus Ericson, or Vasa, was proclaimed king (at the Reichstag in Strengnäs, June 7, 1523), "in the name of God, and of the free peasants of Sweden." Under him began a new and happier era. The old wounds were slowly healed. The edifice of the evangelical church was gladly begun, and at last completed. The conflict indeed continued, but instead of open war it took the form of political dispute. By the genuine wisdom of the ruler chosen by the people, this was given a happy solution. Luther, in Germany, had guarded against nothing more than allowing religious reform to be urged on from political grounds. In Sweden it was at first not possible to promote religion on its own merits,

nor to keep it from connection with politics. The king was the centre of everything. He sought the welfare of both church and state. He undertook to harmonize both interests. His decrees and appeals to the people related to religion as often as to politics. By these kingly attempts he gave offense, and afforded grounds for complaint, first to the Romanist, then to the evangelical leaders. But he publicly vindicated his conduct.

Olaf Peterson's sermons, during the Reichstag which chose Gustavus king, excited the attention of both friends and foes. Gustavus espoused his cause, and promoted what Olaf and Lawrence, along with Anderson, had desired, a public recognition of the Reformation. He The king favors reform. made Anderson his chancellor, to succeed Matthew. Having first obtained Luther's advice, he made Olaf preacher in Stockholm, and Lawrence professor of theology in Upsala. The three wrought untiringly, each trying to make his office yield the largest results for the good of Sweden. Anderson published a Swedish New Testament, availing himself of the model furnished by Luther. It appeared as early as 1526, and greatly helped reform. Every reader could now judge for himself of the truth of Olaf's sermons and addresses. The book of Job and the rest of the Old Testament were published by Lawrence and Olaf after the year 1549.

The leader of the evangelic church needed to advance very carefully. A portion of the nation held to the forms and usages of the old worship. Along with them were some of the most active clergy, who were also chiefs of the aristocracy. These kept their offices, and wielded great influence with both clergy and laity. Gustavus, for their sakes, retained many of the old ceremonies, and took pains to prevent all extreme measures. He opposed the young preachers who behaved thoughtlessly and rashly. He counseled them to keep within the bounds of decorum and morality. When Melchior, Ring, and Knipperdolling tried to introduce their anabaptist excitement into Sweden, they were expelled from the kingdom. Olaf, who had kept silence, was told to preach against them.

None the less, everything was moving on rapidly. The three friends lived in close relations with the king and with one another. If they excited the envy and hate of their foes, they found a strong protector in Gustavus. Another Wittenberg student, Michael Langerben, was appointed a preacher in Stockholm, and aided their work. They evinced their expectation of success by the device they placed on their seal, — a burning lamp, symbolizing the light of the gospel. The king omitted no opportunity, as he journeyed over the land, of wisely and gently counseling his clergy to moderation, and of promoting peace. At the close of 1524 he went to Upsala, taking Olaf with him. He appointed a formal conference between the latter and a representative of the opposite party, named Galle. Gustavus himself had named the questions to be discussed. The orators became so severe that Gustavus adjourned the

debate. Yet he agreed with Olaf, in that he argued wholly from Scripture, while his opponent relied on the fathers and on tradition. The chief points were further discussed in writing instead of orally. Thus also the work of reform was advanced. In 1525 Olaf ventured to marry, helping to do away with clerical celibacy through his own example. The king attended the wedding, and defended the step in a letter to bishop Bräsch, who had censured him. Gustavus declared marriage a divine ordinance for all persons, and clerical marriage entirely lawful. A Reichstag at Westerås, in the summer of 1527, seemed at first likely to prove unfavorable to reform. The king thereupon declared that he should abdicate. This decidedly changed the voice of the assembly. It resolved to leave everything to the king, making over ^{Reform estab-} to him all the church property. The hostile bishops and ^{lished.} clergy left the country. Olaf's protestantizing work was now for the most part accomplished. A new archbishop was named to celebrate solemnly the king's coronation (January 11, 1529). Olaf was herald, and proclaimed Gustavus the anointed king of Sweden.

Olaf's zeal for reform was widened. He contended ably with his pen for his lofty views. He could not obtain in the council which met at Oerebro, with Lawrence as president, as much as he desired. He had to suffer a portion of the old papal usages to continue, yet in such way and with such limitations as would promote true doctrine in the future. The king sustained him so far as to commit to him (1531) the royal seal, and to confide to him the secrets of state. He gave him also the oversight of schools in Stockholm, desiring him to provide for the training of teachers. His brother Lawrence was made archbishop of Upsala. Olaf exerted a growing influence upon the youth of Sweden and their studies. Besides his translations of portions of the Bible, he wrote several histories.

Olaf was now at his greatest elevation. He lost the king's favor by his histories, for he blamed Gustavus for appropriating the church property to his own use. Falling into disgrace (1538) and losing his influence, he committed further political offenses, and brought upon himself serious charges. Along with his friend Anderson, he was ^{Olaf's trials in} convicted (1539) by a court convened for their trial, under ^{his last days.} the presidency of his brother Lawrence, of knowing of dangerous treason against the king, and of not disclosing it. They were sentenced to death, but pardoned by Gustavus. Olaf's misfortune arose from the unhappy complication of politics then existing in Sweden. Its hardship was mitigated by manifest signs of the favor in which he stood with most of the nation. Yet he never regained his old cheerfulness. He resumed his work as preacher. Upon the 7th of April, 1543, he delivered a touching and powerful discourse on his misfortune. He toiled usefully till he was fifty-five, and closed his life the 7th of April, 1552, "after a Chris-

tian and edifying preparation, and an express confession of his faith in Jesus Christ." Gustavus was grieved at his death. Olaf's bereaved people erected a marble memorial to him in the Nicholas church. Sorrow over the deserved displeasure of his king had brought an early death to Olaf. How serious his fault was the existing records do not allow us to decide.

Seven centuries had passed away since Ansgar, the Frankish apostle of the North, had with unspeakable labor and care established the Christian church in Sweden. Amid no less hardships, the Swedish Olaf established the reformed church in the place of the Romish, now ruined by immorality and pride, and opened the way for the Word of God into his fatherland. Both men, by their heroism and divine power, have deserved that their memories be revived and dwelt upon. Olaf began and carried on his work with the purest and most zealous purpose. If he inclined afterwards to hierarchical views, and through want of foresight and self-control, and perhaps through an overestimate of himself, committed faults, he repented for them most heartily. Sweden ever will count him noble and worthy, for he toiled patriotically for his country. He exalted her language by his writings, her poetry by his songs, her stores of knowledge by his histories, his laws, and his pursuit of learning; above all, as a Christian of Luther's order, he lighted her pathway, and led her along a road which gave her afterwards, under Gustavus Adolphus, her world-wide influence and renown. — F. R.

LIFE X. WILLIAM FAREL.

A. D. 1489—A. D. 1565. CLERICAL LEADER, — FRANCE AND FRENCH SWITZERLAND.

LESS than two centuries ago (1700), there could be seen in the churchyard of Neuchâtel a tombstone, bearing engraved upon it a cross, or as some say a sword, or as we incline to think the two together. Nor could any truer or better emblem have been found to mark the resting-place of the man who, banished from France for his religion, lifted high the cross on the confines of his old home, and with the sword of the Spirit breasted a thousand toils and dangers to make a way for the gospel. We speak of William Farel, who is remembered by French Switzerland as her first, if not her greatest, gospel teacher and reformer. He was born in 1489, among the green hills of Dauphiny, in a little village between Gap and Grenoble, which still bears his family name. His lineage was ancient and noble. The Farels of old were noted for zeal for the religion of their times, for strong adherence to the church's doctrines and traditions, for conscientious fulfillment of her rules, for devotion to her legends

and miracles, her saints and images. The ardent boy unreservedly followed the same path, a true son of the south, as he was, full of spirit and imagination, his dark eyes shining with intellect and feeling, his small yet sinewy frame bespeaking energy and activity. He himself tells us, in sad retrospect, how devoutly he went with his parents to a certain wonder-working cross near his home, and how his eyes were not opened even by all the equivocal occurrences which there confronted him. His thoughtfulness, love of knowledge, and deep though misguided religious zeal impelled him to a life of study. He overcame his father's objections by his perseverance, and since his province afforded no opportunity for thorough training, he betook himself (about 1510) to the famous University of Paris. There he was to enter a new existence, unsought by him and unexpected.

One of the great scholars of Paris was James Lefèvre, of Étampes, a doctor of the Sorbonne (also known by his Latin name of ^{Studies under} Faber Stapulensis). A friend of the existing religion, its ^{Faber.} hierarchy, institutions, and customs, he yet could not bar his mind against the spirit of inquiry everywhere rising. He wished to vivify scholastic theology by giving it scientific clearness, as well as by a return to the thorough study of the Bible. The former tendency, not the latter, first drew Farel to his side. They were one in their simple fervor of piety and depth of devotion, as they showed in their prayers and masses, keeping of holy days, and adorning of churches and altars. But when there kindled at times in the twilight of Lefèvre's mind the flash of a higher consciousness, the bosom of his friend and pupil was illumined also. Farel never forgot Lefèvre's saying to him once, "William, God designs a new thing in the world, and thou shalt be witness of it." He was seized with doubts, nor could he, much as he sought to cling to the revered authority of the church, attain any satisfaction of mind. He sought help in the Scriptures; but their entire contents seemed to him in such plain contradiction to the state of religion about him that he could quiet himself, and that not entirely, only by the thought that for want of thorough training he had not rightly understood them. "I was," he writes of that time in his life, "the most unhappy of men. I shut my eyes, that I might not see." Not until he was turned from old legends to the epistles of Paul, and saw there the foundation truth, justification by grace through faith, and began defending it with increasing devotion, did he clearly perceive the doctrine, "Nothing from works; everything from grace." Perceiving, he was convinced. One error after another vanished. The saints yielded to Christ only; the supremacy of the papacy became a device of the devil; human teachings in religion yielded to the supreme authority of God's Word. Farel plunged into the Scriptures with zeal and thirst for truth; studied the Greek and the Hebrew; found the prevailing worship more and more absurd and idolatrous. All this began

as early as 1512, and hence many a year before the voice of Luther was heard through Europe.

Commotion in religion grew in Paris. There gathered a band of men, more or less impressed by the gospel. Lefèvre was the soul of the movement. Besides Farel, who was a master in the Lemoine College, and other young men, there adhered to it also William Briçonnet, count of Montbrun and bishop of Meaux, who had been on an embassy to Rome. Their cause found patrons and friends at court, also, especially in Margaret of Valois, a princess of great mind and heart, and through her even in king Francis himself. But the latter was soon led by his mother and his chancellor, Duprat, into the well-known "concordat," forming a close alliance with the papacy. This new policy sought at once to control the university, whose president, Nathaniel Beda, was the sworn foe of all innovations. The king, indeed, interposed a decided "no" to judicial persecutions, yet the air became so close in Paris, and the condition of affairs so trying, that the brethren were glad to accept a retreat which was offered them by Briçonnet at Meaux. In his diocese a series of reforms was undertaken. Several unworthy secularized pastors were removed, and a theological seminary opened, in which Farel found scope for his zeal and abilities. Little by little, Lefèvre brought out his noble translation of the Bible into the French language. Instructive and edifying tracts were printed. The people thronged to hear gospel preaching, often from the lips of the bishop. Societies were formed for reading and studying the Word of God. Meanwhile there was opposition by the secular priests and monks, whose interests were threatened. Threats were made of a crusade against the too hasty and sanguine friends of reform. The king was to be proscribed if he tolerated them. Briçonnet was denounced in parliament, but was equal to defending his own person. Yet he took the first long step backwards when he withdrew permission to preach from his brethren (1523). Though Lefèvre received an acquittal from a royal commission, the circle had lost its support, and was broken up. Farel, after a short stay in Paris, went to his home, where he continued preaching, and had the good fortune to win four of his brothers to the side of gospel truth. Brought up before the court in Gap, mistreated and expelled from the city, he went as a missionary about the country. Seeing little result from his work, and wishing to study the Reformation in the lands of its origin, influenced also by the invitations of friends who had left France, Farel started for Basel. Making his journey secretly, he reached that city with difficulty (1524).

He was made welcome by Œcolampadius, who received him as a guest and a near friend. On the other hand, Farel and Erasmus, from their unlikeness, repelled each the other, and became opponents. That Farel had faults was seen by Œcolampadius, who strove especially to moderate

his fiery impetuosity. Hating to be idle, Farel sought leave to defend thirteen propositions of his, publicly, which was denied him by the university, but granted by the council. When he found no opponent, he proceeded, with the help of *Æcolampadius*, to publish his propositions and expound them. On returning to Basel from a journey to East Switzerland, where he made the acquaintance of *Zwingle*, he found the sentiment of the council changed, and was obliged, at its command, to leave the city. *Æcolampadius* could do nothing for him save express his indignation at the order, and commend him to *Capito* and *Luther*. Farel reached *Strassburg*, and formed intimate relations with her preachers. He did not go on to *Wittenberg*, for a field near by laid claim to his energies.

An evangelical preacher was wanted by *Mümpelgart*, the residence of *Ulrich*, the exiled duke of *Württemberg*. The latter giving his consent, Farel, after reflection, was led by *Æcolampadius* to go thither (summer, 1524). The place was well situated for work in France through preachers and teachers, through *colporteurs* carrying Bibles and evangelical books into *Burgundy*, *Southern France*, and *Lorraine*. Farel's preaching was as welcome with the people as it was unpopular with the nobility and clergy. He obliged a monk of *Besançon* who attacked him to retract assertions which he could not prove. Farel's ardor increased with success, though he was warned from Basel to be moderate. Once, as he was crossing a little bridge, he met, it is said, a procession in honor of *St. Anthony*. With a burst of rash zeal, he snatched the image from the priest and threw it into the stream. "You wretched idolaters," he said, "will you never leave off your idolatry!" He happily escaped a mob, but very naturally was obliged to bring his stay in *Mümpelgart* to a close. He went by way of Basel to *Stuttgart*, where he met, along with other exiles, his old instructor, *Lefèvre*.

He found a new door open to him, when *Berne*, after the discussion at *Baden*, inclined more fully to the Reformation. By means of his friends in Basel, Farel was sent (fall, 1526) to the French-speaking district of *Aigle*, in a mountain nook between *Vaud* and *Valais*. He went first as a school-teacher, under the assumed name of *Ursinus*, without salary; afterwards he was formally appointed preacher and teacher together. He had a hard position. The ignorant people, led by their priests and monks, opposed him. The *Bernese* governor and his magistrates at first put obstacles in his way. Undismayed, he persevered, protected as he was by *Berne*. He had a case in court with a monk, who called him from the pulpit a seducer and a devil. When his opponent was beaten and asked pardon, Farel generously and heartily offered him his hand. He tried by letters, with poor success, to win converts in the neighboring district of *Lausanne*. He took part in the colloquy at *Berne* (1528). Reformation carried the day; but to establish

Finds his great work.

it cost harder work in Aigle, probably, than anywhere else. Farel, having liberty to preach, went everywhere, in the face of threatening and peril. He, along with Berne and the gospel, was thoroughly calumniated. In Ollon he met violence from a mob of men and women. At last, a new governor and a deputy coming from Berne, and exercising stricter justice, peace and quiet prevailed. Farel found helpers, and gave them employment.

His fearless spirit was made useful elsewhere, in Morat, which belonged to Berne and Freiburg. Receiving the Reformation, the district became Farel's headquarters. He went to Lausanne, by leave of Berne, but without success. On the other hand, neither the bishop of Basel nor the abbot of Bellelay could prevent Neuveville, on Lake Bienné, becoming reformed under Farel's labors. In the Münster valley he preached with such power that the people cleansed their churches of pictures and altars, while their priests fled away. The most prominent place entered by Farel was Neuchâtel. Belonging to the duchess of Longueville-Hochberg, it was in alliance with Berne. Local influences, the corruption of the clergy, greater than in almost any other place, and church abuses had prepared a way for the Reformation. Farel's first sermon was from a stone at Serrières. Asked into the city by the people, he preached on its streets and squares. He toiled through the summer (1530) amid difficulties. He was given the hospital chapel. Finally, on the 23d of October, he ventured the declaration, as it seems, in accordance with a resolve of the magistracy already formed, that it became the gospel no less than the mass to be heard in the cathedral. The entire multitude arose to take Farel thither. Attempted opposition only excited their ardor. An entrance to the pulpit was effected. Farel's powerful eloquence aroused a tempest against images and other marks of superstition that lasted all the next day. The governor, count de Rive, thinking that the great majority held to the old faith, and only the noisy mob took the other side, wished a vote taken immediately, but had to await the commissioners from Berne. When these arrived, and the charges of violence and riot had been met by countercharges and assurances of adherence to their duchess, save in matters of faith, a vote was taken (November 4th), and a majority, small indeed, decided for the purer religion. All attempts to overthrow the decision by force or craft were thwarted by the firmness of the Bernese. The duchess's rights were taken care of, but so were the religious liberties of the citizens, and of any who might follow their example.

To carry reform in the country parishes was Farel's next desire, which he pursued fearlessly and untiringly. One evening, at Valangin, after he had preached, and his comrades in unwise zeal had snatched the host out of the priest's hand, they were fallen upon by a mob, beaten, and dragged to the castle. They were urged to adore an image of Mary, but in vain. They endured repeated violence from the priests, and were thrown bleed-

ing into prison, from which they were delivered by friends from Neu-châtel. The demand of Berne for satisfaction was refused, the whole affair winning the approval of the duchess. Farel met like difficulties elsewhere, even in the territory of Berne. At Orbe and Grandson the attempt was made, even in the face of the Berne councilors, to render Farel's preaching of no avail, by noise and outcries, without violence. But Farel went right on, preaching twice a day for six days, and not in vain. He won some of the adherents of the old belief, and especially the modest youth Peter Viret, who became a servant of the truth and a warm friend of Farel. So wholly did Farel pursue his reforming work that he had no time for his private affairs or his correspondence. Yet he took leisure to write a circular letter to his brethren everywhere, exhorting them to endurance and hope in their battle for God against a soul-destroying antichrist.

Farel entered Geneva first in October, 1532, when on a journey to the Waldensians of Piedmont, at their request, to help them perfect their church government. His fame preceded him. Farel first enters Geneva. He was visited, at his hotel in Geneva, by many of the citizens. The council, under the influence of his opponents and their Freiburg allies, would have banished him and his companion, Antony Saunier. But when they sheltered themselves behind the safe-conduct of Berne, they were let alone. They were invited to meet the chapter on the pretense of a conference. Two syndics went with them as protectors. The precaution proved needful. They found themselves accused as vagrants and seducers, and covered with abuse by the clergy, not a few of whom carried weapons. Farel calmly stated his aim and calling, the preaching of God's Word to any who would hear. Not he, but they, it was who troubled Israel. During their secret deliberations a shot was fired at Farel, but without hurting him. He was ordered to leave the city within three hours. He was spared, it was said, out of mercy and consideration for the Bernese. When Farel remonstrated against being sentenced unheard, he was overwhelmed with outcries and calumnies: "What need we any further witness; he is worthy of death!" was the cry. "It is better that the heretic die than that he ruin the people." Farel answered, "Speak with God, and not with Caiaphas." In vain! He was attacked, trodden down, and struck in the face. Daggers were drawn, and only the intervention of a syndic saved him. The next morning, early, he was taken by friends over the lake. His countryman, Antony Froment, who had just arrived from France, was sent by him to Geneva, as a substitute.

Romanism still prevailed in Geneva. To meet preaching by preaching she set up a Dominican monk, Guy Furbity, to declaim in the cathedral against the "Germans and other heretics." The Bernese took this as an insult to themselves. They sent a commissioner, under whose protection

Farel and Viret also came to Geneva. On account of the threats of the popish party, the council took half-way measures. Then other agents of Berne threatened a dissolution of their alliance with Geneva, and in face of opposing threats by Freiburg, the Bernese influence and their decided "Yes or No" ("Entweder-Oder") carried the day. Carries the day in Geneva. After many evasions and appeals to church courts and to the Sorbonne school, of which he was a doctor, Furbity was obliged to enter into a conference. It was held in the council chamber (January 29 to February 11, 1534), and opened by Farel in a conciliatory tone. He said, "The most beautiful victory is to uphold the truth; I would lay down my life with joy to secure the acceptance of it by all." Furbity failed in proving from Scripture the obligation of fast days. He refused a public recantation, and was imprisoned. A second Romanist preacher, of more moderation, took his place. The Bernese demanded that their people should also be allowed to preach. The council continued undecided. The people led Farel into the church of the friars. The bells rang, inviting the people for the first time to reformed preaching (March 1st). Reform made rapid advances. Freiburg broke her league with this city. The Lord's Supper was held according to Christ's institution (Whitsuntide). The priests forsook their altars. The frustrated plots to overthrow the city, the attempt to poison the preachers, the excommunication of Geneva by a bishop and by the pope, only excited indignation at the authors of these measures. One church after another was won by the gospel. A new conference in the friars' cloister, in which John Bernard, the chief of the order, who had been converted by Farel justified his change of life, promoted reform greatly. Geneva could not but decide. The Council of the Two Hundred was addressed by Farel, so persuasively and eloquently (July 12th) that after the question had been once more asked of the priests whether they could present anything further for their side, the assembly resolved in favor of the Reformation (August 27th). The new order was ushered in with due formalities.

Farel's work was not hurt by the attacks from abroad of his opponents, who had fled away, and of their allies. The city solemnly pledged itself to peace and to the gospel. Farel sought to reform not faith only, but also life, to elevate morals and promote Christian training and education. He toiled untiringly. He had to be everywhere,—in Geneva, in the country, in Vaud, which had been recently conquered by Berne. He needed good stout helpers. He was sent by God a man, the very one he sought. One day (1536) came a young man of twenty-seven, not unknown to the world even then, an exile, passing through Geneva, his name John Calvin. He purposed spending but one night in the city, going on to Basel and Strassburg the next morning. Farel, hearing of his presence, hastened to him, and asked him to remain to serve

Christ and his church. Calvin replied with a refusal, showing a preference for a literary life.

"With holy indignation burning, Elijah-like, see Farel turning!

'The call of God thou hearest rising! Alas, if thou art Him despising!'"

✓ Farel said, "Cursed be thy studies, if thou shunnest for their sake the work of God."

"At Farel's word see Calvin quailing, as though God's hand were him assailing!

He takes the work, though hard its guerdon; at God's command he bears the burden."

Of Farel's fruitful life, no moment was more fruitful than this, none more important to mankind.

In close alliance with Calvin, Farel toiled to make Geneva a city of God and fortress of the gospel. He was nowise troubled that the rising star of Calvin dimmed his own. His heart was void of envy. He labored, preparing a confession of faith for Geneva, holding a discussion with anabaptists, taking part in a conference at Lausanne, which decided the future of Vaud. He, like Calvin, suffered banishment, when, for a moment, libertinism rose against the yoke of Christ. He went to Basel and Strassburg, the old hiding-places of such as wandered homeless for sake of their convictions.

But Farel was not forgotten in Neuchâtel. By the unanimous vote of the council, clergy, and citizens, he was recalled. Reluctantly he submitted to a yoke whose weight he had tried. ^{Called back to Neuchâtel.} But he could not do otherwise, after his words to Calvin, which were now repeated to himself. He returned to Neuchâtel (1538), which he made his chief place of labor for the rest of his life. Almost the whole district had received the gospel, and reformed, at least in part, the church government. Much was left Farel to do in clearing away, arranging, and completing. He was anxious for strict discipline, and had urged Berne to order it. He met the same opposition as in Geneva, proceeding especially from the higher classes. A prominent lady who had separated from her husband, without cause, met admonition and public rebuke with scorn and contempt. When the zealous Farel lamented from the pulpit the tolerance of such scandals and the throwing off of restraint, his foes at once seized their opportunity, and in a public meeting deprived him of his office. Their action was to take effect in two months. Farel was resolved "not to yield to Satan; God had given him the charge, and would require it at his hands." Mediation was used. Calvin, Viret, and other friends hastened to him. Agents were sent from Berne, who, disliking Farel for personal or political reasons, took sides against him. Neuchâtel classis asked foreign churches to intercede. Farel went on during a time of pestilence doing his work calmly, believingly, and more faithfully, if possible, than ever. Meanwhile, Basel, Strassburg, Constan-
stanz, and Zürich urged Neuchâtel and Berne to uphold him. The Bern-

ese yielded when they had in vain tried to persuade Farel to give up. By the time the two months had passed, a great majority reversed the vote to deprive Farel of his office, which he held with honor till his death.

Farel by no means confined himself to Neuchâtel, but wherever there was need of a defender or confessor of God's Word, there he was to be found engaged. To Geneva, especially, where he would rather be last than be first elsewhere, he gave attention and labor. By his powerful mediation Calvin was brought back to her; at each critical moment he hastened to the front, on the side of the church and of his friend. He took the liveliest interest in the fortunes of the Waldensians and of his persecuted brethren in France. He urged not only the Swiss rulers but the princes of Germany to give them succor. He went twice with Beza (in 1557) to Germany, on their account. He sought also for a union with the Lutherans, and thus brought on himself (who was the author of the agreement between Calvin and Bullinger) small thanks from the Swiss for what they chose to call his too compliant spirit.

In old age, amid ailments, Farel was prompt to occupy new ground and to recover what had been lost. He began a promising work (1557) in Pruntrut, the home of the prince-abbot of Basel, but was resisted by the clergy. He accepted promptly (1561) an invitation to his old home. He acquired new life when allowed to preach the word of God in Gap and Grenoble, hardly any opposing. He returned in hopeful mood, having left two young colleagues to continue the work. He took one more journey (1565), going to Metz. He had once before (1542) found the rulers there lukewarm and fearful. The people had been cold, notwithstanding his solemn assertion that no city had ever been left of God that cared for the religious good of its people. When the Lord's Supper had been administered by him, on an estate of the count Fürstenberg, to great throngs, they had been attacked by the troops of Lorraine; he and others received wounds, and with difficulty made their escape to Strassburg. But now the prospect was favorable. There was an evangelical church in Metz. The nobles generally adhered to it, and had Protestant princes and states to support them. Farel visited Metz, accompanied by a councilor of Neuchâtel. He met a hearty welcome, and preached that day with his old power. It was the last flame of his mighty spirit. He returned to Neuchâtel sick. Nursed by his wife (the daughter of a widowed refugee from France, and married by him not many years before this), he lived several weeks. He gave exhortations to his visitors, especially his brother pastors. He joyfully confessed the faith which he had taught and defended. The 13th of September, 1565, he gently took his departure, at the age of seventy-six, fifteen months after the death of Calvin.

Farel has not been rightly and fairly judged by all. He was no meek

Æcolampadius, no mild Melancthon, but rather like Luther, a bold, knightly spirit. As such he was used by God for storming strongholds and doing the work of a pioneer. His much-blamed vehemence was on behalf of a holy cause, and not against individuals. "No man," his biographer says, "had so deeply and painfully wounded him as the unprincipled, false Peter Caroli; for none did he care more tenderly, work more faithfully, or hope more anxiously, until no ground of hope was left." The zeal of Farel could not be made tame and commonplace. The gospel was to him a passion. Let him who can say that he has attained, beyond Farel, its perfect standard, or that he has approximated it, and him alone, dare cast a stone at Farel's transgressions!—F. T.

LIFE XI. JOHN CALVIN.

A. D. 1509—A. D. 1564. CLERICAL LEADER, — FRANCE AND FRENCH SWITZERLAND.

WHO does not know Luther's remarkable history? Or who has not gone to Wittenberg to see his statue of bronze there, his church, his cell, and Melancthon's house and garden? Who has not made a pilgrimage up the rocky ascent of the Wartburg, where, after his mighty testimony for the truth at Worms, Luther found quiet repose? The story of Calvin, the reformer of southern lands, is less familiar. To make his acquaintance we must turn to Switzerland—to Geneva. There is no region on earth, a renowned traveler has said, that compares with the shores of Lake Leman. It lies a bright mirror of more than fifty miles of glassy surface, smiling vineyards looking into it, and rising behind them the crags embowered in foliage, the lofty glacier-clad pinnacles of the Alps of Savoy, and the majestic Mont Blanc. Upon this lake, at its southernmost extremity, is Geneva.

In this city, dating from mediæval days, stands an ancient Gothic temple. Its foundation has been traced all the way back to king Clovis. It bears the name, even as does the great temple in Rome, of the apostle Peter. The watchword of the city itself, chosen long before the Reformation, and when Geneva was under subjection to the dukes of Savoy, sounds like a prophecy of her coming destiny,— "After Darkness Light," "Post Tenebras Lux." The name of one narrow street of this city is now, as of old, Rue des Chanoines, and this was Calvin's residence. Let us return to an eventful day in the life of him who dwelt here.

One day the great city bell on St. Peter's, called "La Clémence," was set ringing in the early morning, to announce a great feast-day. We behold a man of middle stature hastening along with rapid strides, a black cap upon his head, with face long rather than

Calvin at twenty-eight.

oval, and with pointed brown beard. He has a bright, unembarrassed mien, though stern resolve is in his bearing. A brother clergyman accompanies him. The citizens greet him with looks of eager interest. He hastens to St. Peter's, mounts the pulpit, and thunders forth to the congregation. He announces to them, in words of indignation, that in so profligate a town, in one so torn by party factions, he will not administer the Lord's Supper to the population. The crowd rise indignant. Some draw their swords and threaten him, but the preacher repeats that he will not so desecrate the supper of the Lord; "that they will drink down the wrath of God rather than the sacrament of salvation."

The man is Calvin, as he appears on Easter Sunday, April 21, 1538, pronouncing thus an excommunication of the city. The morning following, the citizens assemble at the earliest possible hour, and amid the greatest excitement pronounce sentence of banishment against Calvin and two of his brother witnesses for the truth, Farel and Corrault. "It is well," the three answer, "for it is good to obey God rather than men." And Calvin adds, "If I had been rendering my service to man, this would be a sorry recompense; but I have served a Master who gives to his servants wages even above their deserts." The exiles made haste to Berne. After a fruitless endeavor at return, Farel went to Neuchâtel, while Calvin, after toiling through one stormy night in a thunder-storm, when he was well-nigh swept away by the swollen mountain torrents, found his way to his old residence in Strassburg. The third, Corrault, died soon after his exile, or was murdered.

This incident portrays the character with which we are now to become acquainted. Burning zeal for the honor of his Master, championship, living or dying, of gospel truth, firm, believing loyalty to Christ's sacrament, — these are the traits which we shall meet once and again in Calvin's life. The occurrence just described became the occasion of the establishment of the reformed church discipline, afterwards so well known. Christ had given his disciples the power of the keys. The church was to be possessed of spiritual authority. Following Calvin to Strassburg, we find him bearing the indignity put upon him with deep humility. "They could not curse," said he, "except God permitted them; therefore we will wait the Lord's time, for quickly fades 'the crown of pride to the drunkards of Ephraim.'"

Once in the mouths of the crowd, there were nicknames, heard very often, applied to Luther and Calvin: "Luther, — dickkopf; Calvin, — spitzkopf:" "Luther, — thick head; Calvin, — long head." It is certain that in the vulgar wit of the crowd there is often found a good deal of shrewd judgment. The common folk would indicate the key-note of each of the two characters: the invincible stubbornness of Luther, and the mental keenness of Calvin, which at times carried him almost beyond limits. To these peculiarities both men joined the most profound intellects. The

Calvin's characteristics.

former, endowed with the utmost intrepidity, and even daring, swayed the minds of others in such measure that, to use his own words, he was "well known in heaven, in earth, and in hell." The latter, by his intellectual power, with lofty, aspiring spirit and true sublimity of soul, turned his clear gaze towards God's countenance and the faces of his holy angels, of whom he so often makes mention, as if he could with his bodily eyes almost see the Invisible. From Calvin a new civilization proceeded in the west and south. Yet it is only by better natures that he is understood. By weak, inferior minds and antichristian hearts he has always been misunderstood and hated; yes, and even cursed by them, as Luther also is cursed. The world by its question, "Are you Lutheran or Calvinist?" shows how important a place is held by both one leader and the other. We shall find Calvin's life like Luther's, in that it is a marvelous mingling of outer adventures and perils and of inner thoughts such as were designed to lead the world. Even to-day John Calvin is to France a stumbling-stone, a spirit turning men to life or to death, a rock of offense to some, a guide to many others in the way of salvation. Nor shall any other deliverer be sent this nation, till they learn to say, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

We return to the story of his early years, to his great reforming work and his final triumph. John Calvin was born July 10, 1509, ^{Calvin's earlier history.} when Luther was a little more than twenty-six years old. His birthplace was Noyon, a little city of Picardy. His mother was a Fleming. By her he was cared for through childhood with devoted love. By his father, who was a man of note, an attorney and public official, the boy's earnest spirit was early observed. Calvin says, "When I was yet a little boy, my father destined me to theology, and even as David was taken from the sheep-folds to a high position, so have I, by the hand of God, from a small beginning, been exalted to this high office, and become a herald of the gospel." By receiving the tonsure at an early age, he was introduced into the clerical order. There is no account of his receiving any ordination in the course of his life. When eleven years old he was given a small benefice. We next find him at a preparatory school in Paris, and soon after at the Paris University, where he becomes first doctor of law, then of theology. About this time, as he tells us, his inward convictions underwent a sudden, powerful change. He at once began to teach nothing save the gospel. "Although in my fear I fled the world, there gathered thirsting souls about me, the inexperienced recruit, so that each obscure corner was turned into a public school." He soon spoke out openly in Paris, to the joy of the friends of the gospel. Persecution followed. He had himself given an occasion for it by his fearless speech. He effected his escape with difficulty through a window, it is said, from which he was let down in a basket. In the year 1535, fresh danger came through the zeal of the Protestants. Six evangelical

Christians were put to death in Paris by fire. Calvin took refuge with a friend. In his retreat he began writing his great work on the doctrines of the reformed church, and also labored in spreading the pure gospel through the provinces. We find him next at Nerac, in South France, with the queen of Navarre; afterwards, in his native place, at which time he resigns his claim to his parish. Returning south, he lives concealed in the city of Poitiers and its vicinity. He establishes a reformed congregation there in secret, celebrates the Lord's Supper with it, after the reformed manner, and sends out disciples far and wide. There, in a lonely region, a cave is still pointed out to which Calvin used to retire along with his followers. It bears even now the name of "Calvin's Grotto."

But on every side in France perils arose, and flaming fagots. Calvin Publishes his theology. took his way in haste to Basel. Here he published his splendid work upon the Christian faith, as a defense of the persecuted.¹ Soon after this he traveled, in the company of a friend, into Italy, to the court of Renée, the renowned duchess of Ferrara, who from the time of her meeting him never ceased to honor him as her pastor, and to render him the most profound esteem and affection. Persecuted in Italy, he went in haste to his native town, and with a few friends from there to Strassburg. A war then raging compelled him to take a roundabout way through the city of Geneva. "God was leading him," says his friend Beza, for in Geneva dwelt the brave Farel, who had proven the reformer of French Switzerland, but who when left alone amid the raging tempest was hardly equal to the conflict. He found out Calvin, who, in distrust of his own powers, wished to flee to a solitude. He adjured him, with a holy zeal, to lend his help. When his entreaties proved unavailing, Farel raised his great voice, and said: "Then I tell thee, in the name of the Almighty, that the curse of God will rest upon thee; for thou seekest thine own honor, not the honor of Christ." It was the thunder of the voice which was heard on the road to Damascus. The lightning smote Calvin's heart. He could not "kick against the pricks." He became preacher and teacher in Geneva. His whole life through he saw Farel's uplifted hand, and heard the distant thunder of the judgment, "as though," to use his own words, "God had laid hold upon me from heaven with his terrible arm." Now he set to work to reform the people, and after the space of two years comes that remarkable scene at the Easter festival, when he excommunicates the entire population of Geneva, and receives in turn his sentence of banishment.

We join him in the old city of Strassburg, where he is found in the company of Bucer and other upright persons. He devotes himself to quiet study, till against his will he is drawn into the wide field of the public life of his age, and into the German Reichstag. He meets Me-

¹ The *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which in its final edition (1559) is regarded as the most solid production bearing upon reformed doctrines.

lancthon. The two men feel that they are kindred spirits. They agree respecting the question of the Lord's Supper, as regards everything essential. They remain forever bound together in esteem and love. It is difficult to portray the conflict which soon was excited in the soul of Calvin, when the city of Geneva, moved to deep repentance, boisterously called him back, as their pastor ordained of God. He remembered with pain his trials of conscience among them. At last he was obliged to yield to the authority of Farel, who once more adjured him. Calvin offers "his bleeding heart as a sacrifice to the Lord." Now begin the years of real reformation. Returning to the penitent city, he does so under one conviction; he must see realized the ^{Second entrance into Geneva.} great thought of his life; the church's authority in spiritual matters must be accepted. He draws up a constitution for the church and the state, and with great energy secures its adoption. Many persons, among them the noted Valentine Andrea, who was in Geneva in 1610, felt such a profound admiration for this theocratic-ecclesiastical constitution that they had a great longing to come and live in Geneva. It was an attempt to replace the Roman hierarchy by a voluntary Christian organization on the pattern of the primitive church. It was introduced into more than one land—at least in many of its features—by the establishment of a church government by means of synods.

When in Strassburg Calvin had entered on home life, marrying Idelette de Büres. She was the widow of one whom Calvin had recovered from the anabaptist belief, and a highly cultivated woman. "One of the elect," she is called by a friend of Calvin, who was acquainted with her. For nine years their happy married life continued. They had one child, a boy. They lived in a very modest and even poor style. Calvin preferred an unpretending, humble mode of living. But they had a great deal of home comfort and happiness. Around Calvin gathered a circle of worthy friends. Such friendship as united Farel, Viret, and Beza to Calvin is seldom to be found. It was not in Luther's experience, who at the last came near falling out with Melancthon himself.

Soon Calvin is plunged into his long, severe conflict with the mad-brained vociferators for freedom who were around him, as well as with the old citizens of Geneva, who wanted political freedom, but not Christian freedom. The greater grew the danger, the bolder waxed the courage of the man who was so timid by nature. He stood like one of the ancient prophets and called down the vengeance of Heaven upon those who insulted God by their crimes. Yet, like Paul, ^{Triumphs over the libertines.} with his great zeal he united apostolic love. At length the whole city was mastered by his mighty mind. The enemy who desired his fall were sent outside the walls. The persecutions raging sent to Geneva some of the best people of France and Italy. They took up their abode under Calvin's protection, and constituted his church, his power,

and his stay in the time of need. In those days, when, by the rising perils far and near, the church was threatened with destruction, and Calvin with death, when at times everything seemed lost, such words as these were heard from his lips: "It is not worth your while that ye trouble yourselves concerning me. There were far greater trials experienced by Moses and the prophets, who were leaders of God's people." Again, he says, "Trusting in the purity of my motives, I fear no assault, for what can they do to me more than to take my life!" And, "I am ready to endure death in any of its forms, if it is but in defense of the truth."

After the death of Luther, Calvin exerted great sway over the men of that notable period. He was especially influential in France, Italy, Germany, Holland, England, and Scotland. He bore the church in each of these lands upon his heart, and daily made it his care. Many martyrs, upon his word, mounted the scaffold, and not long was it till in France — what a joy to the heart of Calvin! — two thousand one hundred and fifty reformed congregations were organized, receiving from him their preachers. The foremost families and the noblest came out on his side; and in 1559 deputies from all parts of the country met in Paris, quietly and unobtrusively, to draw up their excellent confession of faith, the foundation of the French reformed church. Five years later this confession was presented, in solemn assembly, to the king and the regent Catherine. The reformed were thus recognized by the state. What if Francis of Guise massacred the Protestants at Vassy, as they celebrated the Lord's Supper under the roof of a barn! What if he raised a cruel war against them! Liberty of creed was won. Churches flourished, in spite of the rage of the foe. Rome became really afraid that all France would become Calvinist.

Calvin, triumphant over all his enemies, felt his death drawing near. His ardent spirit had well-nigh consumed his bodily powers. Yet he continued to exert himself in every way with youthful energy. He did not lose an hour. He impressed his powerful moral character and imposing earnestness of soul on his church and his city. Geneva was to be for centuries the nursery of a pure, noble civilization. When about to lie down in rest, he drew up his unpretending will, saying in it, among other things, with a feeling of his great unworthiness: "I do testify that I live and purpose to die in this faith which God has given me through his gospel, and that I have no other dependence for salvation than the free choice which is made of me by Him. With my whole heart I embrace his mercy, through which all my sins are covered, for Christ's sake, and for the sake of his death and sufferings. According to the measure of grace granted unto me, I have taught his pure, simple Word, by sermons, by deeds, and by expositions of the Scripture. In all my battles with the enemies of the truth I have not used sophistry, but have fought the good fight squarely and directly. But alas, my good will and my zeal, if I may so name it, have been so lukewarm and

Faithful to the
end.

cold that I have fallen immeasurably below the mark in fulfilling my office." Calvin left property to the amount of but two hundred and twenty-five dollars, including his books. Choosing and loving a lowly way of living, he refused, during his illness, to accept twenty-five dollars, half the amount of salary due him, saying, as he sent it back to the council, that as he could not render any service, his conscience forbade him to receive any pay. Shortly before his death, he addressed to the councilors of Geneva and to his brother ministers hearty exhortations, which have come down to us. In his last moments of dreadful pain, he was heard often praying, "Lord, Thou bruise me, but it is enough for me to know that it is Thou! Who will give me the wings of a dove, that I may fly to Thee!" May 27, 1564, was the day of his release and blessed journey home. He was in his fifty-fifth year.

Many an adherent and friend of Calvin, coming from afar, has gone to the city cemetery seeking his monument. But the place of his rest is not known. This man would have nothing of the world, not even a stone inscribed with his name. He would have no ostentation at his grave, to remind any of old superstitions. As none in Israel knew where Moses was buried upon the mount, so no one knows where the bones of Calvin repose. The dust of succeeding generations in Geneva has mingled with his dust, even as their spirits have been joined closely with his mighty spirit.

We will here venture a glance at Calvin's peculiar way of apprehending the truth. The decisive rule of knowledge he found in the Holy Scriptures. Justification through Christ he made his central doctrine. But Calvin was not content to look through the Calvin on God's decrees. glass darkly. He wished to go behind it by the help of illumining thought, and with a sublime courage, born of faith, wished every disciple of his to do the same. A child beholds the sky, and thinks no more about it. Calvin looks at the spiritual firmament like an astronomer. In his thoughts he gazes upon God's countenance, and upon his decrees. This all men dare not do. They fear to penetrate the unfathomable abyss. Calvin, void of fear and bold, is borne thither upon the wings of his living faith. He knows that he is one of the elect of God. His predominant thought, that God only is powerful, that before Him man is nothing, a vessel of God's wrath or of God's grace, as God pleases, led him, however, to constant prayer to the living God, — greatly in contrast with the habits of modern thinkers, to whom God is but a law, to whom self is God. Starting from this great thought, Calvin shows that our Maker, with foreknowledge of salvation and destruction, determined beforehand that both should be, that there should be saved souls and lost souls, and decreed their safety or their ruin. Here we find an abyss of the world spiritual, for none know how sin, with its results, is a thing possible to the Holy One, who has decreed our existence as it is. Zwingle had

taught the same truth as did Calvin. Luther had also unfolded it to Erasmus, when the latter declared that man could deliver himself by good works. They did not explain the mystery. Its solution lies in the secret counsels of the Most High. Calvin dwells upon this mysterious truth, which lies behind that grace of God which overwhelms him. We here cry, "Oh, the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!" But Calvin felt God's Spirit moving him to blazon triumphantly the great thought of God's sovereignty and the utter dependence of man, in order to dash in pieces the self-righteous hypocrisy of Romanism to its very foundations, just as Augustine, in his day, smote Pelagian self-righteousness. Eternal judgment resounds in his words with thunder tones, alarming mortals. This same strong grasping of great foundation truths has given to Calvin's theology its peculiar coloring, to Calvin's soul its lowly piety, and to the world a new impulse. If the reproach met him that he did away with free will, he answered with renewed force, "Commune with your own heart, it will condemn your slothfulness; your conscience will bear witness to your moral freedom." The church of Calvin abounded in active benevolence. Many Christian souls may not be able to follow Calvin in this flight of his thought, yet these same souls will render their thanks to God that Calvin taught the deeper meaning of the Lord's Supper; that he preserved the sacrament from becoming a mere memorial act, after the conception of Zwingli.

Calvin on the sacrament.

Here we approach Calvin's relation to Luther. Luther, in indignation, had parted from the Swiss at Marburg. He declared "that he would have nothing more to do with the blasphemers of the sacrament, neither would he pray for the devourers and murderers of souls." His stern inflexibility was inherited by his successors, but without his loving spirit, and led to fatal dissension. Then Calvin arose by the spirit of the Lord to bless the Christian community. He denied transubstantiation and the local material existence of Christ in the sacrament, but acknowledged a real spiritual presence. Christ is in the supper essentially, not simply there by our faith, but he who has faith receives the flesh and blood of the Lord, his glorified body. This doctrine, so full of meaning, Calvin led the Swiss to accept (1549). The entire Reformed church afterwards adopted it. Many not of that communion have been impressed by its importance. Had Luther lived longer, he and Calvin would most likely have agreed, for the Reformed embrace the Lutheran view, in its popular sense, and the Lutherans are Calvinistic without being aware of it. Luther esteemed Calvin, and once sent him a greeting, saying that "he had read his smaller work [in which Calvin put forth his views on the sacrament] with great delight."

The following story is also told of Luther. A year before his death,

when he was coming from his lecture, his students around him, he stopped before the shop of Hans Luft, the bookseller, and hailed his assistant, who had just returned from Frankfort, saying, "Maurice, what is the good word from Frankfort? Will they burn the arch-heretic Luther all up?" "Most reverend sir, I did not hear anything about that," said the other; "but I have brought with me a little volume which John Calvin wrote some time ago, in French, upon the Lord's Supper, and which has just been published in Latin. They are saying of Calvin that, though quite young, he is a devout and scholarly person. In this little book this Calvin is said to show where your reverence and Zwingle and *Æcolampadius* have gone too far in the strife." He had hardly finished when Dr. Luther cried, "Give me the book." He sat down, looked it through, and said, as he finished, "Maurice, he is most certainly a learned and pious person. I might from the very first have well left to him this whole controversy; I confess, for my part, that had the other side done the same, we would have been on good terms from the start. If *Æcolampadius* and Zwingle had expressed themselves in this way at the first, we would never have been betrayed into such prolonged controversies."

The name given Luther by Calvin was "Venerable Father." Calvin once said, to quiet the Swiss, "Even if he were to call me a devil, I would yet reverently own him as a distinguished servant of God, to whom we owe many thanks. We confess freely that we hold Luther as a grand apostle of Jesus Christ." Once Calvin exalts Luther even above the Apostles, saying, "If we carefully study the times in which Luther arose, we shall see that he had to contend with almost every difficulty which beset the Apostles. In one respect his position was worse than theirs, for the Apostles, in their days, did not have to declare war against any empire, but Luther could not advance a step save by the fall and destruction of the empire of the popes."

The vigor and success of Calvin's conflict with the papacy are best known to the papists themselves. They were perceived with joy by Luther. Once, when Cruciger had been reading to him one of the works of Calvin, Luther said, "This book is blessed with hands and feet. I rejoice that God raises up such men. If God please, they will give the papacy mighty thrusts. What I have begun against anti-christ will, by the help of Calvin, be carried to completion." The book spoken of was Calvin's work against Sadolet, when the latter was attempting to gain Geneva over to the party of the pope. In it Calvin speaks of church unity. He justifies his separation from Rome. The church to Calvin as to Luther is the community of the saints and of the elect. Its unity is maintained by the Holy Spirit, the Scriptures, confessions of faith, and catechisms. Calvin desired that what was attained through faith might be confirmed through church order. In this he was more decided than Luther, who did not uphold church discipline in equal meas-

ure. That the zeal of Calvin, after the manner of his generation, and after the example of Luther's followers, went sometimes to excess is not to be denied. Calvin, in his enthusiasm, wished to carry out a glorious conception of a theocracy, a God-inspired rule, state and church united, yet separate in their powers: the church to possess no material power, but only spiritual power, extending to excommunication; the state to be without power in the domain of religion. Such a government of the church was realized in Geneva in part; in France more fully. In Calvin's scheme of a constitution for the state, open blasphemers and slanderers of what was sacred might be punished even to death. The same view was held by all his contemporaries, whether Romanist or Lutheran. It was in accord with the spirit of an age of violence. When papists come forward in our day, after their party has murdered thousands of evangelical Christians, and maintain with absurd warmth that Calvin was intolerant, they sit in judgment upon themselves; they condemn themselves with redoubled condemnation.

The execution of Servetus, so often made a stigma upon our noble re-
Calvin and Ser- former, shows chiefly that Calvin stood above his contem-
vetus. poraries. He had done everything, trying to rescue that restless company of spirits who would destroy the Reformation. Let us approach this era of Calvin's life. We stand before the council with him and Servetus, he seeking to expose error. For as Servetus exclaims, "Everything is God!" Calvin replies, "What! do you mean to say that the floor on which we tread is God? And what if I ask if Satan is also really God?" Servetus rejoins with a mocking laugh, "Well, do you not believe that?" Servetus addressed the triune God with horrible names of blasphemy, calling Him a hell-hound. Nor to the last did he cease to revile what was holy. Calvin continued in his patient endeavor to refute and admonish him. While Calvin was of the opinion that the council acted rightly, yet it is certain that he did not influence their procedure in sentencing Servetus. He challenged Servetus to come forward openly and establish his assertions. He also entreated the council not to put Servetus to death by fire. Yet it was Calvin upon whom Servetus had vented his fury. The gentle Melancthon, on the other hand, loudly said that the council's way of sentencing the blasphemer was correct. Calvin afterwards evidently was in doubt about the whole affair, in which he years before had taken part, following the sentiment of his age. His judgment grew lenient beyond what was usual among even cultivated minds in that century. The spirit of toleration, the natural result of gospel principles, and liberty of conscience rose in the reformed church sooner than in any other.

On the 27th of October, 1553, Servetus had been dead three hundred years. The people of Geneva went up to Chappel, the hill-side where the ashes of Servetus had been strewn, and observed the day before

the Lord, honoring Christian toleration and liberty of conscience, and begging forgiveness, in the name of the old council, respecting Servetus, even though he was guilty of transgression. But to Calvin, who has been censured unjustly, and made to bear the burden of others' errors, was decreed a statue before the cathedral of St. Peter's.¹ For from Calvin proceeded a free, sublime, and sanctified Christian culture, which will work beneficially upon mankind as long as the stupendous Alps stand in all their splendor.

Yes, the influence of Calvin upon the world is enduringly great. He never dreamed of its becoming so mighty. His mission was as needful to the church as that of Luther. One created the Reformation, the other completed it. This was Calvin's grand mission: to give order to the church, to guide the awakened energies of mankind, especially in Western Europe. Renowned universities rose in the reformed church, exerting a great control over French civilization. Without doubt, through the Puritan movement in England, Calvinistic teachings helped lay the foundations of the United States of America, thus preparing the civilization of a new era. And as Luther, by his translation of the Bible, has exercised on our German people and tongue a lasting influence, so Calvin has affected the nation of scholars by his splendid Bible commentaries. He has helped mould the French language, also, by his forcible, naïve, logical style, the reflection of his own character.

The church of the future depends upon Calvin, upon a presbyterial constitution which Calvin revived, upon his use of discipline which is so lacking in the church now. She depends upon the destruction of papal notions effected by his writings, and above all upon his pure and child-like faith in the Bible, his enthusiastic loyalty to obligation, his eagle-like insight proclaiming certainly the triumph of the evangelical belief. The world now awaits new reformers. Perchance the eye of God to-day rests well pleased upon some child of his, distinguished by sweet apostolic gifts, who, toiling like a Luther or a Calvin, shall gather together the distressed and down-trodden churches, revive them as by the breath of God, and defend them against the encroaching power of falsehood. With the recollection of Wittenberg and Geneva in our hearts, let us approach in prayer the Lord of the church, with such triumphant faith as once possessed Luther by the bedside of Melancthon, believing that "He must hear us, and deliver us from our trouble, unless his holy gospel is a lie." And Calvin is calling to us, "The truth of God is immovable. Therefore, let us watch even to the end, till God's kingdom, which is now hidden from us, shall appear." "Fearless and without guile" was the motto of Calvin; and his coat of arms, — what was it? A hand offering a burning heart unto God! A lesson to all! — P. H.

¹ It was finally decided by Geneva, at Calvin's tercentenary, to erect instead of the statue a memorial hall. This has been built, — a spacious edifice, capable of holding two thousand persons. — H. M. M.

LIFE XII. ANTONY LABORIE; OR, THE FIVE MARTYRS OF CHAMBERY.

A. D. 1—A. D. 1555. CLERICAL AND LAICAL, — FRANCE AND FRENCH SWITZERLAND.

THERE were put to death in England, in 1555, the martyrs Hooper, Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer. In France,¹ that same year, there died at Chambery five martyrs: John Vernon, a pupil of Calvin, and native of Poitiers; Antony Laborie, of Cajar, in Quercy, who had been a royal judge there, and afterwards a minister; John Trigolet, of Nismes, in Languedoc, a student of the law, and also of theology; and their two lay comrades and fellow-believers, Bertrand Bataille, of Gascony, a student of theology, and Guirald Taurant, of Cahors, in Quercy, a merchant, who journeyed with the rest at their wish, having intended to go with them only to the French frontier. These five were sent by the evangelical church of Geneva into France to preach the gospel. Fully warned that they were in danger of persecution and of death, they took their way, trusting in God, singing psalms as they journeyed along.

A spy, one who held some petty office in France, had observed their departure from Geneva. He waylaid the company, taking them on the Col-de-Tamis, in Fossigny, in Savoy, and bringing them in chains to Chambery. They were, as was reported by Vernon to the church in Geneva, brought before an ecclesiastical court, whose head inquisitor was bishop Furbity, who had been notorious in the history of the Geneva Reformation. They asked, in order to prepare their defense, for their Bibles and the Institutes of Calvin, which had been taken from them and placed upon the table. They were refused their request. This was July 10, 1555. Their release was demanded by the government of Berne, but to no purpose. They were examined a second time, July 14th. The court of heresy included as members Dominicans and Franciscans. The sacraments and the mass, the authority of the pope, and the like, were the subjects considered. On July 17th, the five were condemned as heretics. The inquisitor had in vain tried to make Bataille and Taurant abjure, putting them in a separate prison. When they proved steadfast, they were put with the other prisoners, who all mutually instructed and exhorted one another, relieving their distress by the singing of psalms.

We have had preserved to us precious letters written by them during their imprisonment, which endured several months. We will make ex-

¹ Henry Second, son of Francis First, had succeeded the latter as French king. His wife was the Italian Catherine de' Medici. The king, after his edict of Chateaubriant (1551), had committed the trial of heretics — till now a separate matter — to a court of justice, with power to put to death. At a later day, the king made Mathias Ori chief inquisitor.

tracts. Laborie wrote, September 4, 1555, to the ministers of Geneva: "I have said to my judges all that God gave me to say, establishing all by Scripture. I owe thanks to God for his aid. As we faced one another, I saw tears in the eyes of one of the younger counselors. I and the rest said to the inquisitor, 'We are amazed that ye consider marriage a sacrament, and yet not pure for yourselves, preferring to live in unchastity.' Taurant, who came to know the truth only three months since, and whom they sought to persuade to abjure, exposed to them their unevangelical position, even beyond the rest of us. The 'parliament' sentenced us August 21st: Vernon, Laborie, and Trigolet, to the galleys for life; Bataille and Taurant for ten years. The king's procurator appealed from this sentence.

"When again brought before the council, I was desired to lay my hand on a cross, painted in green color upon a board, and take an oath. I refused, saying that I would look up to heaven and swear by the living God. To this they agreed. New heresies were then charged. I made a defense. They threatened me with the royal edict against heretics. I replied: 'The judge in heaven will one day decide, opening his record and book. Our cause will then be found just; yours will be condemned.' We hear that we are all five condemned to be burned, and are expecting every day to hear our sentence. Their excellencies [of Berne and of Geneva] have interested themselves on our account. The whole church has grieved for us. We enjoy the fruits of their prayers. I can say, in truth, that I have never been better in body or soul in my life than here in prison, for all things must work together for the best to those who love God."

Laborie wrote also several letters to his young wife, Anna. We will quote from these: "I thank the good God that He has comforted me inwardly by thy letter, and by letters which have
Laborie's letters to his wife.
spoken of thee, praising thy steadfastness which God has vouchsafed thee. I pray thee that thou would recognize this as an especial gift of God, coming entirely from Him; and that thou wouldst humble thyself the more in obedience to Him, that He may increase thy graces and thy gifts. For truly, if my death bring no other result (I hope to God that it will not be fruitless) than that thou by the same be, as I hear, even more awakened to know God, this were enough to cause me to suffer death with joy. I pray God that He fulfill his blessed work in thee, and draw thee more and more to Himself, through the power of the Holy Ghost. We are now awaiting the hour when we shall be led forth to death. We see no other issue before us, whatever man may do on our behalf. Therefore, I pray thee, call on God without ceasing, that He may grant us invincible steadfastness, that we may perfect the work which He has begun in us. Truly, in all my life I have longed for nothing with greater desire than to die for Christ and his truth. I am certain that my

brothers will say the same. Remember thy life long that thou hadst as husband a man truly received and numbered among God's children. Beware that Christ's word be not spoken of thee: 'There shall be two in one bed; the one shall be taken, the other left.' Let thy highest concern be to know God in thy heart, and to love and obey his holy will all thy life long. Exercise thyself to fear and know Him, to acknowledge thankfully the gifts of his grace, so that thou mayest continue his daughter, even as I have ever seen certain tokens in thee of thine adoption by God. Then we may see one another again, and eternally extol and praise God in that celestial glory to which God's Son, Jesus Christ, has called us. Thou art yet young; be comforted in God. Let the Lord Christ be thy father and thy bridegroom, till He give thee another husband. I am sure that He will not forsake thee, but will take care of thine affairs beyond thy expectations. Therefore, rest in Him continually. Fear and love Him in word and in deed. Attend diligently on the preaching of God's Word. Avoid evil company. Choose devout and God-fearing people. Act not alone according to thy liking and judgment, but ever seek advice from good people who have been our friends, especially Monsieur John Calvin, who will lead thee to nothing wrong, if thou followest him, even as thou dost, and as I adjure thee to do. For thou knowest that this man is truly directed by the Spirit of God. He cannot, therefore, advise thee to evil. If thou wilt marry again, to which I counsel thee, then seek especially the advice of Calvin, and do not act without his knowledge and consent. Choose thee a God-fearing husband; otherwise refuse to marry again. I trust God will care for thee as will be good for thee, according to his will. Call upon Him before all others, and commit thyself to his goodness. I have unceasingly prayed to Him for thee, and I do pray for thee ever. Thou knowest how deeply we loved one another, as long as the good God gave us to one another. The peace of God has ever been with us; thou hast been submissive to me in all things. I pray thee that thou prove an equal, or even a greater, treasure to him whom the Lord will give thee. Thus God and his grace will ever dwell with thee and thy children. Remember ever the elements of religion which I have taught thee (alas, I was not diligent enough in my office!); build on the same foundations, that thou mayest draw nearer and nearer unto God. Possibly, thy father, hearing of my death, will hasten to thee, and try to lead thee back to popery. I pray thee, for God's sake, and for the sake of thy salvation, not to obey thy father in this, but to refuse him, choosing to dwell in God's home rather than to return to Satan's dwelling. I would rather that thou wert swallowed up by the deepest chasm, that thou wert now dead, than that thou shouldst again be a papist. But I am sure that thou wouldst rather die than obey thy father in this. Death would be better and more wholesome. Pray God, therefore, to strengthen thee through his Holy Spirit.

Possibly, my parents will think of taking away our little daughter. I pray thee, and in God's name command thee, that this sin and crime be not executed, let there come to thee anything that God may will! For I call God to witness that I will demand the blood of this our little daughter at thy hand. If through thy guilt and neglect harm come to her soul, her blood will descend and be poured upon thy head. I pray thee, then, by the duty thou owest God, by thy duty as a mother, by thy love in which thou art joined to me, thy husband and thy little daughter's father, that thou take this, my last request, to thy heart, and cause our little daughter, as soon as she is capable of instruction, to be brought up in the fear of God. I would have liked to write to thy father and to my own parents, but I have no more paper and ink, nor can I obtain any just now. Write, then, to them what has befallen me, through God's grace; comfort them, and bring to their mind the great grace and kindness which God has shown me in my imprisonment. God grant that they be softened and moved to know and honor Him aright by my death, more than they have ever been affected by my warnings during my life. God be merciful unto them."

Another letter of Laborie to his wife says: "When we were still together, thou hadst not as many good friends as God has raised up for thee since I was imprisoned. They will care for thee better than I could have done, as I am assured by many letters. This is our dear God's doing. Instead of thy husband He gives thee many faithful fathers and brothers in the Lord. Thou shouldst be thankful, and learn from this how much better it is to endure opposition, adversity, and poverty than always to have rest and good days in abundance. Faith is proven in the furnace of affliction. I do not doubt thou hast persecution more than I. In this count thyself happy; trust God, reposing thy heart and thy hope on Him alone. Thou knowest that, when I was in my native land, moving with great lords who gave me their favor and friendship, I was far from God. Even in Geneva, as long as we had an abundance, thou knowest how we soon grew cold and careless, and how seldom and how sluggishly we thought upon God and his goodness. But when, later, things went less according to our wishes and our wills, how we then began to seek refuge in God, to pray with earnestness and zeal, to read the Holy Scripture, and to comfort each the other! Learn, then, to have greater delight in poverty than in riches, idleness, and luxury. Be content with the goods given us by Christ, who wills that we find our good things in the cross, and take up our cross in patience and follow Him." Another of his letters says: "Dear sister Anna, — I have received thy letter of September 15th, and the pieces of clothing which thou didst send me. It is sweet to me that thou didst think of me in this trial. In the kindnesses which God hath shown thee, I behold the fruit of my prayer. Indeed, my death comes hard upon thee; thou grieveest thyself sadly over

it. I was able to expect that, knowing thy tenderness. But I admonish thee not to give way. I would familiarize thee with the thought of remembering me only as one dead, already consumed to ashes, to whom thou art no longer bound, except with such love as is due a brother. Thus pray for me as long as I dwell in this poor body upon the earth. Comfort thyself with Ruth, the Moabitess. Thinkest thou that God will allow thee to suffer bodily need? Never! He will care for thee, and for thy little daughter as well. Thou and my little girl will be better off after my death than now. And now I have commended thee, with thy daughter, to a faithful God, who will protect thee more carefully and lovingly than ever could have been done by me."

John Vernon's letters, written in prison, deserve also to be known.

Vernon's letters. He says: "He who has to do with the Righteous One may dismiss anxiety, especially when sure of God's love. We have to do with One who spared not his Son, but gave Him up for us all! How shall He not give us all things? Let us put our confidence in the living God, who is more willing to give than are we to receive! . . . Many faithful disciples shall, on the last day, rise up in judgment against false disciples, who picture to themselves a kind of silk or satin Christ of their own invention, and who seek a Christianity without any cross or any hardship." Vernon wrote to his sister: "By the cross we become like our Lord Jesus, not only in that we suffer and die, as did He, but in that we grow holy, as was He, and thus through the cross and through holiness we enter eternal joy and glory."

Trigolet wrote to his brother-in-law: "The good God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose prisoners we are, will afford us grace that we may exalt his name and edify his church, whether we are sent out of this miserable world by water or by fire."

Taurant wrote a friend, in a letter of farewell: "I receive pain and torture as the means by which God will draw me to Him. If He draw me through fire, I take comfort from the three youths who were saved in the fiery furnace in Babylon. I know that the power of God is as great do-day. If He call me through the water, I take comfort from the children of Israel, who went unhurt through the Red Sea. Whatever He pleases to do to me, I am therewith content."

The brethren wrote to Calvin. Three of Calvin's letters in reply, such as he sent in those days by trusty messengers to prisons everywhere to the sufferers under persecution, have been preserved till now. In two letters of September 5th, he writes: "Laborie and Trigolet may be consoled as to their near relatives, for they have submitted themselves to God's will." He adds: "Above all, repose in God's fatherly care, and doubt not that He watches over your bodies and souls. How dear is the blood of believers to Him He will prove after that He has made you his witnesses." In an appeal made by

the five to their king, which had been sent to Calvin for revision, the latter would have changed some expressions. "But," he adds, "I would rather it should remain as God has suggested to you. If the world does not receive such a just and holy appeal as it ought, yet it will be approved by God, by his angels, by the prophets and the whole church. All the faithful who read it will thank God for what He has done for you through the Holy Spirit." October 5th, Calvin and others wrote: "It is one of Satan's best artifices to weary by long effort persons whom he could not strike down at his first assault. But God will make you steadfast, even unto the end."

Upon the day appointed for their execution, a gentleman who had done much on their behalf found means to enter their prison, to report the decision of the "parliament," to comfort them, and to admonish them to constancy. They at once lifted up their voices and thanked God for the grace shown them. Vernon was in such fear at the first announcement of death that he trembled in every limb, saying: "I feel that there is a harder battle to be fought in me than often falls to man; yet the Spirit will subdue the cursed flesh, and I am sure that the good God will not forsake me. I beseech you, brothers, be not anxious about me. I will not fail, for God has promised that He will not leave us in our trial. This fear of death must show us how weak we are, that all the honor may be to Him."

When they at last stood upon the scaffold, Vernon obtained what he had promised himself, from God, a blessed steadfastness and a strength worthy of a Christian. He was first laid hold ^{by the executioners.} ^{Their glorious deaths.} Before he was tied to the stake, he prayed, "Lord, I acknowledge myself a poor sinner before Thee," and added to his prayers his confession of faith, commending himself to the Lord, rejoicing that he had overcome the pains of death and every foe.

Antony Laborie felt no fear of death at all. He went as to a festival, joyously and bravely. Before death he was asked by the executioner to grant him forgiveness. Laborie replied, "My friend, thou injurest me not. By thy deed I am delivered from a sore imprisonment." With these words he kissed the executioner. Several of the by-standers, moved at the sight, began weeping. Laborie took up Vernon's prayer and went through it, then repeated his creed in a loud voice, and gave up the spirit with amazing courage. John Trigolet met his death serenely, and even joyously, praying for his enemies: "There are some among them who know not what they do. There are others who know well, but because bewitched by Satan and drunk with prosperity, they will not confess their real belief. But, my God, I beseech Thee, loose their fetters." He added, "I behold Thee, even now, high on thy throne, and heaven open, even as Thou didst show it to thy servant Stephen." Saying this, he died.

Bataille said with loud voice to the people that they were not there to

be executed as thieves and murderers, but as supporters of the cause of God. Praying, he was put to death. The last, Taurant, repeated parts of psalms, in clear accents. Though but a youth, he showed equal steadfastness with the others, and praying with fervor and strong will gave up his spirit. — A. E. F.

LIFE XIII. THEODORE BEZA.

A. D. 1519—A. D. 1605. CLERICAL LEADER, — FRANCE AND FRENCH SWITZERLAND.

As by the heroic Luther stands a revered Melancthon, by Zwingle an Œcolampadius and a Bullinger, so beside John Calvin, in Geneva, is his pupil and friend, his brother, comrade, and loyal supporter, Theodore Beza. He comes, not like Luther or Zwingle, from the cottage of the peasant or mountaineer, nor like Melancthon or Œcolampadius, from the armorer's workshop or the tradesman's office, but from among those whom earth calls "high-born," — albeit their names may be written no higher in heaven than those of men whom the Lord has raised out of the lowest dust. His father, Peter de Beza, a nobleman, dwelt as royal governor in Vézelay castle, in a wild, romantic spot of old Burgundy. His mother, Marie Bourdelot, was a pattern of piety, humility, and kindness to the poor and suffering. She aided them with love and active effort, and also with a knowledge which she had obtained of the science of medicine. Theodore, the seventh child of this pair blessed with many children, was born June 24, 1519. When he was hardly three years old, his father's brother, Nicholas de Beza, a parliamentary counselor, begged to take the boy, who was delicate, with him to Paris to be educated. The mother gave consent with a heavy heart. She went with her darling to his destination, and bade him farewell, never to see him again, for she died when thirty-one. The uncle proved both father and mother to the child. Nor did he escape the troubles which parents endure. Despite his care, Theodore caught a dangerous infection from a servant, and was obliged to undergo a severe surgical operation. The boy went every day with a cousin, also a patient, to his physician, who dwelt in the Louvre. He had to cross the Millers' Bridge (Pont aux Meuniers). His cousin, one day, was tempted, to escape his pains, to throw himself over the bridge into the Seine, and wanted Theodore to do the same. The two boys, unnoticed by their attendant, would have done the rash deed, had not their uncle been on the watch at the moment and prevented it. Theodore recovered, and at once his education was begun. His uncle learned from an Orleans friend who paid him a visit that there was a very worthy teacher in Orleans, a

As a boy in
Paris.

German named Wolmar. He resolved to commit his nephew to him. Theodore was sent, in the company of his uncle's friend, to the latter's house, to go to school with his son. The respect often shown by the French to German solidity was, in Wolmar's case, justified. The Swabian was well informed and thorough.

Young Beza, reaching Orleans December 5, 1528, was heartily welcomed by his teacher. He used to call the day of his entrance into Wolmar's house his second birthday. Before long he went with Wolmar to a new place of abode. The latter had been called by Margaret of Angoulême (sister of Francis First), the duchess of Alençon and Berry, to teach the classics in her new college, in Bourges. Wolmar accepted the call, and Theodore followed him. Bourges was one of the cities where the gospel light was dawning, and sheltered many whom Paris would have burned on account of their belief. Young Beza could not but be touched by the light. Wolmar's house was the resort of gifted minds devoted to reform. One who came was Calvin, whom Wolmar decidedly influenced. Beza's pleasant relations soon ended. Bourges early became an unsafe residence for the reformed. Wolmar had to leave France (1535) and fly to Germany. Theodore would have liked to go with him, but his father, the old lord and governor of Vézelay, who held to the old religion, was glad to see his son's relation to Wolmar and other active spirits at an end. Theodore had to go back to Orleans, to pursue the study of the law, which he had chosen, and fit himself for practical life. A young man liberally trained found little attraction in the law as then taught. Beza took delight in the Latin poets, of whom he had tasted in the school of Wolmar,—in Ovid, Catullus, and Tibullus. He himself wrote poems addressed to his first love, Marie de l'Etoile, daughter of an Orleans professor of law. She died soon after this. Beza left Orleans for Paris. His uncle Nicholas, his old patron and supporter, was long since dead. A brother of Nicholas, Claudius, abbot of Froimont, received his nephew. Theodore's eldest brother was there, already in possession of a living, and he and Theodore dwelt together. The youth's talents were soon noticed. He moved with ease among the wits and scholars, winning favor by his poetry. His pleasure was that of the accomplished worldling. Long after, Beza regarded this period with regret. To escape the dangers of the frivolous female society around him, he resolved to marry. He betrothed a young girl of the burgher class, without property, declaring before two witnesses that he would acknowledge the union as soon as his circumstances permitted. Her name was Claude Desnoz. His relation to her excited his foes to utter slanders against him, which he answered with the noblest candor. He published at this period his youthful Latin poems (*Juvenilia*), on the model of Virgil and Ovid.¹

¹ The latter name suggests that many a thing slipped in which suited heathen views of life rather than Christian. Beza himself confessed afterwards that he looked back with

The gifted youth was soon to leave poetic trifling and begin hard work. He was taken into God's school by a severe illness. Led to an earnest life. He says, "The Lord so visited me that I had doubts of my recovery. What could I, unhappy, do with only God's fearful judgment before me? What then? After infinite pain of my body and soul, the Lord pitied his fickle follower, comforting me so that I no more doubted his pardoning grace. Amid a thousand tears I abhorred myself, sought mercy, renewed my vows, openly acknowledged his true church and worship. In short, I gave myself to Him wholly and entirely. The image of death shown me in its reality waked in me the slumbering but never buried desire for a new life. My sickness was the beginning of my recovery and of my true health. Thus strangely does God work with his own, by the same blows striking down, wounding, and also healing them. As soon as I could leave my couch, I broke all the bonds which fettered me, packed up my few possessions, and left fatherland, parents, and friends, to follow the call of Christ."

Whither could Beza better go than to the city which yielded refuge to so many of those persecuted for the gospel's sake, — to Geneva, where Calvin was then in the noontide of his labor? Thither he went, taking with him his espoused wife. The first thing he did after Calvin had made him welcome was to celebrate his marriage in a public, formal manner. The next question was how to live. His project of setting up a printing-house, with the help of Crespin, another exile, was pronounced by Calvin injudicious. He then thought his best plan was to seek his friend Wolmar in Germany, and consult with him upon his future course. He went to Tübingen, where his former teacher received him with open arms. Wolmar advised him to return to Geneva, and wait till God opened a door. And Beza did not have to wait long. Before he reached Geneva he was asked by Lausanne to become professor of Greek in her academy.¹ He consented, and took the oath of office November 9, 1549, with thankful, hopeful heart. His conscientiousness was shown in his refusing to accept the place till any offense he might have given at an earlier date by his youthful poetry was removed. Only after the college had put him at rest on this, as a matter which was a part of his popish experience, and like that a thing of the past, could Beza feel satisfied.

shame at the misuse of his poetic gifts, of which he was guilty. Such frank acknowledgments (and Zwingle had made similar ones in his time) give us a more correct measure for judging our reformers morally than the exaggerations and calumnies of malicious opponents on the one hand, or the palliations of officious advocates upon the other. They are presented to us by history not as perfect saints, but as men saved by God's grace, and advancing in his service more and more towards holiness. For the rest, Beza's poems were written in a careless and loose rather than an impure, uncleanly way. How else could Wolmar — to whom he submitted and dedicated them — have advised their publication!

¹ Lausanne at that time, like all the canton Vaud, was under the rule of Berne. Her church relations were governed by the articles of the Berne conference of 1528. Every one taking office in her church or schools was required to take an oath of adherence to these articles.

He tried to atone for any harm which his poems might have done by using his poetic gift to the praise of God. Was there any way to do this so good as to give David's Psalms to the French church? Before him, Clement Marot of Cahors had begun this work, but he had translated but fifty Psalms, to which the celebrated Goudimel had adapted music. Beza completed the book, giving the whole Psalter to the church for use in public worship (1552). Dramatic poetry, so largely secularized, was used by Beza for sacred purposes. The old religious plays of the Middle Ages had degenerated. In their stead Biblical histories were introduced into the schools for elocutionary exercises. Beza arranged successfully the "Sacrifice of Abraham" as a school drama. It was presented in a public hall, and met with great applause. The joyous days of the drama were followed by trying days of affliction. The plague had been brought to Lausanne from Bündte (1551), and Beza was stricken by it. His life was in danger. Viret, the reformer of Lausanne, communicated his anxiety to Calvin in a letter. The prayers of all his friends united for the recovery of Beza, and were answered. He devoted himself anew to science and the church. It were a long task to follow his ten years in Lausanne in detail. The main facts will be sufficient. To his work as professor he added Bible lessons on Romans and the epistles of Peter, all in the French language, to instruct and build up the church. He maintained an extended correspondence with Bullinger, Calvin, and others. He followed the Reformation not with the eye of a mere spectator, but as a participant with pen and tongue. He was deeply moved by the fate of five students of Lausanne, his pupils, who died as martyrs in Lyons. He poured forth his lament in an elegy. He took part in the controversy on election, adhering to Calvin against his adversaries, especially against ^{Sides with Calvin.} Bolsec. He did not hesitate in taking Calvin's side when an angry outcry was raised respecting the execution of Servetus (1553). Beza published a work maintaining the right of the magistrate to punish heresy by death.¹ Beza, like Calvin, considered religious error a crime against the commonwealth, and more culpable, as undermining the principles of Christianity, than murder, adultery, and theft. He did not reflect that religious convictions cannot be suppressed by force. He was not alone in his views, for the majority of his age thought as he did, and not the ignorant masses only, but the most intelligent statesmen and theologians. The Christian sentiment of later days has disseminated more correct views on this question.

Amid public disputes, Beza was called to endure conflict with those nearest him, — his father and eldest brother. The old lord, as has been

¹ *On the Punishment of Heretics by the Civil Power.* The book was aimed chiefly at S. Castellio, who along with L. Socinus and S. Curione had in a treatise censured the persecution of Servetus. Beza's book appeared in Basel under the assumed name of Martin Bellius, and was dedicated to duke Christopher of Würtemberg.

said, saw with displeasure the connection of his son with the reformed belief, and now how deeply was he imbued with it! Yet might it not be possible to draw him again to the bosom of the "only saving church"? It seemed worth while to make the trial. So, one day, his eldest brother, John de Beza, came to persuade Theodore to go back, but in vain. He confessed that his efforts availed nothing, while he was himself almost persuaded by Theodore to leave Rome and embrace the gospel. Then a severer trial visited the reformer, for his old father came. They met on the frontier between Switzerland and France, but without result. They parted with sad hearts, for no agreement was possible to men looking at religion from such opposite stand-points.

A welcome errand engaged Beza in 1556. With his friend Farel he visited the reformed Swiss cantons, to move them to decided steps in favor of the Waldensians, whom France was persecuting. An embassy was to go to Paris to influence the French court, which waged the persecution. The German states and princes were asked to join their efforts. The success of this excellent movement was hindered by the variance between the Swiss and the Germans on the Supper. This needed to be removed. Beza lent his aid to its removal. His work was misunderstood by both sides, and frustrated. He tried to move the German princes to help his brethren in France, who were again persecuted. For this end he made a journey as far as Marburg, but achieved little. An embassy was indeed sent to Paris, but returned without fulfilling its purpose, reporting that even during its presence in the city new victims were led to the stake.

Close on these trials came dissensions among the clergy of Vaud, one side holding strictly to the rules of Berne in matters of church government and discipline, the other maintaining the independence of the church according to the views of Calvin. Beza tried in vain to mediate. He then left Lausanne for Geneva (September, 1558). He came at the right moment, for the magistrates, at Calvin's suggestion, had set up a college. To this Beza was called, not only as lecturer and expositor of the Scripture, but as president. He was now ordained as a minister. The school opened June 5, 1559. Beza delivered his inaugural in St. Peter's, on the origin, dignity, necessity, and use of schools, Calvin solemnly introducing the exercises with prayer and a brief address. Beza's excellent remarks on the advantage of education are worth reading even now. The college of Geneva was henceforth the training-school of all reformed France. Scholars flocked to it from all directions. Soon after its foundation, the lowest of its seven classes numbered three hundred. Amid all this varied work in church and school Beza did not lose sight of the cause of the Reformation at large. The persecutions in France distressed him. He went to Germany (November, 1559) to impress the serious state of things on the

Begins work in
Geneva.

good elector Frederick Third of Heidelberg. The elector agreed that a petition in his name, prepared by Beza, be sent to the French king. But though the king gave the embassy the most flattering assurances, victims still were slain, among them Anna du Bourg, the celebrated parliamentary counselor.

Beza would not give up his efforts to mediate between Lutherans and Calvinists on the question of the sacrament. Yet he was obliged to acknowledge that amid the hot strife of parties his words of peace were spoken to the winds. He was stirred to reply to the rough attack on Calvin's doctrine by the Hamburg doctor, Jerome Westphal, and to answer even more sharply the abuse of Tileman Hesshus. Who can blame Beza if he forgot moderation, and ventured expressions which were hardly suited to effect an understanding upon so sacred a question? Yet how happily he expressed himself in his writing against Westphal: "Of invectives, reproaches, accusations, and defenses, there have been more than enough. It is a cause of repentance and sorrow that the gospel has been hindered so long by this sad dispute. Let it be thus far and no farther with this rivalry in enmity, which our sins have brought upon us. Why not emulate one another in love?" But the day for this had not come, and who shall censure that age in comparison with our own, for are we any better? Beza's keen eye saw that the disputes of the reformers were promising their foes a triumph. He deemed it a time, notwithstanding the schism, to present a public and full confession of his own faith. This he did in a little book, originally written in French, as an explanation of his views to his father, but published now, in a more extended form, in Latin (1560). The book produced a very great sensation. It was translated into Italian. A hundred years later it served as an authority in the reformed church, and was anathematized by the archbishop of Paris in the year of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

The time was come when Beza must testify his faith, not in books, but in person, in the presence of the world's great ones, — the same faith for which his brethren in France were persecuted. Henry Second dying, the party in France opposed to reform joined the Guises against the Bourbons and Anthony of Navarre. On the side of the latter were the Huguenots, as the reformed were named, with Condé, the glorious Coligny, and other noblemen. Navarre was, at heart, but half Protestant. Only after long hesitation did he decide to hear some distinguished Huguenot teacher, and reflect upon the points at issue. No man seemed better fitted to become his teacher than Beza, who had noble descent on his side. A letter was sent to Calvin from Navarre asking for Beza, and Calvin advised him to go. The Huguenot nobles were assembled with the king of Navarre in Nérac, the old capitol of the duchy of Albret. Queen Joanna of Albret, mother of the coming Henry Fourth, was present. Thither Beza took his journey. After twelve years' exile,

he trod French soil once more. Guarded a part of the way by armed horsemen, he reached Nérac in safety. Around his pulpit thronged nobles, warriors, and people. He certainly made an impression on Navarre, but without any definite result. Queen Joanna, however, who was at first opposed to Beza, had her heart touched, and became a "second Deborah" of a striving Israel.

After three months in France, Beza returned to Geneva, and found the city full of French exiles, for whom he and Calvin needed to provide. The plague had come, also, and taken away several friends and associates. He heard with pain of the death of his old friend and teacher, Wolmar. Soon his presence was again demanded in France. There, as in other lands, a conference was to decide the question of religion. It was called by the king (July 25, 1561) to meet at the abbey of Poissy, near Paris. Here "all were to appear, of whatever condition, who had anything to present respecting religion." The invitation was accompanied by a solemn promise of safe-conduct. No one, it was thought by the French Protestants, could represent them better than Beza. An invitation was sent him by Condé and Coligny and the reformed church of Paris, through a nobleman, Claudius of Pradello. After precautions for his safety, Beza acceded to this invitation.

His great mission in France.

He entered Paris the 22d of August, 1561. He was presented to the court of St. Germain. The following Sunday he held public worship, at the desire of the assembly, before a chosen company. He was given opportunity, also, at the house of the king of Navarre, in the presence of the queen-mother, Catherine de' Medici, to answer the cardinal of Lorraine, and to meet charges against him respecting the sacrament (as that he had said, "*Christum esse in cœna sicut in cœno*"). The formal conference first met, with all ceremony, the 9th of September, in the great vaulted hall of the abbey of Poissy. It was a brilliant convocation. On the throne sat Charles Ninth, still a child, while round him were the lords and ladies of the royal house. The queen-mother, the nobles, the church-officials, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, with the doctors of the Sorbonne, as the representatives of the university, were present in their costly robes. When, strikingly different from these, there entered thirty-four preachers and elders, the representatives of the reformed church of France, clad in modest garments, contrasting greatly with the brilliant array, a haughty cardinal uttered the bitter words, "Here come the Geneva dogs!" But Beza had his answer for the man in scarlet. "There is need," said he, "of faithful dogs in the Lord's fold, to bark at the ravening wolves!"

When the proceedings had been opened by the worthy chancellor, L'Hopital, by an address, Beza, in beginning, turned to the king with the declaration that it was, above all things, necessary to begin by invoking God. Falling on his knees, he prayed: "Lord God, Father eternal,

almighty, we acknowledge and confess before thy holy majesty that we are poor sinners, conceived and born in sin, inclined to every evil and averse from all good; that we constantly transgress thy holy laws, and bring upon us ruin and death by thy most righteous judgment. But, O Lord, we repent, and are sorry that we have offended Thee; we condemn ourselves and our transgressions with true repentance, and earnestly long for thy grace to help our misery." (These words, as is known, form the "public confession" with which the French church, and also the reformed German church, still begin public worship.) Beza continued: "Since it pleases Thee to-day thus highly to favor thy unprofitable servants, suffering them freely to confess the truth of thine Holy Word in the presence of the king whom Thou hast set over them, and of this illustrious assembly, we pray Thee. O God and Father of all light, that Thou after thine ineffable goodness and mercy wouldst enlighten our minds, control our hearts and thoughts, and lead them into all truth, and direct our words that we may confess and present the secret things made known to us according to the measure of thy good pleasure, and revealed to men, for their salvation, not with our lips only, but with the whole heart in purity and sincerity, to the glory and honor of thine holy name, and to the welfare and prosperity of our king and his entire house, to the comfort and peace of all Christendom, and especially of this dear realm. Lord God, almighty Father, we ask this only in the name and for the sake of thy dear Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour. Amen."

Then, having first said the Lord's prayer, he rose and delivered a well-considered address to the king, opening the condition of ^{His address before the king.} affairs, and presenting a short confession of faith as held by the Protestants. He frankly stated the reformed view of the Lord's Supper. He repelled the charge that they made of the observance a mere commemoration. He solemnly affirmed that it was a real communion of Christ's body, only combating the local presence of that body in the bread, the transubstantiation theory of the Romanists and the ubiquity theory of the Lutherans. Locally, Christ's body and blood are as far removed from bread and wine as the highest heaven, where Christ dwells, is removed from the earth. Here he touched the tenderest spot. Till this point he had been heard quietly. Now broke forth a tempest. "Blasphemavit! Blasphemavit!" ("He has spoken blasphemy!") resounded on all sides. The cardinal of Tournon and others tried to have the king forbid the daring orator to proceed, and threatened to leave the hall, but were brought to order by the king. The discussion went on for days, and was continued in smaller assemblies. It need not be followed in its details. The desired result was not obtained. Negotiations were broken off. Beza remained for a time in France, obeying the express wish of queen Catherine, and at every opportunity strengthened the hearts of the reformed by his sermons. He witnessed the bloody com-

bats brought on by the religious war, which proved inevitable. He was present, as a chaplain, at the battle of Dreux. His influence contributed to the strict discipline which was established in the army of the Huguenots, commanding the respect even of their foes.

In May, 1563, he returned to Geneva. He was the more needed as Calvin drew near his end, which came soon afterwards. Who was so fit to take his place as Beza? Yet his modesty forbade him to deem himself the life-long successor of Calvin. At his request a yearly moderator of the meetings of the Geneva clergy (*"vénérable compagnie"*) was chosen. At the end of each year a strict censorship was instituted. So great confidence was felt in Beza that he was yearly reëlected until 1580, when the aged man was opposed, for unworthy motives. The burden thus imposed upon him may be imagined, yet it was borne by him to old age. Besides the daily throng of duties, the sad events of his times came very close to him. He did not think of Geneva only. He was confessedly the patriarch of the reformed church of France. Hence, to name one of his acts, he sat as president of the synod of Rochelle (April, 1571), with the leave of Geneva. The massacre of St. Bartholomew's (August, 1572) was not wholly a surprise to him. (He had warned Henry of Navarre, just before, against marrying a Romanist princess.) None the less Beza, like others, was overwhelmed by the calamity. He received it as a judgment of God. On his motion a day of fasting and prayer was observed (September). He preached a sermon of encouragement. Many who had fled from France were in the assembly. They continued to come in growing throngs, and he and his associates made it their first business to take care of them. They set the example of giving, and turned their houses into inns for the exiles. The going over of Henry Fourth to Romanism was deeply felt by Beza. It was long supposed that he had kept silence upon it as something that could not be helped,

His noble letter
to Henry.

but a few years since there was discovered in Geneva a letter of 1593, in which Beza addresses himself to the king's conscience, and admonishes him not to consider what shall bring him honor, but to seek the glory of God, and place his confidence in One who has rescued him from greater difficulties than the present, and who will still uphold him by a mighty arm. He reminds Henry of words which he had himself spoken: "If God will that I be king, it will come to pass, however man may try to hinder it. If He will it not, neither do I will it." It was a saying worthy of a Christian king. He placed before him David's example, whom he might not only imitate, but surpass, by copying his virtues and avoiding his failings. But Beza's warning was too late. He had to submit to things as they were, and, conscious of having done his part, hid his pain and committed the future to God. In August following he wrote, "God be thanked that faith has not left my soul, yet I am sore troubled and vexed. What hopes we reposed in this

prince, and how grievously has he sinned against God, the holy angels, and the saints on the earth! . . . Our only refuge is God's grace; it cannot be his will to give us over utterly to destruction!" Beza was impartial in recognizing the good will and kind intentions of Henry Fourth, shown especially in his favoring the reformed in his Edict of Nantes. He deemed the king God's agent in preserving the French reformed church. He had occasion (1599) for meeting Henry once more, when the king came to succor Geneva, at a critical time, when she was threatened by foes in Savoy. Beza led an embassy from Geneva to Henry, and closed his address by adapting the words of Simeon: "Lord, now lettest Thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen before my death not only the deliverance of thine unworthy servants, but also the protector of all France and of all the believing." Henry in turn addressed Beza as "father," and dismissed him with a present.

It would exceed our limits and edify our readers little to follow Beza into other fields, especially into his various controversial writings. He was present at the religious conference at Mömbelgard (1587), appointed by Frederick of Würtemberg to confer with the famed Lutheran theologian, Jacob Andreä, upon the Lord's Supper, and also upon predestination.

A noble constancy was shown by Beza in his last days, attacked as he was on all sides, in repelling the temptations offered him by a high official of the Romish church to return to her bosom.

Meets Francis
de Sales.

This was Francis de Sales, who when a young man was appointed Romish bishop of Geneva, and ventured upon the hard task by the pope's command. He asked Beza, among other things, whether he believed that any could be saved in the Romanist church. To this Beza could not say no. But this was very different from acknowledging the Roman church as the only one that could save, or as a truer church than the reformed. Beza, strong in his convictions, was not tempted to this an instant. Briberies, to which the otherwise noble man Francis de Sales ignobly resorted, were of the least avail with Beza. It was not to be a gross bribe, but only an arrangement which might render the step more easy for Beza. Therefore, the bishop would insure him an annual pension of four thousand dollars, with something more in prospect. Beza could no longer contain himself. The word was on his tongue, "Get thee behind me, Satan." Whether he really said that aloud, as some report, or whether, according to an oral tradition, he replied in milder but equally plain language, saying, "Go, sir; I am too old and too deaf to be able to hear such words," we need not dispute. This much is certain: that the tempter from that hour left him with the firm impression that the man had "a heart of stone."

In his later years, Beza withdrew more and more from public labor.

His wife had died in 1588. He had lived with her happily for forty years. They had been given no children. By advice of his friends he took as a second wife in his old age a widow of Geneva, Catharine del Piano. Until he was sixty-five he had the best of health. Now the burdens of old age came,—rheumatic pains, sleeplessness, frequent fainting fits, even in the pulpit, and trembling of the hand, which compelled him to employ an amanuensis. In October, 1595, he made his last will, especially thanking God for the mercy shown a poor sinner. Yet his enfeebled frame lasted till towards the close of 1605. On the 2d of October his death was foreboded. The preacher of the city hastened to him; also the professors came and received his farewells. Taken with paralysis the 15th of October, he quietly fell asleep. He had expressed the wish in his will to be laid in the public grave-yard of Plain-Palais, but the government gave him burial in the chancel of St. Peter's.

Of Beza's writings his Latin New Testament deserves mention for its fidelity and elegance. His Bible expositions are valuable; also his histories, especially his history of the reformed church of France from 1521 to 1563. He possessed a character of great gentleness and affableness, as well as resoluteness. The saying of his opponents has come down to our time: "We would rather be with Beza in hell than with Calvin in heaven." We believe and rejoice that they both are written in heaven. Yet we will not palliate the faults of either at the cost of truth. The Lord knows his own. To his own master every one standeth or falleth. Meanwhile, it becomes us to honor those who have preached to us the word of salvation, and to follow their faith. — K. R. H.

LIFE XIV. COLIGNY OF FRANCE.

A. D. 1518—A. D. 1572. LAICAL LEADER, — FRANCE.

NOTHING is stranger than the history of party names. They are decided by accident, heralded by prejudice, and hallowed by association. The disciples of the Crucified, named Nazarenes by the Jews, who thought Nazareth was the birthplace of Jesus, were termed Christians by the Latins, who thought Christ was a man's given name. The title, at first given in reproach and scorn, for centuries has been a designation of highest honor. In our own day the noble activity of some Christian Englishmen, sent of God to stir up the reformed church of France to a new life, has obtained the name of Methodists for all our French people who hold to the traditions and doctrines of that noble church which has been martyred both in old times and in new.

Our fathers, the reformers, met the common fate. They were called successively Lutherans, Protestants, and Sacramentarians, names easily

explained. Finally, the wrath of their foes fixed on the name Huguenots, which still passes among the people of France as a term of severe reproach. The origin of the name is described in three ways: some think it a corruption of the German word "eidgenossen," or "confederates;" others derive it from Hugo, whom popular superstition in Tours portrayed as a ghost or hobgoblin who haunted the streets by night; the persecuted reformers having meetings by night, which were compared by the fanatic mob to those of king Hugo. Others, still, think that the well-known attachment of the Protestants to the family of Hugo Capet, impelling them ever to sustain their native kings against foreign influence and control, moved their Romish, Lorrainish, and Spanish foes to give a nickname which impartial history regards to-day as a title of honor and an open confession of their cruel persecution.

Be this as it may, the followers of those heroes who died by thousands on the battle-fields, or with glad courage on the scaffold, need blush neither for their deeds nor for their name. All the ancient calumnies, refuted, one after another, by later investigations, have never obscured two facts: that in religion those men were the most upright Christians; in politics they were the truest Frenchmen. I count myself happy in being able to honor their memory, and that among the Germans, our brethren of old time, who have been more favored by political circumstances than have we. And if I give a foreign note, I am sure it will be gladly heard. I regret only that I am confined in this account within such narrow limits. Yet this is a less serious misfortune than might be supposed. For to portray Coligny is nothing less than to present the Huguenot character in a most complete form. Frenchman, nobleman, statesman, father, warrior, believer, all in one, he united in himself all the virtues, all the talents, all the misfortunes, of his party. In order that he might be a perfect Huguenot, there was wanting to him neither the dreadful necessity of civil war, nor the mental discernment which outstripped his age, nor invincible courage, nor that martyr renown which was more useful to the Reformation than his noble feats of arms!

Gaspar de Chatillon, count Coligny, was born February 16, 1518. He was the son of marshal de Chatillon (who died 1522) and Louise de Montmorency. One of his brothers was cardinal Odel de Chatillon, who administered the Lord's Supper after the Huguenot fashion in his episcopal palace, was married in his red robe, and died by poison in 1571. Another brother was Francis d'Andelot, a man equal in valor to Coligny, and perhaps surpassing him in boldness, but not so complete a hero as the latter, in presence of whose splendid qualities even the rarest merits became obscure. The son of Coligny, Francis de Chatillon, was the avenger of his father in dreadful wars, and lived long enough to win fame as a warrior, but not renown equal to that of his father.

Coligny representative.

Coligny was brought to court, while still a youth, by his uncle the constable, and found as his first friend Francis of Lorraine, afterwards duke of Guise, who was to prove his stubborn and deadly enemy. The young man became, in succession, lieutenant under the duke of Orleans, lieutenant-colonel of the French army (1547), lieutenant-general (1550), governor of Paris and of the isle of France (1551), and at last admiral (1552). By the last title he is known in history. A war began by Henry Second breaking the treaty with Spain. The courage of Coligny did not avert the disaster which is sure to follow a breach of covenant. Losing the battle of St. Quentin's, Coligny was made prisoner and kept in the fortress of Gand. His enforced leisure under God became to him a source of profoundest knowledge. He read in prison the writings of the reformers, and especially the Bible, by which he came to a correct view of Romish doctrine. Becoming free by the treaty of Château Cambresis, he was allied forever to the cause of the French Reformation. He was now forty years old. The purity of his morals, the earnestness of his character, the firmness of his faith, and the tried discretion which he never lost save once, when his great soul could not believe in the treachery of a boy, — all pointed him out as the leader of the Protestants, and gave him an influence which excited the envy of Condé. He served France through the rule of Francis Second, without needing to draw his sword in the cause of his faith. At last, after numerous intrigues and contradictory edicts, after a conspiracy which failed and a meeting of the states general which proved weak and futile before the prevailing power of the Guises, Coligny was compelled, lover of his country as he was, to take up arms. Whoever will study the plots, insurrections, and crimes of that bloody era will not fail to acquit the admiral. He was obliged to stand up against enemies who were the enemies of France and its king before they became the persecutors of Coligny and the Reformation. Yet the admiral formed his sad purpose not without hesitation. He yielded to the inflexible, practical, and far-sighted spirit of his wife. This devout and resolute woman, Charlotte de Laval, represented that they must either proceed to extremities or betray their religion. "I adjure you," said she, "in the name of God, not to trifle in the future, else I shall appear a witness against you at the judgment." Charles Ninth was king. Coligny was made by the reformed league lieutenant-general under Condé, but was foremost in military talent. At first he rejected the proposition to call on the German and English Protestants for assistance. He desired that the French should settle their own grievous differences. He was forced to change his view. Henceforward he was heart and hand with the Reformation, and its unshaken if not always its unbeaten champion.

For a catalogue of all the valiant deeds of the Protestant hero there is not space. We will dwell on those which especially distinguish him and

his brother Huguenots. We do not think it necessary to vindicate Coligny from a part in the death of the duke of Guise by the fanaticism and revenge of Poltrot. A single fact helps the admiral's memory more than all the vindications put forth, — than even those which he wrote himself. When he was struck and his finger shattered by the copper bullet from the rifle of the regicide Maurevel, who had lain in ambush for him three days in the house of a canon, he said, after the amputation, "i have no enemy save the dukes of Guise. Yet I would not affirm that they dealt this blow." Who can believe that a man so incapable of suspicion could have soiled his hands by a murder!

Exposed constantly to attacks on his life, facing loud threats of imprisonment, Coligny did not cease, after the unfortunate battle of Dreux, to negotiate, knowing that he was not fighting against king or government, but only for liberty of conscience. When besieging Chartres he received the news that his wife lay in the last agony. He hastened to her with skilled physicians. But science could do nothing. The valiant woman died March 7, 1568, leaving her husband in deepest sorrow. The fatal illness of Charlotte de Laval came from her nursing the soldiers in the hospital of Orleans. Upon his return to Chatillon, Coligny was obliged, with Condé, to take refuge in Rochelle. After the fatal battle of Jarnac, in the expectation of being cut to pieces with his German allies, he made his last will, which recently has been discovered and published. He makes confession in clearest language of his religion, and gives directions for the education of his children.

Ever sacrificing himself to his negotiations with an unprincipled court, ever formidable in battle, he wearies neither of fighting nor of negotiating. He addresses the most touching letters to the king, to urge upon him to set a limit to the sufferings of his Huguenot subjects. For even during the time when a truce was ordered, and deceptive promises of peace were made to the unhappy Protestants, the various courts kindled martyr fires in all the French cities.

At last (September 13, 1569), Coligny was outlawed by a parliamentary decree; a reward of fifty thousand dollars was offered for him, living or dead. The admiral had achieved wonders of valor and skill in a siege of Poitiers, then the largest city of France after Paris, but to no purpose. Once more advancing to battle, he was carried away from the field of Assais half-dead. Borne along on his litter, a nobleman, named L'Estrange, was carried by his side. Bowing to Coligny, he greeted him, saying, "Indeed, God is very sweet." They were touching words to the admiral, and witnessed the piety animating those undaunted warriors.

We now approach the catastrophe which brought the life of Coligny to its well-known termination. When hardly recovered from a severe illness (at St. Etienne, 1570), the admiral marched upon Paris, and with varying success and disaster, ending in success, threatened the capital.

Catherine de' Medici and the Guises, who were arrogant after victory and feeble after reverses, concluded peace (August 8, 1570), against the opposition of the papal and the Spanish ambassadors. Coligny, distrusting the queen-mother, withdrew to Rochelle, and attended the seventh national synod, presided over by Theodore Beza (April 2 to 11, 1571). Soon after, following his old maxim, "Better for a man to die once than to be always anxious about preserving his life," he decided, in his weariness of civil war, to go to Paris. In this he was deluded more by his own magnanimous spirit than by the cunning of Catherine. Her son, Charles Ninth, was young, but sufficiently knowing to be a hypocrite. He called Coligny his father, embraced him, and swore that he would follow his counsel. He said, with Satan-like cordiality, "We hold you now. You shall not leave us again at your pleasure." He counseled with Coligny respecting a proposed campaign in Flanders.

August 22d, the admiral, on his way home, after a summons to the Louvre, was shot by Maurevel, one bullet shattering the forefinger of his right hand, another his left elbow. Inflammation rapidly seized the wounds, which were poisoned by the oxidized copper bullets. The eminent surgeon, Ambroise Paré, cut off the injured finger. But from the inferior instruments at his command he was forced thrice to begin anew. The spectators, Henry of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and Laroche-foucault, wept at the sight. Coligny, entirely composed, remarked, "Why do ye weep for me, my friends? I reckon myself happy to have received these wounds in the cause of God." He then turned to the preacher Merlin, and said, "Let us pray our Lord God that He grant us the gift of endurance." As the good minister prayed, the hero poured his heart out before God, dedicated himself to Him, and declared that for God he was ready to live as also to die. He then whispered in the ear of one of his attendants that he should give Merlin a hundred dollars for the aid of the poor of Paris. The king, Charles Ninth, coming in, greeted him, saying, "My dear father, the hurt is yours, but the enduring grief is mine." With fearful oaths he swore that he would revenge this cowardly assassination. For an answer, Coligny contented himself with giving some advice respecting the campaign against Flanders. Not many hours after, this king had given the signal for the massacre of St. Bartholomew's (August 24, 1572).

The victims of this night were as noble and saintly as the executioners were dastardly and cruel. A little before daybreak, the admiral was wakened by the alarm bell and the noise of Guise's cavalry. He bade Merlin join with him in prayer. He then commanded his people to take flight, saying he had long been ready to die. One of the assassins had already demanded admission in the king's name, and entered the palace. The guards had been struck down. The chamber door was broken open. Before the great man who sat there, wan and majestic, the murderer,

Behme, was awed as if he had beheld a spirit. "Young man," Coligny said, "thou assaultest an old man and a wounded. . . . Thou thyself, however, canst not shorten my days." Behme plunged the bar with which he had broken the door into the body of the admiral. The gray-haired nobleman fell, murmuring that he was not slain as became a man. His head was struck by his assassins with repeated blows. Then hearing the voice of the duke of Guise, sitting upon his horse in the street, "Behme, hast done?" they threw the body of Coligny out of the window. Guise and the duke of Angoulême at once recognized him, when the blood had been wiped off his features. They took their leave, after kicking the corpse in the face. The head was cut off, embalmed, and sent to Rome; the trunk was dragged in blood and filth through the streets of Paris. A few years afterwards the body of this same duke of Guise was trodden under foot by Henry Third. Coligny's son was met by Catherine de' Medici in the galleries of the Louvre, and as, amazed at his growth, she cried, "How thou resemblest thy father!" the young Chatillon replied, "God grant me that blessing!"

It may be asked why, with men like Coligny, France was not won for the Reformation. Several influences may be named which gave Romanism the victory. We may recount as playing a part the defeats of the Protestant armies, the faithlessness of Catherine de' Medici, the ambition of the house of Lorraine, the plots of Spain and Rome. But the chief reason is to be sought in the slightly religious feeling of the French, and their leveling, democratic tendencies. The French spirit is better represented by Rabelais and Montaigne than by John Calvin. The Huguenots were unpopular from their chaste and devout lives. France loves the mass, which involves no obligation, above Calvinistic exhortations to repentance, which smite her faults and frivolities. Moreover, the nation was bent on centralization and social homogeneity. Louis Eleventh, Richelieu, Mazarin, Louis Fourteenth, and Napoleon secured these objects. The Reformation, appealing to the individual conscience, is, on the other hand, the champion of liberty, opposing the false uniformity which implies slavery. As we look at events thus, we see that the French Revolution, which, in God's providence, revenged the Huguenots upon the princes and priests, stained with their blood, is anything but a result of the Reformation. Protestantism in France fell with a class of nobles of which Coligny was, and still is, the glorious representative. Had it remained pervaded by a pure and living faith, it had been the strong bulwark of a limited monarchy, of a freedom based upon a division of authority, of a religion active and spiritual. Either too early or too late did the voice of the reformers seek to awake the conscience of the nation of the holy Louis again to life. — L. R.

LIFE XV. RENATA OF FERRARA.

A. D. 1510—A. D. 1575. LAICAL LEADER,—ITALY.

ITALY, the beautiful, the blessed, sung so often by poets, was once favored with a glad spring-time in religion. Italy was not wholly untouched by the life-giving Reformation.¹

We turn our eyes from the general view of the work of Reformation in Italy to one of the small Italian courts, which perhaps above any other spot in the peninsula was a refuge for the reformed who suffered for their Christian faith. In this court dwelt a noble woman who is to be remembered by us as a brave friend and defender of the gospel. Renata, or Renée, was the daughter of the French king Louis Twelfth and of Anna of Brittany. She was born October 25, 1510, at the castle of Blois, where three years afterward her mother died. She was educated in a way according with her lofty position. There may be something overdrawn in the stories told by authors concerning her profound and varied learning. The fact of her inclination to intellectual culture remains, and is all the nobler in that back of it lay the loftier treasure of a pious, virtuous character. The princess's hand was early sought by noble wooers. She

¹ The salutation sent from those "of Italy" by the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews testifies that not in Rome only, but in other parts of Italy, the gospel took root very early. When afterwards the Roman bishops tried to extend their rule, and mostly at the expense of other churches, which historically were of equal authority, there were not wanting some who opposed the attempt with Christian frankness, and tried to remain independent of Rome. Thus especially the Milan church, of which the great Ambrose was at one time bishop, kept its independence with respect to the mode of public worship. In like manner, when image worship, relic worship, and pilgrimages prevailed in the west, a bishop in Italy, Claudius of Turin, eloquently opposed these abuses, and that with the Bible in his hand. Even if the Waldensians, the precursors of the Reformation, are not to be traced back to this Claudius and the valleys of his diocese, as was long supposed, it is certain that those pious people, who as "poor men of Lyons" suffered persecution in the twelfth century, established themselves chiefly in Lombardy and upper Italy. In the same way, we find among the stoutest opposers of the papacy in the Middle Ages Arnold of Brescia, whose republican ideas found many adherents even in Rome, but led to measures which went beyond Christian limits, not to name the Cathari, "the Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit," the "Spirituales," "Fratricelli," and other sects which disturbed the south of Europe. Very diverse elements were mixed together which needed to be separated by a clearer knowledge of Christian liberty. Though the light of science by itself cannot effect this separation, but only spiritual enlightenment, which comes from the Bible and leads men's minds into a way well pleasing to God, still the revival of learning, to which even some of the popes contributed, prepared the way for the revival of Christianity. Thus it came to pass that after the Middle Ages had fulfilled their task and exhausted their powers, Italy became the country to lead in a new era of culture, rising from the study of the ancient classics, and known generally by the loud-sounding name of the "revival of learning." Even before the fall of the Byzantine empire and the capture of Constantinople by the Turks (1453), which by means of Greek fugitives spread in the west a more correct knowledge of the old Greek writers, art and science had been well fostered in Italy. Who has not heard of Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch? Did not the learned Laurentius Valla, before 1450, to use the words of Erasmus, "evoke ancient literature from its grave, and restore Italian eloquence to its pristine glory"? Nor was this all. The same scholar attacked with keen criticism the "Donation of Constantine," by which the popes claimed their worldly domain, and opposed, in spite of persecutions, many of the prejudices and abuses of his generation. It is enough to suggest the names of Marsilius Ficinus, John Francis Pico, count Mirandola, whose writings were studied by Zwingle, all of whom promoted philosophic study among Italian scholars, and the

was betrothed when very young to Charles of Austria, afterwards Charles Fifth, the emperor; but the relation was broken off. A contemplated union with Joachim, the Protestant elector of Brandenburg, was also not effected. Instead, Renata was wedded (1527) to an Italian prince, Hercules of Este, duke of Ferrara and Modena. Even before her marriage she had become possessed of reformed ideas ^{Her reformed faith.} through the scholars who frequented the court of the renowned Marguerite of Navarre, sister of Francis First. Renata welcomed their doctrines, and sought to make entrance for them in her new home. Her husband, who neither in intellect nor in morals proved himself worthy of such a wife, indulged her in this as long as political considerations permitted. Hence her countrymen who fled from France for the sake of their religion found a refuge in the court of the duchess. We find (1534) among them the renowned poet Clement Marot, to whom the French church owes her poetic version of the Psalms of David. He was introduced to the duchess and made her secretary through Renata's governess, Madame von Soubise. Along with him came his friend, Lyon Jamet. John Calvin, too, when an exile, stayed several months at the court of Ferrara under the assumed name of Charles d'Hepeville. ^{Shelters Calvin} In after days Renata maintained a correspondence with this great and renowned man. Italian scholars, also, who favored the Reformation found friendly reception in Ferrara, and were protected as scholars.¹

devoted, almost fanatically enthusiastic Dominican, Girolamo Savonarola, in Florence, the preacher of repentance, proclaiming the terrors of divine justice with the authority and influence of an ancient prophet. Italy and Germany had long affected each other, as seen in the political history of the Middle Ages, the wars of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, the journeys to Rome by the German emperors, the crusades, and the great church courts of Pisa, Constance, and Basel. Accordingly, the newly awakened intellectual life of Italy sent its bright gleam over the Alps. On the other hand, the uprising of Germans against corruptions coming from Italy could not but be felt by the latter country. At first the strange rumors about the bold step of the Augustine monk at Wittenberg would be carried abroad. Soon the opinions of scholars upon the affair and upon the tendency of the German Reformation began to appear. The writings of Luther, Melancthon, Zwingle, and others found their way to Italy, though under changed titles, to say nothing of the personal intercourse between Italy and the parts of Switzerland stirred by religious excitement. There was soon no large Italian city that did not have friends and followers of the gospel, who were also influencing the people. Thus, Antonio Brucioli, at Florence, circulated the Bible in the popular tongue. Giovanni Mollio, a Minorite monk, preached at Bologna. Celio Secundo Curione, the teacher at Pavia, was surrounded by students thirsting for instruction and salvation. The new reformed doctrine, which was in part the old doctrine, reached even Naples and Sicily. In Naples, the noble Spaniard Juan Valdez led the disciples to whom Bernardino Ochino and Peter Martyr Vermigli preached God's Word. In Palermo, Sicily, we find the preacher, Benedetti Locarno. In the little district of Lucen, on the Gulf of Genoa, whither Peter Martyr came from Naples, gathered a considerable company who were led by him to a clearer knowledge of religion. That Italian Protestantism was more than the denial of old traditions and authority, and that it established the foundations of a positive belief, is clearly seen in the brief but solid volume which was published in Venice in 1542, entitled *The Benefits of Christ*, written, as is believed, by Aonio Paleario, of Siena. How clearly and scripturally, and therefore convincingly, the doctrine of justification through faith is set forth in it may be found by our readers for themselves, for unexpectedly this work, which it was supposed had been utterly destroyed by the Inquisition, has been rediscovered, and has been translated into German and Italian by a German theologian.

¹ Among those who became ornaments to her court were Celio Calcagui and Celio Secundo Curione, named before, Lelio Giraldis, Bartolomeo Riccio, Maucelli Palingenio, Marco Antonio Flaminio, C. Kilian and John Sinapi, and Fulvio Peregrino Morato, a native of Mantua, father of the afterwards noted Olympia Morata, who studied under her father in the company of Renata's daughter Anna, afterwards wife of Francis of Guise.

They abode undisturbed even when the duke, to please the pope and the emperor, had expelled the French exiles, to the sorrow of the duchess.

In that day it was not very uncommon for women to learn Greek and Latin literature and poetry, and to represent the classic dramas. During a visit of Paul Third (1543) at Ferrara, the youth of the court, with three daughters of the duke, presented the "Brothers" of Terence. The mother, Renata, gave attention to scholarly works, especially philology and history. Her study of ancient languages and history undoubtedly bore fruit in giving her a more exact knowledge of Bible doctrine and history. How far the Christian scholars of Ferrara confessed their reformed faith, or expressed it in sermons or public worship, history fails to tell. Their religious convictions were of varying degrees: some merely sympathized with reform; others showed a decided and intelligent faith. The chief man of the court, the duke himself, was not only not in sympathy with his wife, but consented too readily to suggestions and efforts from France intended to check the spread of reform in Italy. Renata's nephew, king Henry Second of France, sent his chief inquisitor, the Dominican Matthias Orriz, to Ferrara to preach against heresy and to move the duke to persecute the Protestants residing at his court. Even Renata was to be forced to listen to the fanatic monk's arguments. It was in vain. She was true to her faith, even though her cruel foes went so far as to take away her children and kept her in close imprisonment. Her husband dying, Renata went back to France, and lived

Her noble
bounty.

(1559) at her castle of Montargis, near Orleans. She ceased not to befriend and protect her persecuted brethren in the faith. She often fed a hundred of them at her table. This exercise of hospitality was also forbidden her. Popish courtiers told the French king that a plot was forming against him at Montargis. Renata was ordered to send away her guests. Her own son-in-law, the duke of Guise, appeared one day before the castle, and threatened to cannonade it unless she delivered over the "rebels." "Tell your master," she said to the duke's agents, "that I myself will mount the battlements, and will see whether he will dare to slay a king's daughter." Guise soon after met a sad death at the hands of a fanatic Protestant nobleman, Poltrot, who shot him from an ambush with a poisonous bullet, after the battle of Dreux (1563). The duchess, in a letter to Calvin, expressed her abhorrence of the deed. She hoped that her unhappy son-in-law, in spite of his blind opposition to the gospel, was not one of the reprobate. This hope she uttered frankly, not fearing to be counted lacking in zeal by her fellows. Receiving a direct order from the king to dismiss her guests, the duchess in vain remonstrated against this encroachment upon her rights in her own house. She was compelled to yield to violence. In bidding her guests farewell she gave them the most touching proofs of her regard, striving to her utmost ability to alleviate the hardship of

their lot. She placed her carriages and horses at their disposal, and made all possible provision for their future. She remained herself true to her evangelical convictions to her blessed end. This came in Montargis, June 12, 1575.

We cannot close without noting that in the days of trial in the sixteenth century, as in the earlier centuries of Christianity, it was granted to women especially to confess their holy convictions, even amid the utmost perils, with a heroic courage which rose above the weakness of their sex. Italy affords more than one example of this, as do other countries also. The devotion shown by women of that day to theology, their man-like perseverance in its study, without any attempt to appear learned, fill us with amazement. We have a testimony upon this point from a Romanist eye-witness of that century, who wrote the following concerning the ladies of Italy: "In the present age we have the remarkable spectacle of women, whose minds usually are given to ^{Christian ladies of Italy.} frivolity rather than learning, fully imbued with heavenly lessons. In Campania, where I dwell, the most learned of preachers may grow more learned and devout by conversation with ladies. In my native Mantua I have found the same. I could gladly dwell on many examples of intellectual greatness and hearty devotion among women, which I witnessed to my great edification, and which I have hardly seen in the most learned men of my class." How changed is Italy now! Yet in these last years amazing events have occurred, which lead us to believe in a quiet movement of hearts. Surely, the fruit will be seen when the Word of God shall have obtained a free course. To Italy, the land so afflicted, true peace can come only by the means of which the greatest of her poets has sung:—

"Christ did not to his first disciples say,
 'Go forth, and to the world preach idle tales,'
 But unto them a true foundation gave;
 And this so loudly sounded from their lips,
 That, in the warfare to enkindle Faith,
 They made of the Evangel shields and lances."

LONGFELLOW'S DANTE, *Paradiso*, xxix. 109-114.

K. R. H.

LIFE XVI. AONIO PALEARIO.

A. D. 1500 ?—A. D. 1570. LAICAL LEADER, — ITALY.

AONIUS PALEARIUS VERULANUS was born about 1500, in the little city of Veroli (the ancient Veruli of the Hernici), a little way from Rome. His real name was originally Antonio degli Pagliari. This he Latinized, after the fashion then prevailing among the friends of classic learning. But instead of Antonius as a first name, the youth took Aonius, to mark his respect for the Muses, whose dwelling, according to

Greek tradition, was at the foot of the Aonian mount, by the fountain of Aganippe, in Bœotia. Nor was this change of name idle play. It meant adherence to a party which by reviving ancient knowledge would transform its generation. This party had two divisions, with nothing in common save opposition to the old leaven of worn-out scholasticism. In every other respect they went different roads, in pursuit of opposite ends. The reckless spirits resigned themselves to the licentiousness and unbelief which, in the corrupt ages of Greece and Rome, had taken a bright garb of poesy to conceal their infamy, and like wanton hussies had led youth astray. Thoughtful spirits, on the other hand, were fashioning themselves upon the noble models of classic ages. They also devoted themselves, in many instances, to the zealous study of the Bible, seeking in that fountain the source of the divine life. Among these thoughtful spirits ranked — to use the most common form of his name — Aonio Paleario.

In early youth Paleario lost his parents and his three sisters. Their names have come down to us only through an inscription which he prepared in their honor, after some rough fellows of Veroli had defaced his mother's sepulchre. The inscription, which is in Latin, reads thus: "To his best parents Matthæus Palearius and Clara Janarilla, and his excellent sisters Elisa, Francisca, and Janilla, Aonius Palearius, far away from his home, erected this memorial." A family friend, John Marcellus, to whom Paleario left his house in Veroli, and the bishop of the city, Ennius Philonardus, a life-long friend of the youth, interested themselves in his education. But soon the advantages afforded by his native city, a place of little repute, failed to meet the boy's desire for knowledge. He went to Rome (1521), and for six years devoted himself zealously to the study of philosophy. He included under this head every study which helped train his mind, especially the Greek and Latin classics, Aristotle, Cicero, and other thoughtful authors. He chose among classic poets those of graver character, especially Lucretius. He rejected his notion of the eternal course of nature, but in later years imitated his mode of writing in a didactic poem upon the immortality of the soul. To what extent our student made himself acquainted, while at Rome, with the Greek New Testament or the discoveries of the Swiss and German reformers is not known. He would only whisper what he knew of such things to his trusted friends, for it was dangerous to speak of them openly. Several of his patrons and friends were deeply interested not only in classic studies, but in thorough Bible Christianity. An unwelcome interruption came, however, to his scholarly pursuits. On May 6, 1527, Rome was taken by the Spanish and German troops of Charles Fifth, the city and its suburbs sacked and laid waste, while pope Clement Seventh fled to Engelsburg. The land was visited by famine and pestilence, the attendants of war, and Veroli did not escape. Paleario's labors were hindered. his

Studies in
Rome.

means of support dried up. He found no home either in Rome or in his own city. He had formed acquaintance with many men of the wealthy and cultured classes, the way having been prepared by his marked talents and their similarity of tastes. But now he was in a depressed state, for he had neither position, family, nor means of support. He did not accord with the leaders of his own school of thought. The powerful supporters of the opposite school were his enemies. He passed two years in serious disquiet. Finally he resolved to quit Rome forever. He would have liked, had the means been at his command, to remove into France and Germany, for he felt the ground beneath him sinking. His letters at this period declare an unrest and dissatisfaction of heart, the reason of which he does not unfold. He was possibly less reserved in conversation. His position is plain, if we grant that already he was acquainted with the writings of the German reformers, as well as of the older church fathers, Origen, Chrysostom, Augustine, Jerome, and others, and was at variance with the Romish system through acquaintance with evangelic truth. Though distant from the scenes where the great religious conflict was then waged, he nourished the same hopes which dwelt in Luther when (1520) he addressed his letter to Charles Fifth and the German nobility. Paleario indulged the imaginative thought that he might win the favor of the emperor and of his brother, king Ferdinand, by his literary endeavors. He perhaps thus expected to open a way for himself into Germany. Thus thinking, doubtless, he composed his Latin poem on the immortality of the soul, dedicating it to king Ferdinand, and taking useless pains to put it into his hands. Still by his poem Paleario won the regard of James Sadolet, the noble bishop of Carpentras, who procured its printing at Lyons (1536), bestowing great praise upon its author. Sadolet was one of the new school, and was even reputed to be inclined to Protestantism. His aid being needed by pope Paul Third, he was made a cardinal (1536). There was a gentler party at the papal court under this pope. It held many evangelical notions, especially regarding the Epistle to the Romans and the doctrine of justification through faith. But after the conference at Worms and Regensburg (1541), a schism entered the party, and an *ultra* church spirit, which at last carried the day. A bull was published (July 21, 1542) which established an inquisition to suppress in Italy all Protestant tendencies. Paleario even thus early was forced to endure troubles. He could not refrain from attacking sin in his pathway and confessing his belief by tongue and pen. Still ^{His great work.} his most weighty production, whose discovery has nobly renewed his memory in our day, was printed without his name, and only of late has become known as his. This work is the treatise in Italian on "The Benefits of Christ to Christians." It is a little book which so clearly and symmetrically, so ardently and scripturally, sets forth the doctrine of sal-

vation that it deserves to be in every Christian's hands, not as a notable memorial of the past, only, but as a means of edification to-day. This tract, it seems, reached the hands of cardinal Reginald Pole, was approved by him, and went through several other hands before publication. It was first printed in Venice in 1542, and published under date of 1543. A German translation in 1855 has in its preface the following from an evangelical doctor of theology (Dr. Tischendorf, of Leipzig): "This book was as small in size as great in spirit. It appeared anonymously, with no great name recommending it. It bore, too, a very simple title. But it at once found a way through its own fatherland and across its boundaries. Its influence was so powerful that it was as zealously read and circulated by the friends of Truth, as it was hunted, proscribed, and obliterated by her enemies. Six years after its appearance, as testified by one Paul Vergerius, under whose eyes the book won its triumphs and endured its conflicts, there were forty thousand copies printed and sold in Venice alone. Venice was rivaled, too, in this by other cities, especially by Modena, under the impulse of Morone, cardinal-bishop of Modena. Moreover, within these six years other lands, and especially France, appropriated the book by means of translations." The foe sought at once (1544), by a book in reply, to weaken the force of the treatise. They found soon that they could avail nothing against the overwhelming power of truth which was here so clearly manifested. They decided, therefore, to destroy the book by means of the Inquisition. This was achieved so completely that all hope was lost, after many a vain effort, of ever finding a copy of the treatise. But lo, the news came from Cambridge, in 1843, that in the library of St. John's College was a copy preserved of the Italian edition of 1543. A new edition was issued from it, in Cambridge, in 1855. Thus that witness which spoke so powerfully three centuries since in Italy speaks once again to the heart of that noble but degenerate people in their own beautiful Tuscan.

For a sample of the book, let its conclusion suffice: "We have reached the close of our reflections, in which our chief end was to extol and magnify, according to our feeble powers, the surpassing benefit which the Christian receives from Jesus Christ, the crucified; to show, also, that faith alone justifies, that is, that God accepts all persons as just who in truth believe that Jesus Christ has satisfied for their sins. Yet as the light is inseparable from the flame, which alone burns, so good works are inseparable from faith, which alone justifies. This most holy doctrine, which exalts Jesus Christ as eminently as it debases man's pride, is and will be attacked by those Christians who have Judaizing souls. Blessed he who, like Paul, will renounce all his own righteousness, and have none save the righteousness of Christ, clad in which he can confidently appear before God, and receive from Him the blessing and the inheritance of

heaven and earth, in fellowship with his only begotten Son Jesus Christ, our Lord, to whom be glory forever. Amen."

The imitator of Paul, like him, had here no abiding city. He led a wandering life as a roving teacher of Greek and Latin literature, of philosophy and rhetoric. True, he took Tuscany as a second father-land, and with the trifling remains of his patrimony bought a little property, heavily mortgaged, however,—the same that was once owned by that Cæcina whom Cicero defended in one of his orations. It lay near Siena, a day's ride from Florence, and within the jurisdiction of the little city of Colle di Valdenza. But seldom would its owner enjoy its repose, for he must teach to earn his bread. We find him in Siena (1530), in Padua (between 1531 and 1536), again in Siena (1536–1544), in Lucca (1545–1550), on his estate (1551–1556), in Milan (October 17, 1556–1560, or even later); then, for some years as it seems, upon his estate, and finally in the prisons of the Inquisition. In periods intervening he made short sojourns at various places. Many times traces of him are almost lost. Cares he had, and conflicts, and in his latter years infirmities. Of him could be literally said what is sung by Paul Gerhard:—

"The saintly praying souls who oft repeat farewell,
To leave, with heavy doles, the place they love to dwell,—
They wander to and fro; their heavy cross they bear,
Till death has brought them low, and earth's repose they share."

Only it was denied Paleario to share earth's repose.

By the advice of his fatherly friend Ennius Philonardus, now cardinal, Paleario, when in his thirty-fourth year, married, and lived in happy wedlock, having two sons, Lampridius and Phædrus, and two daughters, Aspasia and Sophonisbe (whom he loved to call also Aonilla), who were all grown up at the time of their father's death. One of his friends gives us an introduction to his married life. When he was lying sick with fever and sideache, news was brought him by his servant that his wife, who was away on his estate, was in childbirth, and in dangerous condition. Directly the friend referred to comes at full speed, his horse all covered with sweat. Paleario believes he is bringing him news of death. His consciousness departs; he faints, his illness overcoming him.¹ His friend, tired with the journey, leaves him to pass a sleepless night. When day dawns he arises, and wearily drags himself to an upper chamber, where hangs his wife's portrait. There he falls at last into a perspiration, and sleeps. The next day there is found on his table a paper on which he has written a dirge, with trembling hand. It consists of six Latin lines, which may be read as follows:—

"If Christ, whom thou in life hast served full well,
My heart did not sustain, I could not live.
His promise firm that thou shalt rise again

¹ This, it appears, was in 1550. Paleario, having lost his wife at that time, after two years contracted a second marriage, by which he also had children.

Supports with loving power my fainting soul.
 Do thou await till thine Aonius comes
 In haste to join thee there, on heaven's own shore."

Paleario was in danger of condemnation as a heretic as early as 1543. He was induced by his pupils to apply for the headship of the school in Siena, on the expiration of the term of a representative of the old order, one Machus Blatero. The monks, to prevent his election, conspired to send a deputation to Francis Bandini, archbishop of Siena, accusing Paleario of heresy. The charge was based on his oral teachings and his book on the "Benefits of Christ," which already, it seems, had come to their notice. The archbishop disregarded his foes. The persecuted escaped, with a warning given him, in presence of the archbishop, by his friend James Sadolet, the cardinal legate. Paleario retired to Colle di Valdenza, but was there attacked by a monk, who by preaching strove to excite the citizens against him as a heretic. Deeply moved, he wrote within two days a defense in Latin, and sent a copy of it to his friend Peter Victorius, in Florence, to secure the help of duke Cosmo. He also gave his accuser a copy. His effort obtained from the monk a promise to be

His defense of
 his faith.

silent. The defense of Paleario, which is addressed to the Siena council in the form of a charge of slander, contains very remarkable expressions. He says that there are those nowadays who cannot bear that Christ, the author and God of our salvation, Christ the king of the Gentiles and of all nations, should be loudly extolled! "For when this very year I wrote to this end in the Italian tongue, telling what benefits were secured to men through his death, it is framed into a criminal charge against me. Horrible! I had declared that when He, who is very God, had so lovingly poured forth his life's blood for our salvation, we should not have doubts of God's grace, but might assure ourselves of perfect peace and rest. I showed by the most ancient and trusty witnesses that we are saved from all evil, and that guilt is utterly blotted out in all who turn with whole heart to the crucified Christ, who believingly commit themselves to his faithfulness, repose in his promises, and depend hopefully upon Him who cannot disappoint them. For this," he continues, "they would cast me into the flames. But if I am to suffer for this testimony, — for I hold it for a testimony, and not a mere literary production, — I count myself happy. For nowadays a Christian may hardly dare die in his bed. To be accused and imprisoned is nothing. We must give ourselves to be scourged, crucified, inclosed in nets, thrown to wild beasts, burned in the fire, if it be needed by such pangs to publish the truth. Save for the hope of a general council, where popes, princes, and emperors will unite in good and holy plans, and where all classes and nations will take a part, we would be forced to doubt whether the present distress would ever end, or whether the dagger drawn against every writer would ever be wrested from the hands that on the slightest pretext will plunge it into our hearts."

Paleario thought of a general council as a grand sacred tribunal, where, before the nations, Christ's cause and God's Word would appear against the errors and abuses of popery. He had even prepared for it in secret articles of indictment in the Latin, and intrusted these to faithful friends to send them to the "leaders of the Swiss and German churches," that they might use them before a free council, if he were dead. Throughout the composition is heard a tone of conscientious conviction,—yes, and of truth. Twenty witnesses are brought forward who hold by the Scriptures and oppose truth to falsehood. These twenty witnesses are heard at length in as many chapters, and their testimony confirmed. It is a probable conjecture that by means of Bernard Ochino, a native of Siena, Paleario established intercourse with the Swiss and South German theologians (1542). But his indictment found no employment, and was first in 1596, in Siena, taken from the dust in which it lay hid, and printed in 1606 at Leipzig. The letters which he frequently addressed to Swiss and German reformers appear to have remained unanswered. His work on the "Benefits of Christ" seems to have been first placed under suspicion by John Matthew Giberti, bishop of Verona, one who was regarded as a model bishop by Charles Borromæus, the famous archbishop of Milan, but who yet was so confirmed in his legal high church views as to hate like a deadly poison the pure apostolic truth of justification by faith alone. Like him in spirit was Michael Ghislieri, who became pope in 1566, under the name of Pius Fifth. By the latter the Inquisition was whetted, and Paleario hunted out after he had passed several years in rest and quiet. He was dragged before the court on account of his declarations in his defense of himself in 1543.

His arrest.

A popish historian recites four grounds of accusation: (1.) He denied purgatory. (2.) He disapproved of interments in churches. (3.) He reviled the monks. (4.) He grounded justification wholly on faith in God's mercy in Christ.¹

From various scattered accounts we gather the following as to the martyr death of Paleario. He was arrested and brought to examination in Milan by the inquisitor-general Fra Angelo di Cremona, a Dominican. He was then, by order of Pius Fifth, taken to Rome (1568) and confined in the prison of Torre di Nona. In vain they attempted to make him recant. In one interview he at last indignantly cried: "Well, if your excellencies have so many stout witnesses against me, produce them and give me no more trouble. I am resolved to follow the Apostle Peter, who said, 'Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that ye should follow his steps: who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth: who, when He was reviled, reviled not again; when He suffered, He threatened not, but committed himself to Him that judgeth right-

¹ In a compendium of the Inquisition, composed by Caracciolo, under Paul Fourth, and extant in manuscript, *The Benefits of Christ* is ascribed to a monk of San Severino, in Naples, a pupil of the renowned confessor Baldez. This must pass for a blunder.

ously.' Therefore judge and sentence Aonius! You will thus satisfy my calumniators and your own official obligations."

His death some have erroneously recorded as upon the 5th of October, 1568. He was in reality kept languishing in prison nearly two years, in the expectation that he would recant. He was at last put to death by strangling, on the 3d of July, 1570; his body was afterwards burned. A sure witness of this is a record of the Brothers of Mercy, discovered and printed in 1745, but not well understood till recently. As early as 1488, the Florentines in Rome (under Innocent Eighth) established a brotherhood under the patronage of John Baptist the Beheaded, to give help to condemned criminals. The evening before a condemned man's execution, these brethren go and stay all night with him, trying to lead him to a confession; they move him to make disposal of his property, strengthening him through the love of God to bear suffering and death with patience; placing before him the fearful sufferings and shameful death of the innocent Jesus Christ. They give him the crucifix to kiss, and go with him to the very last moment of life. These brethren of mercy came to Paleario the last night, and their loving service was gladly accepted by him. Respecting this they have recorded in the shape of a formal report as follows:—

Authentic account of his end.

"Monday, July 3, 1570. Our society was called to Tordinona prison in the night between Sunday and Monday, July 3, 1570, and there was given into our hands, after condemnation in the course of justice by the servants of the Holy Inquisition, Signor Aonius Palearius, of Veruli, resident of Colle di Valdenza, who made confession, and prayed God and his glorious mother the Virgin Mary and the court of heaven for forgiveness, and said he would die as a good Christian and believe all that the holy Roman church believed. He made no will, but gave us two letters he had written, which are copied below, praying that we send them to his widow and his sons at Colle di Valdenza."

To this report a literal copy of the letters is attached. Paleario was of course able, without unfaithfulness to his evangelic confession, to suffer the Brothers of Mercy to testify in their formal way that he would die as a good Christian, and believed what the true holy Roman church believed, of which Ambrose and Augustine were members. We must not withhold from our readers the two letters. From them it appears that by a second wife, named Marietta, he had two sons and a little daughter; and that his sons by his first marriage for eighteen years, or since his second marriage, had enjoyed their mother's estate. Of more importance, however, is the devout, peaceful spirit of trust, with which the old man of seventy joyously goes to death.

The first letter to his wife Marietta reads as follows:—

"MY DEAREST WIFE,—I would not that what well pleases me should ill please thee, and that what I deem good thou shouldst deem evil. The

hour is come when I am to go out of this life to my Lord, my Father, and my God. I go joyously, as to the wedding of the Son of the great King, even as I have ever prayed my Lord that He would vouchsafe me through his infinite goodness and condescension. Then, dearest companion, find comfort in the will of God and in my contentment. Take care of our affrighted little family, which I leave with you. Train and watch over them in the fear of God; be to them both father and mother. I am already past sixty years, and of little service. My sons must strive with all virtue and toil to attain to honorable lives. God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with your spirits. Thine husband, AONIUS PALEARIUS.

"ROME, *July 3, 1570.*"

To the two grown-up sons of his first marriage he writes:—

"LAMPRIDIUS AND PHÆDRUS, MY DEAREST SONS,—My most kind masters (the Brotherhood of St. John) who are unceasing in their goodness towards me, permit me to write to you also. It pleases God to call me in the way which you will hear, and which you will think bitter and severe. But if you consider it rightly, you will be content, since it comes to my entire satisfaction and approval, to submit in this to the will of God. I leave you, with the little property which you possess, virtue and industry as your patrimony. I leave you no debts. Many persons often make pretensions and are found in debt. Ye have been free more than eighteen years; ye are not bound for any debts of mine. Should any one claim anything, betake yourselves to his excellency the duke [of Medici, in Florence?], who will see justice done you. Require a statement of debts and credits from Luca Pridio. Ye have your mother's dowry, and ye have your little sister to educate as God may give you grace therefor. Salute Aspasia and sister Aonilla, my daughters, greatly beloved in the Lord. My hour draws near. The Spirit of God support you and keep you in his grace. Your father, AONIUS PALEARIUS.

"ROME, *July 3, 1570.*"

May our last end be as that of this righteous person. — H. C. S.

LIFE XVII. THOMAS CRANMER.

A. D. 1489—A. D. 1556. CLERICAL LEADER,—ENGLAND.

IN the year 1503 the English king, Henry the Eighth, wedded the princess Catherine of Aragon, daughter of the Spanish king Ferdinand and widow of his own brother Arthur. This marriage, entered into according to a "dispensation" of pope Julius Second, had endured eighteen years, when the king bestowed his fatal love upon the beautiful Anne

Boleyn, and began to have doubts about the lawfulness of his marriage with his brother's widow. Rome judged it dangerous to annul its own "dispensation," and imprudent to divorce Henry from one who was the aunt of the emperor, even though the king showered his gold upon the cardinals. Henry was in sore trouble. He wanted an adviser who could deliver him and help him to his object. He was told by two of his counselors, Fox and Gardiner, of one Cranmer, professor of theology in Cambridge, who could give him help if it were in any one's power. Henry decided upon following the suggestion. Thus it came about that Cranmer assumed a relation to his king by which he became the reformer of the English church, and at last a martyr for the gospel.

Thomas Cranmer was born July 2, 1489, at Aslacton, in the county of Nottingham. Losing his father in his boyhood, he was sent by his mother to Cambridge (1503), where he studied the full course ("trivium" and "quadrivium"), and became a Fellow in Jesus College. He interested himself in the new theology of Favre, of Paris (called also Faber and Lefèvre), and of Erasmus. Upon the news of Luther's appearance in Germany, he turned to the study of the Holy Student of the Bible. Scriptures. He soon after this married (1519), thus losing his fellowship, but was at once chosen "lector" in Buckingham College. Upon the death of his wife and of his infant child, he was again put in his place in Jesus College, and in 1523 made a doctor of theology. He refused a flattering call to be theological teacher in Oxford, and was directly chosen theological professor in Cambridge; he was also made university preacher and examiner. His ardent support of the authority of Scripture acquired for him, in the mouths of the scholastic doctors and the beggar monks, the nickname of "the Scripturist."

A plague sweeping over Cambridge (1528), Cranmer retired with two nephews, to whom he gave a home, to Waltham, in Essex County. There he was startled by a visit from the two counselors named above, asking his opinion on the subject of the royal divorce. Cranmer replied that first it must be settled whether the king's marriage was valid by the law of God. If not, no pope could make it valid by any "dispensation." Nor could they enter into tedious negotiations with the papacy to decide this question. Rather they should gather opinions from the most noted universities and other recognized courts of knowledge. If these supported the king's opinion, the pope could no longer oppose himself.

The king, when he heard the views of Cranmer, thought they made the way plain, and decided to follow them. Cranmer was asked to put them in writing. He was then commissioned (1530), along with Sir Thomas Boleyn, now the earl of Wiltshire, to go with other plenipotentiaries to Rome, to maintain the king's cause. Meanwhile, throughout all Europe opinions on the marriage were sought from the universities, the promi-

nent jurists and theologians, and the great cloisters. At Rome Cranmer was well received at the first, and made the pope's "penitentiary" for England. But he made no progress in his business, and so came home. The beginning of the next year he was intrusted with a mission upon the same matter to the theological leaders of the German Reformation, and to the court of the emperor. He was affected in his own career by this undertaking, for it brought him into personal intercourse with the German reformers, and attracted him to their ways of thinking. Besides, Cranmer in this way was introduced to a niece of Andrew Osiander, of Nürnberg, whom he married not long after. The pope proving obstinate, in spite of the many opinions sent to London on the side of the king, Henry slowly came round to the resolve that he would emancipate all England from Rome, and thus be independent of the pope in the matter at issue. Such a result was not to be effected by a single stroke. There began a succession of measures limiting the authority of the pope in the church of England. In the mean time, leaving his first marriage as it was, Henry secretly married Anne Boleyn (November 14, 1532).

Warham, the archbishop of Canterbury, dying (August 23, 1532), the king was at once resolved to give the place to none save ^{Is made arch} Cranmer. The latter shrank from this mark of royal favor, ^{bishop.} for he foresaw that the position would plunge him into strife upon the duties owed to church and to state. At last he yielded to the prayers and arguments of the counselors of the king. The papal bulls required for his confirmation (costing nine hundred ducats) were obtained from Rome, and Cranmer was enthroned in the abbey of Westminster (May 30, 1533). Before taking his oath, he solemnly declared that he considered himself bound thereby to nothing that opposed his conscience, the prerogatives of the crown, or the laws of England. Some days before, Cranmer had declared null the king's marriage with Catherine of Aragon, and recognized as lawful his union with Anne Boleyn, publicly celebrated (without Cranmer's foreknowledge) on the 12th of April. On the 1st of June Cranmer, by the king's command, crowned Anne as queen. Immediately the pope declared Henry's divorce from Catherine and his marriage with Anne to be null, and proclaimed his excommunication. By this the king's long-considered resolve was ripened. He abolished (June 9th) the authority of the pope in England, and by the act of supremacy (November 3, 1534) proclaimed ^{England freed} himself sole earthly head of the English church. ^{from the pope} Cranmer at the same time renounced his place as legate, and with the king's consent named himself primate of England. Henry had now attained his desire. England had a Catholic orthodox church wholly independent of Rome. To accomplish anything further, to reform the church according to the Scriptures, was not in Henry's mind. But when connection with Rome was at an end, English Catholicism was paralyzed. The king was forced,

in order to confirm his authority, to take steps which he never intended. He named as his vicar in the church Thomas Cromwell. But the soul of the profound movement which went forward in the English church was Cranmer. Yet the gifts of a reformer were certainly wanting in him at that period. He rested everything in church and in religion, in his own belief and conduct, first upon the royal authority, second upon the Holy Scriptures. But only thus was it possible for him, as things then were, to advance the reformation of the church at all. The obstacles created by the heresy-hating king and the novelty-abhorring clergy were hard to be overcome. Cranmer found this, to his grief, when he tried to introduce Tyndale's translation of the New Testament into England. He failed because the bishops opposed the spread of the Scriptures in the language of the people. One thing that he could do was to fill the vacant livings with clergy in favor of reform. Cranmer hoped, with their aid and with queen Anne, who was decidedly reformed in her way of thinking, as his friend with the king, that he might soon inaugurate many a reform. Alas, the hope quickly vanished. The king grew tired of the wife he had so ardently cherished. He accused her of adultery, and Cranmer, though convinced of her innocence, could affirm it in only an under-tone. The head of the unfortunate one fell under the axe of the executioner (May 19, 1536), and the next day the king wedded Jane Seymour, — also, happily, a friend of reformation. Something was yet possible. The smaller cloisters in England were abolished in 1536 (and in 1537 the larger, throwing their immense properties into the hands of the king). The same year a synod met (June 16th) under the presidency of Cromwell. A creed in ten articles was published by it, containing, besides many popish conceits, a number of evangelical ideas. Cranmer would, in the interests of the gospel, have had many another thing inserted. But the articles as they were went too far for the king, and were published only after several modifications. To the joy of

The Bible tolerated.

Cranmer, it was granted that Tyndale's English Bible, recently brought to completion on the Continent, should be freely circulated. This first advance in the way of evangelic reform was effected by a compromise which excited at once great trouble. The extreme Romanists saw in the ten articles a wound to pure church doctrine. Armed mobs rose to defend the faith, and had to be put down by the sword. For others, the ten articles were by no means sufficiently anti-Roman. So it actually came to pass that the king, making his own will the law of the church, sent to the scaffold, by turns, those who confessed the gospel and those who stood by the pope. Queen Jane dying (October 24, 1537), Cranmer, in the very beginning of his decidedly reforming efforts, saw the realization of his hopes and plans removed far into the future. By the king's prohibiting (November, 1538) the marriage of priests, he was obliged to send his wife back to Germany. He was also

compelled to break off his conferences with the Saxon theologians who had come, by his invitation, to London. The next year he beheld the Parliament, by the king's order, replacing the ten articles by six new articles, known as "The Articles of Blood." These established transubstantiation and the withholding of the cup, priestly celibacy and the absolute obligation of monastic vows, the retention of masses for souls and auricular confession. To dispute transubstantiation, or to hesitate in accepting the celibacy of the clergy, was a capital offense. The king's Catholic confidants, the duke of Norfolk and the false, spiteful, yet wary bishop Gardiner, exulted in their obliging Cromwell, who had led the king into his repugnant marriage with Anne of Cleves, to ascend the scaffold. They hoped soon to bring Cranmer to the same fate. But he, with utmost frankness, went on in his evangelic labors, and yet kept the royal confidence. Before a commission, formed by the king at his suggestion, to undertake a further revision of the church's doctrine, he expressed opinions which evinced his advance in Christian knowledge. "The only proper sacraments are baptism and ^{Cranmer's reformed views} the Lord's Supper. Rulers are to take care of religious as well as of civil affairs, and to exercise spiritual as well as secular power. Clerical consecration is expedient, but is not necessary, since it imparts no spiritual gifts. Auricular confession and extreme unction should be abolished."

The Catholic influences around the unprincipled, dissolute despot grew stronger when he married (August, 1540) Catherine Howard, niece of the duke of Norfolk. But few months, however, had passed, when Cranmer was obliged to disclose to the king the former immoralities of his wife, and to dissolve the marriage. The king then entered upon his sixth marriage, taking for his wife the Protestant Catherine Parr (July 7, 1543). Cranmer and his friends hoped for a more quiet and happy time of church reform. But the king's Catholic advisers, with the utmost rage and malice, opposed every evangelic tendency. They tried, first of all, to put out of the way Cranmer, the mortally hated upholder of church reform. Their attacks found an insurmountable obstacle in Henry's confidence in Cranmer. Induced at one time to issue a warrant of arrest against the archbishop for heresy, the king experienced the bitterest remorse over the order, and revoked it. Cranmer's imprisonment did not come to pass, but there came a complete arrest of his reforming movement. The king would hear no more about it. The circulation of the Bible in English, authorized a second time in 1542, was confined in 1543 to the nobility. In 1546 Bible reading was severely prohibited, and all heresy made punishable by death. Terror and disorder ruled in the kingdom when Henry the Eighth died (January 28, 1547).

Once more the friends of reform took breath, relieved of the tyrant. Cranmer, for the first time, found an opening for genuine reformation.

The young king Edward, nine years of age, was intrusted to his training. The regency, headed by the duke of Somerset, was by a majority of its sixteen members inclined to reform. But as before, so now, Cranmer builded his work on the foundation of the royal authority. He not only had the gift of his own office renewed to him by the king, but reminded Edward at his coronation (February 20, 1547) that he was called of God to rule his church, even as was Josiah. To quicken church reform Cranmer provided for a careful visitation of the entire kingdom, which he divided for this purpose into six districts. In this visitation the doctrine of the royal headship of the church was proclaimed as the corner-stone of the English Reformation. In company with several evangelical bishops, especially Ridley and Latimer, Cranmer published (July, 1547) a collection of gospel sermons, known as the "Book of Homilies." He provided for the translation into English of the paraphrase of the New Testament by Erasmus. He secured the abolition of the six articles by Parliament (on November 4, 1547). The cup in the communion was restored, while the mass and other Catholic customs were put away. The following year he secured the translation of the Nürnberg Catechism into English, with hardly an alteration. In accordance with a motion of

Prepares the
Prayer Book.

his in Parliament the same year, the first draft of the new liturgy, the Book of Common Prayer, was completed by Cranmer and others of the bishops and theologians, aided by the old English liturgies of Bangor, Herford, Lincoln, York, Salisbury (old Sarum), and the reformed order (1543) of the elector Hermann of Cologne. The work was approved by Parliament in January, 1549. All this showed how Cranmer had grown in course of years, and had become decidedly evangelical. His faith was all the while approaching the pattern of the reformed confession. For this reason he secured calls to England for several reformed theologians from the Continent. Bucer and Paul Fagius were called to Cambridge from Strassburg (1549); Peter Martyr Vermigli to Oxford from Florence; John Laski took a German congregation in the same city; Bernardino Ochino an Italian church in London. Besides these, there came to England Tremellius, the Scotch Alexander Alesius, and others. Cranmer secured the offer, through Ochino, of a professorship to the noted theologian Musculus, without success. He further maintained a spirited correspondence with many other prominent theologians of the reformed church, as, for example, with Bullinger.

Supported by fellowship with so many of the pillars of the church of that age, Cranmer rose to the glad thought of securing such a constitution for the evangelical church of England as would testify the oneness in faith of the evangelical everywhere. He entered into a lively exchange of views upon this with the theological leaders of Germany and Switzerland, proposing London as the place for their meeting to estab-

lish such a confession. Cranmer's idea was most cordially received by Melancthon and Calvin. But soon it proved to be impracticable. Cranmer let it go in order to perfect an evangelic confession for the English church by itself. He had already, as a result of his conferences with German theologians, put together thirteen articles (cor-^{Prepares the} responding to the first seventeen of the Augsburg Con-^{forty articles.} fession). With this groundwork, a confession of forty articles was prepared under Cranmer's auspices, laid before convocation (May, 1552), and approved by the king (not by Parliament). At the same time Cranmer undertook a revision of the Book of Common Prayer, with help from Bucer and Peter Martyr (by which extreme unction, auricular confession, prayers for the dead, and the like were eradicated). The liturgy in its new form was approved by convocation and published by act of Parliament (1552).

All this was done quickly and with no great difficulty. The external organization of the new evangelical church was essentially complete. But its future, which depended in part on laws not yet enacted, was in doubt as long as the papal party remained influential. The latter was for the time kept down, but how very little it had lost in boldness and confidence was shown by the conduct of bishop Gardiner. Cast into prison on account of his opposition to the new order of worship (1549), he thence attacked openly in a fierce pamphlet the view held by Cranmer upon the Supper. The archbishop was obliged to justify his belief by an equally public reply. The papal party was further favored in the overthrow of protector Somerset, who favored the Protestants. Besides, the people of England knew and cared all too little about the church's reformation. This defect Cranmer sought to cure by sending out traveling preachers to traverse the land and enlighten the people on the unscripturalness of the papal church and the true nature of the Reformation. He further secured the appointment by the king of a commission to prepare rules for the church. With Cranmer as its president, the work was completed February, 1553, but before it was published or ratified king Edward died (July 6, 1553, in his sixteenth year).

Mary was now queen, the Catholic daughter of Catherine of Aragon. The heart of the young queen, who was to be known as "Bloody Mary," glowed with one thought,—to lay England at the feet of the pope, having exterminated Protestantism. When she had wedded Philip Second of Spain, and received cardinal Pole as papal legate, it seemed that the Reformation in England might soon be brought to an end by the stake and the scaffold. There perished more than three hundred martyrs, and among them Thomas Cranmer.

Directly after Mary's accession he was counseled by his friends to save himself by flight. Knowing what good reason there was for their anxiety, he thought he was on that very account bound to stay. He

was aware that the queen hated him, not only as a heretic, but because he had forwarded the divorce of Henry from her mother. He was not surprised, therefore, when he found himself before the ^{Arrested by} Star-Chamber (September 14, 1553), and then in London Tower. He cleared himself of the charge of high treason, especially, by a protest addressed to Mary. He was, however, under indictment for heresy, and was kept in prison, confined in the same cell with his most cherished friends, bishops Ridley and Latimer. The Tower was overflowing with prisoners. The three comforted one another by prayer and the Scriptures. Cranmer was soon called before convocation, and was so roughly handled there as to agitate even his enemies. It was thought prudent to remove him and his friends to Oxford, where his trial proceeded in Mary's Church (April 14th). The bishop, now old, entered with staff in hand, full of dignity and majesty. The papal doctrine of the Lord's Supper was presented him, and his subscription to it demanded. He returned a decided refusal, and the next day (Sunday) presented a refutation of the doctrine. On Monday he appeared to defend his answer. With rude and scornful laughter his judges and their dependents listened to the old man's discourse. He continued his address, part in Latin, part in English, with dignified composure to its close. The annoyances proceeded through the days following. Cranmer was once and again led before his judges, and along with Ridley and Latimer asked to subscribe the articles presented. When they had most earnestly refused, they were kept in stricter confinement. They languished there for eighteen months. Evidently Cranmer's foes were for a time undecided what to do with him. Finally they agreed that the judgment against this father of all heresy in England must be left to the pope. In September, 1555, Latimer and Ridley first, and then Cranmer, to their exceeding surprise found themselves before a commission which was furnished with full powers from both pope and queen, and were put upon their second trial. Cranmer presented his protest against this proceeding first to the commission, then in writing to the queen. The pope, the enemy of the gospel, could have no jurisdiction over him. The report of the trial was sent to Rome, and a bull came back after New Year's pronouncing Cranmer's degradation and excommunication. The sentence was carried out (February 14, 1556). Solemnly, yet amid scorn and reproach, his official robes and insignia were first put upon him, and then taken away. The excommunication was then declared, to which he replied by appealing to the next general council.

The queen's order, obtained in secret, for the death of Cranmer by fire was already prepared. But before its execution the malice of his foes purposed his humiliation by enticing him to abjure. To effect this, they showed him all possible kindnesses, removing him from jail to imprisonment in a private residence, and surrounding him with every com-

fort. They thus brought it about that the old man of sixty-seven, wearied by his long imprisonment, signed a form of recantation, ^{His recantation.} in which he abjured, as erroneous, the doctrines of the Reformation. Scarce had he subscribed this when the command was given to commit him to the fire. First, however, he was to repeat his recantation publicly.

For this end he was led into Mary's Church (March 21, 1556), and placed on a stage there prepared. In sight of the crowd assembled, the bowed old man, bareheaded, fell upon his knees, and weeping bitterly clasped his hands in prayer. After a sermon which showed the people why such a heretic should die, he was asked to repeat publicly his profession of his faith. "I will do so heartily," said the old man. First uttering a touching prayer, asking God for sake of Christ's death to forgive his many sins, he rose, and with loud, strong voice, to the utter astonishment of all, retracted everything that he had with evil conscience said against the gospel truth, out of a fear of death. For this should that right hand of his with which he had committed the sin burn the first in the fire. For the pope was antichrist, and his doctrine, empty lies. Especially so was the teaching respecting the mass, as he himself in recent years had openly shown. Cranmer would have said more, but he was interrupted and led away to the stake. Two monks attended him, trying to move him to retract what he had just said. Calmly refusing, he mounted the scaffold and gave himself to be bound to the stake. When he saw the first flame darting up, he stretched his right hand into it, crying, "This hand has sinned,—this wicked right hand!" He stood in motionless silence gazing upward. When the flames ^{His tragic end} seized him, he was heard to say, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." Then his form was hid by the flame and ascending smoke.

Cranmer was a man of unusual gifts. Courteous, benevolent, and loving, he unlocked every heart and won it. He was a counselor and father of the afflicted and poor. His heart and hand were open. His hospitality was unbounded. Ministers and scholars from abroad were especially made at home in his house at Lambeth. His most conspicuous trait, which showed the genuine nobility of his spirit, was his magnanimity. It was a proverb in England that a man must do Cranmer an injury in order to obtain his favor. He ever distinguished himself as a Christian by his conscientious creed and life. As soon as he saw error in a papal doctrine he renounced it. He also strove to cast error out of the church. He was led on by the fervor of his spirit to become a reformer. At the beginning of his activity he was not separated in his doctrine from the papacy. His mind was yet darkened by many a popish error. But to the upright there ariseth light in the darkness. He grew more and more in gospel knowledge, and at last found in the one thing needful the corner-stone of his faith and life. Thence he advanced, with earnest,

noble spirit, till he became the strong evangelical Christian and the reformer of England, whom God honored at the end of life with the martyr's crown. — H. H.

LIFE XVIII. NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

A. D. 1500 ?—A. D. 1555. CLERICAL LEADER, — ENGLAND.

THERE were leaders in the English Reformation older and abler than Nicholas Ridley, more brilliant and influential than was he; but there was not any who surpassed him in purity and sincerity, or whose truth and faithfulness shone more brightly than did his, even to his martyr death. Ridley was born in Northumberland about the year 1500. He acquired the rudiments of a liberal education at Newcastle-on-Tyne. He then went to Cambridge University, forming a love for her which lasted his life long. He grew in mind and heart so gently and continually that no period can be assigned for his spiritual awakening. He was ever an able, virtuous, zealous champion of truth, as the truth dawned gradually upon his mind. When a student, taking his pleasure walks in the garden of Pembroke College, he learned by heart first Paul's epistles, then the whole New Testament, in the original Greek. When confronting death he took joy from this, saying that it had been to his advantage his life through, and if a goodly part had vanished from his recollection, he still trusted he should carry its fragrance with him up to heaven. Completing his studies, he went traveling to the universities of Paris and Louvain. In 1529 he came again to Cambridge. His scholarship and character gave him promotions to various university honors and offices. He was chaplain (1533), proctor (overseeing the discipline of the students), and then public lecturer. He was a fellow also, and in 1540 was made president of Pembroke College and doctor of theology. Nor did he confine himself to his books or his college exclusively. When the religious corporations of England, and especially the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, had submitted to them (1534) the question of the marriage of Henry Eighth (decided against him by pope Clement Seventh) and were asked whether the pope was given by Holy Scripture a jurisdiction in England above any other foreign bishop, Ridley, at Cambridge, especially interested himself in the answer, hoping for the emancipation of the English church from the papal supremacy. This, it seems, made him better known to Thomas Cranmer, then archbishop. He was called by the latter to his side, and given the parish of Herne, in Kent, a few miles from Canterbury, that he might be kept near by. Here he preached with zealous and evangelic spirit, yet holding fast by the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. Thus far Ridley was at one

Early opposes
the pope.

with his king in his throwing off the papal supremacy and making himself the head of the church in England; in his circulating the Bible in the common tongue, and still holding fast by the Romish mass. But when Henry enacted "the bloody statutes" (or six articles of July 28, 1539), enforcing by severe penalties transubstantiation, the withholding of the cup, private masses, auricular confession, and celibacy, Ridley openly and emphatically condemned the measure. Still, neither he nor Cranmer lost the king's regard. Ridley, happily for his keeping the royal favor, was not married, and was a believer still in transubstantiation. He was now Cranmer's chaplain and a canon of Canterbury Cathedral. His intercourse with Cranmer, his study of the controversy of Ratramnus against Radbert on transubstantiation, and his constant Bible study soon led him to reject this papal doctrine (1540). And so he was never given even the slightest promotion so long as Henry the Eighth was on the throne.

Things changed after Henry's death (January 28, 1547) and Edward's accession. Ridley became one of the leaders of the reformed church government. He owed this to Cranmer, who, during Edward's minority, was a member of the regency of the duke of Somerset, the king's uncle. Soon after Edward's coronation (February 20, 1547), Ridley was made by him his chaplain; also in the same year he was named bishop of Rochester, near London, and before three years was raised to be bishop of London (April 1, 1550). In this high office, side by side with Cranmer, he took part in the most important measures His great work. of the English Reformation. He made it his first and holiest duty to declare the gospel to his congregation. He was in the habit of preaching, in one place or another, every Sunday and holy-day. As he went his rounds, the people thronged to hear him. His work in Rochester, though brief, was blessed in its results. The religion of the gospel was advanced. As bishop of London, taking the place of Bonner, a most resolute opponent of reformation, he made it his especial care to provide his parishes with devout evangelic pastors. One of the first whom he ordained was John Fox, the renowned author of the "Book of Martyrs." But still more important than his work in his diocese was his influence on the constitution of the church of England.

Of the writings upon which the church of England rests to-day, — the Prayer Book, the Homilies, the Thirty-Nine Articles, and the Catechism, — the first two were prepared with Ridley's help, and the articles (the Forty-Two Articles of 1552) not without his counsel. The twelve homilies (of the Book of Homilies, 1547) it is found were composed by Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley. The first draft of the Book of Common Prayer was made by a commission with Ridley as a leading member. He thus legislated for the order of worship of the English church, and helped lay a foundation which endures in its larger part until to-day.

This man, so full of spirit and power, ought to be better known in

his own proper person. Ridley was of well-proportioned frame, winsome countenance, warm heart, of manners friendly and pleasant to everybody. He would not hurt or take advantage of an opponent, much less seek revenge on him. Remaining unmarried throughout life, he was always strict and self-denying, very diligent in prayer and meditation. He was in the habit every morning, as soon as dressed, of spending a half hour upon his knees. Then he went to his study. Afterwards he held family prayers, as was his daily custom. When at Fulham, his country place near London, he would read at worship a part of the Testament, putting a copy of the book into the hands of every one who could read it. He often read the one hundred and first Psalm to his domestics. Over the latter he maintained a strict oversight. Himself devout and upright, he secured virtue and godliness in his household. After prayers he went to dinner. He was temperate and even abstemious. Yet with all prudence and wisdom he was very cheerful. After dinner he passed a short hour in conversation or a game of chess. Then he returned to his study, and there stayed, unless he had to receive visitors or attend to outside matters, until five o'clock. He then had worship, as in the morning. Afterwards he took supper, and after an hour's recreation returned to work. At eleven he regularly retired, after spending a while on his knees, as in the morning. When at Fulham, he sent before dinner and supper to an adjoining house, with the message, "Go for my mother Bonner." This old lady was the mother of Ridley's popish predecessor, Edmund Bonner, now deposed and in prison. When Lady Bonner appeared she was as respectfully and kindly received as if she were Ridley's own mother, and was given a seat at the upper end of the table. Ridley acted out of his great goodness and hearty sympathy. He would have the old lady feel the want of nothing. But his good deeds were evil requited, for when, after Mary's accession, Ridley was deposed and Bonner restored, the latter drove Ridley's sister and her husband, George Shipside, off the farm which they held on the estates of the bishopric.

Ridley had to do with Mary Tudor before she became queen. When the emperor Charles Fifth asked of Edward Sixth that the princess Mary, his cousin, should be allowed to hold mass in her house, Ridley along with Cranmer seconded the request. Later he attempted to move Mary to hear evangelic preaching, but without success. After Edward's death (July 6, 1553) the attempt was made by the English nobility to raise Lady Jane Grey to the throne. On the first Sunday after her coronation, bishop Ridley, by command of the privy council, delivered a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, in the church-yard of St. Paul's Cathedral. In it he bade the people rejoice that they had a Protestant queen, and to stand by her. If the princess Mary attained the throne, she would subject the land to a foreign power, would abolish the evangelical faith now

happily established, and destroy all that had been builded with so much pains by her brother. He even went so far as to say of the princess that, when in virtue of his office as the bishop of the princess he strove to lead her to the evangelic faith, though she was gracious enough in other things, she proved obstinate and stiff-necked in the matter of religion. Ridley's discourse will hardly be named by any one a politic utterance. That he appeared at all for Lady Jane Grey, whose enthronement violated Mary's hereditary claim, was manifestly a blunder. And Ridley soon had cause to repent it, when, after a few days, by the prevailing sentiment of the people of England, Mary was ^{Ridley and} "Bloody Mary." made queen. Ridley repaired to her residence, Framingham Castle, in Suffolk, to pay his respects. He was received coldly and ungraciously, arrested on the spot, deprived of his offices, set upon a limping nag, and carried back a prisoner to the London Tower. His popish predecessor, Edmund Bonner, was at once restored as bishop of London. Still no charges of political kind, but only such as had a bearing on religion, were brought up against Ridley. He was imprisoned three years and some months. From the end of July, 1553, to the middle of March, 1554, he lay in the Tower.

An order came at last (March, 1554) to convey the three evangelical bishops, Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, from the Tower to Windsor. Shortly after (April) they were taken to Oxford, there to meet the doctors of the papal party. At first they were thrown into the common jail, the Bocardo; after a few days they were separated, and Ridley was kept a prisoner in the house of the mayor of the city, one Irish. He was worse off than his two friends, because, as he tells us in a letter, the woman of the house which was his prison was the ruler of the man, even if he was mayor of the city. And this woman was a superstitious old lady, who hoped to win herself especial consideration by keeping Ridley in very strict custody.

The first hearing came April 14th, in the church of the university,—Mary's Church. The commissioners, thirty-three in number, were present. After Cranmer had first been interrogated, Dr. Ridley was brought forward. The same three questions were asked of him as of the archbishop: (1.) Is not Christ's human body present in the sacrament of the altar, by virtue of the word pronounced by the priest? (2.) Does any substance remain after the consecration except Christ's body and blood? (3.) Is not the mass a propitiatory sacrifice, both for the living and the dead? It was simply the doctrine of the mass, including the idea of transubstantiation with that of sacrifice. Ridley replied, as ^{Ridley's de-} soon as the articles had been read, that they were wholly ^{fense.} false and the fruit of a bitter root. His replies were keen and scholarly. Upon his denial of the Romish mass he was invited, along with his associates, to a discussion. He accepted the challenge, as did Cranmer; the

latter maintained the debate. Afterwards came the turn of Ridley (April 17th), and he was led into Divinity Hall. The chief opponent was a certain Richard Smith, supported by thirteen other doctors and masters. Ridley was given two secretaries, of whom one was John Jewel, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, under queen Elizabeth. His notes give us an original source of information respecting this discussion.

Taking the first question named above, Ridley attacked with extraordinary severity the Romish doctrine of the presence of Christ's body and blood in the Supper as unscriptural, as opposed to the most ancient fathers, and in every way helpful to superstition. He expressed his own conviction that the Sacrament was not a mere sign of Christ's body, but was the communion of that body. In so far it became the gift of the body of Christ to the believing communicant. In a word, he confessed the Calvinistic doctrine of the Lord's Supper. In defense of the same he displayed remarkable acquaintance with the writings of the fathers.

The second theory, that of transubstantiation, he opposed with surpassing logic, and showed from the fathers that real bread remained in the Supper even after the consecration. Hardly allowed to present and support his belief without interruption, he closed, saying that he appealed from the unrighteous judgment recently pronounced (in regard to his deposition) to a court competent to decide according to the church government of England. Further, he declared, "Though this appeal be not allowed on earth, I take my refuge in the decision of the Eternal Judge, the Almighty God, to whose compassionate righteousness I commit wholly myself and mine affairs, not doubting in the least of the support of my advocate and only Redeemer Jesus Christ, to whom, with the Eternal Father and the Holy Spirit, be honor and glory now and forever. Amen." When this declaration of his position was finished, the debate proper went on, at very great length and with exceeding vivacity. Ridley declared that in all his life he had never seen nor heard so vain and disorderly a transaction as this one. He had not thought it possible that among men whom England deemed well informed and scholarly, individuals could be found so insolent and devoid of shame, so turbulent and trifling. When the end came, the president invited his associates to raise the triumphal cry of "*Vicit veritas!*" as if a noble victory had been won. It was done.

Some days after (April 20th) the commission held in Mary's Church a further sitting. The three bishops were brought forward separately, and asked to acknowledge that they had been vanquished in the public debate, and to declare whether they would not recant. Ridley returned the short, conclusive answer that he stood by what he had said. All three were called up together; the sentence was read to them, which declared them heretics and excommunicated them. After Cranmer had spoken, Ridley declared, "Though I belong no more

Ridley excommunicated.

to your society, I doubt not that my name is written in another place, to which this sentence will send us somewhat sooner than we would be sent by the common course of nature." Then each was taken back to his prison. By the usages of the Middle Ages, such a sentence did not have to wait long for its execution. The condemned needed simply to be given over by his judges to the civil power. At the time named the law of England was not yet restored to its ancient popish pattern. This was accomplished, however, by November, 1554, with the help of Parliament. Then the flood-gates of persecution were opened. The year 1555 gave the queen, for the first, her name of "Bloody Mary." So Ridley and his fellow-witnesses had to stay in prison a year and a half more, in certain prospect of a martyr death. This time was employed by Ridley in part to expose the injustice of the proceeding against him, and to obtain its revision, in part to comfort and strengthen his friends and fellow-believers. His letters from his prison, written the most of them in Latin, testify the unshaken grasp of his faith, his joyous hope, and his heart-felt love to his brethren.

Directly upon the pope's regaining his supremacy in the English church, he named Reginald Pole his legate in England. The latter authorized three bishops — White of Lincoln, Brookes of Gloucester, and Holyman of Bristol — to conclude the proceeding against Ridley and Latimer, either by securing their recantation, or by giving them over to the civil power as stubborn heretics. Hence Ridley was brought, September 30, 1555, into the University Divinity School. The three bishops were present. A notary proceeded to read their commission. Ridley at first stood with bared head. When he heard the cardinal's name, and the pope's, as giving authority to his judges, he put on his hat, and stood covered. The bishop of Lincoln charged him with lacking in respect to the empowering parties. Ridley answered openly that he had all respect for his judges and the cardinal personally, but the assumed supremacy of the pope and all the authority of Pole as papal legate he rejected. In order, not with words only, but with deeds, to testify against this unscriptural power, he had put his hat upon his head. The hat of Ridley was then, by the bishop's command, taken off by a university beadle. The bishop now admonished him that he recant and return into the bosom of the Roman church. Ridley answered at length that he would not, for, though the church of Rome had been the mother of other churches, she was not the head of other churches. There followed an extended discussion on the nature of the church and the authority of the church of Rome. Five articles were read, embodying the errors imputed to Ridley on the question of the mass. They would hear his reply. He gave it clearly and conclusively, according to the minutes. They then dismissed him, telling him to put his views into writing. On the morrow (October 1st) he was brought to the commissioners in Mary's

Church, in presence of the university and the citizens. Ridley insisted on his views of the day before, and contented himself with giving his written answers to the questions propounded. White, bishop of Lincoln, then addressed him, advising that he trust not to his own understanding, but submit to authority. Ridley asserted that he nowise trusted to his understanding, but was thoroughly convinced that the faith which he maintained rested on God's Word. They should allow him to show why he could not accept the pope's authority. The bishop of Lincoln replied that as Ridley asked leave to speak three words he should be allowed to speak forty. Ridley began to speak, but had hardly uttered half a period when one of the bishops cried, "The number is complete," and imposed upon him silence. The bishop of Lincoln said, "I see clearly, Master Ridley, you will frustrate that part of our undertaking which we cherished. God is my witness that I grieve concerning you." Ridley replied, "That I believe, my lord, for this will one day weigh heavy on your souls." "Not that," the bishop said, "but I grieve to see you so stiff-necked. But since it is so, we must proceed to the other part of our errand. Listen." Then he read the sentence, by which Ridley was declared a heretic, deposed from his episcopal dignity and all ecclesiastical position, excommunicated, and given over to the civil power to receive the appointed punishment.

Sentenced to die.

Ridley was taken back to prison. Now he saw clearly what had been before his soul for two years. He employed the respite given him to send his last farewells and admonitions to his friends and fellow-believers. At this time he doubtless composed that royal letter which gives us many of our facts, since it is a kind of autobiography. It begins, "When a man has a long journey before him, and must part from his trusted friends, he wishes naturally, before setting out, to say to those friends farewell. And so I desire, who am expecting daily to be summoned from you, ye brothers and sisters, heartily beloved in the Lord, to say to you all, as I am able, farewell." First to his relatives he bids farewell. He sends thanks, comfort, admonition, warning, to all, according to their circumstances. Then he sends parting to his countrymen, exhorting them to fidelity to the gospel and heroic conflict for the truth. In a subsequent part he bids farewell to Cambridge University, his first parish of Herne in Kent, to Canterbury Cathedral, to his bishopric of Rochester and of London. Terrible comes his address to London, "the godless and bloody place" (under bishop Bonner). Instead of farewell, it turns to a prophetic woe! Yet all the more kindly and comfortably does he speak to the "souls mourning in secret" in the capital, and to the valiant, God-fearing citizens, mayors, and aldermen, some of whom he mentions with grateful commemoration. In closing he remembers his place as one of the House of Peers, and addressing the secular lords holds them answerable for the favor shown to Rome, and for their "anti-

christian " laws, presenting to them the account which they will certainly have to render before the Eternal Judge. No less touching is a second farewell letter, addressed to all those " who for sake of Christ's gospel are in prison or in exile," — a writing full of heart, heroic and joyous in the face of death for the name of Christ.

Fourteen days after the sentence, on October 15th, appeared Dr. Brookes, bishop of Gloucester, then commissioner, with the vice-chancellor of Oxford and other heads of the university, at the house of the city mayor, Irish, where Dr. Ridley was in prison. The commissioner proffered him pardon in the queen's name, in case he would recant. Ridley rejected the idea quickly and finally. Brookes then proceeded to deprive him of his priestly office, for he had already been deposed from his place as bishop. When Ridley persistently refused to put on the surplice and other garments pertaining to the mass, these were put upon him by others. As one article after another was then taken away, a response was uttered by him. For example, when a book, given to him, had been taken away, with the words, " We take from thee the office of preaching the gospel," he answered, with a deep sigh and a look upward, " O Lord God, forgive them this wickedness." When the ceremony was at an end, and Dr. Brookes would not suffer him to speak, Ridley said, " What is left to me then save patience, when ye will not hear me? I commit my cause to my heavenly Father; He will amend what is wrong when it seems good to Him." Dr. Brookes undertook to present to the queen Ridley's petitions interceding for certain tenants of farms belonging to the bishopric of London, with whom he had made contracts, among them his own brother-in-law. Dr. Brookes then called the officers of the law, and committed Ridley to them, with the command to let him talk to no one, and to lead him to the place of execution according to their instructions. Ridley exclaimed, " God, I thank Thee, and to thy praise declare that none of ye all can accuse me of a fault." Brookes rejoined that he played the proud Pharisee and exalted himself. Ridley said, " No, no, no! I confess I am a poor, miserable sinner, who needs God's help and pity, and daily ask and implore the same. I pray ye, ascribe no such meaning to me." Then his adversaries went away from him.

He was to suffer that horrible fate, death by fire, on the morrow. Yet he looked forward to it not only patiently, but joyously. At supper he was in as cheerful a frame as in all his life. He gave an invitation to his hostess, Mistress Irish, and all the rest at the table, to come " to his wedding " on the morrow. When he rose from table, his brother-in-law asked to watch with him through the night. Ridley replied, " No, no, that you shall not; for I am minded to go to bed, and, if God will, to sleep as quietly as ever in my life." On October 16, 1555, ^{Latimer and} Ridley were led to the appointed place. ^{Ridley die.} It was in the north part of Oxford, in the city moat, opposite Balliol College.

Ridley walked between the mayor of the city and one of the aldermen. When he came near the Bocardo prison, he looked up to the windows where Cranmer was kept, but could get no glimpse of him. Turning back he saw his friend Latimer, who was led some distance behind him. Ridley called to him, "Oh, be ye there?" Latimer answered, "Yea, have after, as fast as I can." As soon as Ridley reached the place, he lifted his hands with earnest gesture, looking up to heaven. And when Latimer came up he ran to him in a wondrously glad way, embracing and kissing him, saying, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it." He then went to the stake, and, kneeling down, kissed it, and prayed fervently, as did Latimer. Then they arose, and conversed a moment together. According to custom, the burning was preceded by a sermon. This was preached by the same Dr. Smith who had disputed with Ridley April 14, 1554. His text was, "Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." The sermon, short as it was, was full of abuse of the two as heretics, and of exhortations to them to recant. At every such passage they raised their eyes and hands towards heaven, as if to call God to be their witness. When the sermon was done, Ridley and Latimer, kneeling, begged Lord Williams and the commissioners for leave to say a few words. This they refused, except upon condition that the former should recant. "Well," said Ridley, "so long as the breath is in my body I will never deny my Lord Christ and his known truth. God's will be done in me." With that he rose, and said with a loud voice, "I commit our cause to Almighty God, who shall indifferently judge all!" They were commanded at once to make ready. Ridley gave his gown and tippet to his brother-in-law, Shipside. Some other of his apparel he gave to the by-standers. Whoever could get a button or a shred of his garments thought himself happy. As soon as he was stripped to his shirt he stepped upon a stone near the pillar, lifted up his hands, and prayed: "O heavenly Father, I give unto Thee most hearty thanks that Thou hast called me to be thy confessor, even unto death. I beseech thee, Lord God, have mercy on this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies." Ridley was then chained along with Latimer to the post. His brother-in-law, Shipside, came up with a little sack, which he wished to tie round his neck. Ridley asked what it was. When told it was gunpowder, he said, "I take it as sent from God, but if thou hast any more bring it to my brother Latimer, and betimes, lest you be too late." While he brought it, Ridley begged Lord Williams to intercede for his brother-in-law and other tenants of the farms of his bishopric, testifying that there was naught else in the world that troubled him. Thus his soul to the last breath was occupied with the weal of others. Then as one brought a lighted fagot and laid it at Ridley's feet, Latimer cried out, "Be of good

Latimer's grand words.

comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man! We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust never shall be put out." When Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried out with an amazing loud voice, "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum: Domine, recipe spiritum meum." The last words he repeated several times in English: "Lord, receive my spirit." Latimer died after a short death struggle. Ridley's torture continued longer, for the flames reached him very slowly, consuming his feet before his upper parts were touched by the fire. He cried aloud, "Lord, have mercy upon me," and prayed the executioners, "Let the fire come unto me; I cannot burn." Finally one came and made the fire flame up bright and kindle the powder. Then the martyr sank down, his body falling at Latimer's feet. Hundreds among the spectators melted in tears, beholding the painful death of Ridley, and seeing men consumed by fire in whom was so great knowledge, piety, virtue, and majesty. That fire was indeed a light kindled in England, no more to be put out.

In front of the place where Ridley and Latimer were burned (October 16, 1555), and where five months later Cranmer was burned (March 21, 1556), there was erected in 1840 a fitting martyr memorial. To Ridley and men like him there is due from every honest evangelical Christian a memorial now, even grateful recollection. — G. L.

LIFE XIX. JOHN HOOPER.

A. D. 1495—A. D. 1555. CLERICAL LEADER, — ENGLAND.

OF the English churchmen who introduced the leaven of Swiss Calvinism into the reformed movement in England, — at first so confined to externals, — giving it thus more life, more thoroughness and power, and quickening at the same time an eccentric and one-sided puritan tendency, we name as a leader John Hooper, bishop of Gloucester and Worcester.

Born in Somerset, he became familiar while a student at Oxford with the Protestant ideas which penetrated him afterwards, and produced in him a declared foe of popery. His tendency was noted by Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who was well-nigh supreme with Henry Eighth at that period. Mortally hating innovation, even though maintaining Henry's headship in England, Gardiner attempted to turn Hooper from his course. The latter paid no heed to his remonstrances. Soon he was made aware that at court and among the foes of reform he was counted a notorious heretic. Next there appeared the six articles by which Henry set limits to reform and tried to arrest it. Hooper, an outspoken opponent of the attempt, found himself threatened with deadly persecution. To escape the worst he fled (1537) to the coast in a sailor's garb, crossed

to France, and took refuge in Switzerland. Here he lived in one place and another, and at last in Zürich (April, 1547, till March, 1549), in close intimacy with Bullinger, and devoted to the study of theology and of Hebrew. He adopted in full the Zwinglian view of church reform. He also married, on the advice of Bullinger. Meanwhile, king Henry, the grievous persecutor of Protestantism, was dead (January 28, 1547). Cranmer was pushing on the Reformation gradually, under the protection of the regency; and many prominent divines of the Continent were receiving calls to England, to the universities in particular, to help strengthen Protestantism with the clergy. Hooper accordingly went home, hoping to find entrance for his ideas acquired among the Swiss. Like the celebrated popular orator, Hugh Latimer, he came upon England with downright enthusiastic discourse upon Rome's apostasy from the gospel, and made a great excitement with his sermons.

Moves England
by preaching.

Great moving of hearts, far and wide, proceeded from his strong, pithy, soaring speech in support of the truth of the gospel. King Edward's council saw that Hooper must be advanced to a prominent and influential position in the church. He was first made the chaplain of Dudley, earl of Warwick, and then bishop of Gloucester (July, 1550). At once, Hooper's hearty opposition to the whole course of English reform, and to the conception of Protestantism prevailing in England, came vividly to light. He did not, indeed, maintain as strict a puritanism as Knox, but he declined to wear the episcopal vestments (which were still in many respects like the Romish). The "Aaronic vestments" seemed a "sign of fellowship with antichrist." He also declared himself unable to take the prescribed oath to the archbishop, because it named not only God, but also the saints ("So helpe me God, all saints," etc.). Cranmer tried to convince him on the first point, but in vain. Warwick bade Cranmer overlook forms, and consecrate Hooper as bishop without the vestments. Cranmer said that this was not possible, for if he yielded here, the Romish prelates, on their side, would make the most dangerous demands. Hooper preferred to forego his bishopric rather than, as a Bible Protestant, yield to what offended his conscience. Cranmer then asked two men, Martin Bucer, professor at that time in Cambridge, and Peter Martyr Vermigli, professor in Oxford, who stood very high in Hooper's eyes as theological authorities, to give their opinions on the vestments and on Hooper's view of them. Both of them favored compromise. Bucer said that the use of the episcopal vestments in general was to be disapproved, as promoting superstition; but when they were to be put on but once, to fulfill the law, Hooper might submit to them. To the pure all things are pure. Peter Martyr said that the dress of the clergy was a thing morally indifferent, and that it would be unwise to excite a contest respecting it so as to hinder the advance of the Reformation.

Hooper gave no heed to these arguments. On the contrary, he published a writing in justification of his course, calling it his confession of faith. By his puritan zeal in sermons and discourses of all kinds against priestly garments he raised such a popular excitement, breaking forth into disturbances in one place and another, that the regency put him under the special care of Cranmer, and when that did not avail cast him into prison. In the loneliness of his cell, cut off from friends who sought to urge him to greater extremes than he himself thought of, he gradually came to look at the whole question at issue in another light. Upon king Edward's omitting the invocation of the saints in the oath, Hooper assented to a compromise, preached a sermon before the king in full episcopal vestments, and wore the same at his consecration (March, 1551). He agreed to wear them when publicly officiating as bishop, or when in the king's presence. In every-day life he was allowed to lay them aside.

Besides Gloucester, Worcester was also given to Hooper's charge, yet without any increase of revenues. At once he began to preach and labor for souls in church and out of it, with the utmost zeal and activity. By a suggestion of his, before his consecration, communion tables were appointed, by order of the council, instead of altars, in all the churches of the realm. Hooper evinced great interest and zeal in introducing and enforcing systematic and strict discipline. Upon this account he was once visited with rude personal violence by a nobleman, whom he summoned before his spiritual court for adultery. Hooper's activity continued throughout Edward's reign. When the king died in his tender youth, and Bloody Mary ascended the English throne, she, with her advisers, at once marked out the bishop of Worcester as a victim. He was ordered to London, on the pretense that he owed the crown money. Warned and earnestly entreated by his friends to save himself by flight, he considered that he must obey the order. He repaired to London, was at once imprisoned, and admonished by a clerical commission, before which he was brought, to abjure his heresy. When he repelled the advice with decision, he was sentenced to be degraded, and was then given over to the civil power. By the latter he was doomed to the fire, and to suffer in Gloucester. With calm resignation, Hooper heard the sentence, thanking God that it was allowed him, in the place where he taught gospel truth according to his word, to bear witness for it in the flames. Stripped of his garments as bishop and priest, he was forced to go afoot to Gloucester to die. Arriving, he was allowed one day's repose, and then was led to the stake. All discourse to the multitude surrounding the place of execution being forbidden him, he uttered aloud in prayer what he would say to them for a farewell. When he reached the Amen, he said the fire would not do its work, made as it was of green wood. He asked that other wood be brought and the fire made afresh, that he might die. Still, the wind blowing prolonged his agony

for three quarters of an hour. When his left hand had burned and fallen off, he was seen laying his right hand on his bosom, and, with uplifted eyes, was heard calling on the Lord Jesus, to whom he committed his spirit. Then his suffering ended. — H. H.

LIFE XX. ANNE ASKEW.

A. D. 1521—A. D. 1546. LAICAL LEADER, — ENGLAND.

THE Articles of Blood, made by Henry Eighth,¹ with harsh and cruel spirit brought to death both adherents of the papacy and friends of the Reformation. Among the latter was the pious, devoted Anne Askew.

Of her early life we know little, save that she came of an ancient noble family in Lincoln, was educated by her parents in accordance with her position and the opportunities of her times, and distinguished herself by her knowledge, prudence, consideration, by her steadfastness of character and sincere, hearty piety. She had obtained the Bible in English, read and studied it diligently, and found in it a rich gospel treasure. She was twenty-five years old (March, 1546) when the command came that she should appear before an inquisitorial commission appointed by the king. She was called to go through two trials, which she herself reported in writing, while in prison, for the sake of her friends and associates. Her convictions, as set forth, are marked by the utmost shrewdness, steadfastness, and plainness.

At the first trial she was interrogated in the outset by an inquisitor, Christopher Dare, as to certain persons who were suspected of heresy. Then the question was asked whether she believed of the Sacrament of the altar that it was the real human body of Christ. She replied that he should first tell her wherefore the holy Stephen was stoned to death. On his answering that he could not tell, she rejoined that no more would she answer his vain question. The discussion which ensued, which is very interesting, shows no sign of embarrassment, but the utmost presence of mind and readiness of defense. Said the judge, "There has a woman informed us that thou in a certain place didst read that God dwelleth not in houses made by men's hands." Anne appealed to what Stephen and Paul had said (Acts vii. 48, xvii. 24). The judge asked her to explain this and that saying: She answered, "We must not throw pearls before swine; they must eat acorns." Said the judge, "Who taught thee to say that thou wouldst rather hear five verses in the Scriptures than ever so many masses in the church?" Anne: "I will not deny my saying, but I did not mean it respecting the Gospels and Epistles which are read at the mass out of God's Word. From

Before the inquisitor.

¹ See page 171.

reading and meditation of the Scriptures I receive benefit and edification, but not from the mass; as Paul testifies, 'For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?'" Judge: "What sayest thou of confession?" Anne: "The same that the Apostle James teaches, — that one should confess his sins to another, and pray for the other." Judge: "Hast thou the Spirit of God?" Anne: "If I had not Him, I would not be God's, but would be of the number of the reprobate." Judge: "I have brought a priest, who is to examine thee." Then a priest from the adjoining room came in and questioned Anne on the main point of the indictment, her view of the Sacrament of the altar. When she perceived that he was a papist, she begged him to excuse her from making any answer. The chief inquisitor then came upon her with the question what she thought of masses for souls, and whether they could render help or comfort to the departed. Anne answered firmly and decidedly, "If one puts his trust on the masses more than on the blood of Christ, the Son of God, who died for us, it is idolatry and horrible blasphemy."

After the trial Anne was sent to the lord mayor, who interrogated her anew. He asked if a mouse should eat the consecrated bread, whether it ate God. Anne simply laughed at the foolish inquiry. When at last the bishop's chancellor rebuked her because she, a woman, would declare God's Word and the Holy Scripture, which Paul had forbidden to women to speak, Anne answered, "The Apostle's meaning is plain to me that women should not teach in the congregation, as men, to whom the charge of instructing the church is committed." She put the keen question, "How many women hast thou in thy life seen enter the pulpit and preach?" When he was forced to say none, she ended the conversation with the decided words, "Then you ought not to condemn poor women with untimely judgment, when the law leaves them free."

On the 23d of March she was visited in prison by her cousin, and asked whether she were not willing to be released on bail. When she assented, he repaired to the mayor to make his petition. The mayor agreed, provided bishop Bonner gave consent. The second day after, Anne was brought before Bonner, and admonished by him and his associates to open her heart. Anne replied that she had hidden nothing in her heart not to be told, for she had a calm and clear conscience, and was sensible of neither a care in her heart nor a gnawing worm. Bonner continued, "As when a skillful surgeon places a plaster on a wound he must know how great and deep the wound is, so I cannot give thee any counsel till thou hast shown me the wounds and diseases of thy conscience." Anne: "I am, thank God, conscious of nothing wrong; it were very preposterous treatment to place a plaster on a sound skin." He then repeated the former accusations, to which she returned the former apt replies. Finally he asked her directly,

Before the
bishop.

"What is thy belief concerning the Sacrament?" Anna: "I believe what the Holy Scripture teaches concerning it." Bonner: "What if the Scripture doth say that it is the body of Christ?" Anna: "I believe thoroughly and only the Holy Scripture." At last he asked how it came that she answered with so few words. Anne: "God hath given to me the gift of knowledge, but not of utterance; and why reproveth thou in me what king Solomon praiseth in his proverbs, saying that a woman of understanding that speaks in few words and discreetly is an especial gift of God?"

After several days came another trial, five hours in length, and she was asked, among other things, especially concerning her opinion respecting the Supper. She replied, "I believe that so oft as I, in a Christian congregation, do receive the bread in remembrance of Christ's death, with thanksgiving according to his holy institution, I receive therewith also the fruits of his most glorious passion." The bishop desired she should speak plainly, and use no circumlocutions. Anne: "I cannot sing the Lord's song in a strange land." Bonner: "Thou speakest in parables and similitudes." Anne: "I must speak with thee thus, for were I to speak the open truth thou wouldst still not accept it." Then he called her a parrot, to which she replied, "I am ready to bear not only all thy rebukes with patience, but all that thou doest further against me." The hearing was continued on other days. She was desired by the bishop of Winton, and others, to confess that the Sacrament contained Christ's body, flesh, blood, and bones. Anne replied, "It is a shameful thing to which you advise me; to say what you yourself do not believe." He replied that he would speak to her kindly and in confidence. "Yes," said Anne, "as Judas, when he wished to betray Jesus." Finally there was laid before her a confession respecting the Sacrament, for her signature, which she most decidedly refused. Next day, which was Sunday, Anne felt very ill, and asked to see Dr. Latimer, but was denied her request. Instead she was carried to prison at Newgate.

She was informed, after this trial, that she was a heretic, and according to law doomed to death if she stubbornly held to her opinion. She replied, "No, I am not a heretic." They would have her say whether she denied that Christ's body and blood were in the Supper. Anne answered, "I deny it utterly and finally; for God's Son, born of Mary, according to our Christian creed, reigns in heaven, and will return in like manner as He ascended thither. I do not deny that the Sacrament should receive all proper reverence, but because ye with your superstition transgress and make it a god, and show it divine honor, I say it is but bread, and prove it such by this token: if you keep your god three months in a chest, letting it be, it will mould and rot, and at last wholly perish; and is that a god that cannot endure three months?" They asked her to confess to a priest. She smiled, and said, "It is enough it

I confess my sins to God, and I doubt not He hears my confession, and because I have a penitent heart will forgive me. What He can and will perform must abide through eternity." The sentence of death was at once passed upon her.

To no purpose did she protest against the sentence in a letter to the chancellor, then in a petition to the king. She was brought, according to custom, to the London Tower, asked respect- ^{Tortured and slain.} ing her associates, and, when she named none, stretched repeatedly upon the rack, till the members of her body were out of joint and rent asunder, and she was fallen in a swoon. She was again beset by threats and arguments, to make her recant. When she was still steadfast, and yet her strength so small that her death in prison was apprehended, she was hurried to public execution in the fire. Since, from her tortures, she could neither stand nor walk, she was carried on a chair to the Horse Market, and bound to a post by iron chains. All was ready. Then arrived royal letters promising life if she recanted. She would not look at them. The fagots were kindled. With three men of like faith she suffered a painful but glorious martyr death. The year after (1546) Henry Eighth went to meet his judge. — F. A.

LIFE XXI. PATRICK HAMILTON.

A. D. 1504—A. D. 1529. CLERICAL LEADER, — SCOTLAND.

PATRICK HAMILTON, first preacher and martyr of the Reformation in Scotland, was of noble birth and ancestry. His father, Sir Patrick Hamilton, was an illegitimate son, afterward legitimized, of the first Lord Hamilton, who married Mary, daughter of king James Second. His mother was Catherine Stuart, daughter of Alexander, duke of Albany, second son of the same monarch. Neither the time nor the place of his birth is certainly known. Yet there is evidence that he was born at Stonehouse, near Glasgow, some time in 1504. As a younger son, he was early destined to the church, and in 1517 was made titular abbot of Ferne, a cloister (of the Premonstrants) in Ross shire. In that same year, probably, he left Scotland to pursue his studies at the University of Paris. It has long been thought that he was a student at St. Andrew's. Quite recently his name was found in a manuscript register of the "Magistri Jurati" at Paris, under date of 1520. This discovery throws important light on the way by which he came to the knowledge of gospel truth. There were a number of disciples of Erasmus and Luther at that school at the time of Hamilton's residence. The flames of controversy concerning the new science and the new philosophy were then burning in Paris. When Hamilton, after first spending a while in Louvain, evidently for

sake of its new college of the three languages, came home to Scotland (1523), he was already a decided Erasmian, not only in his love for the classics, but in his conviction of the need of a church reformation.

Alexander Alesius (a Scottish contemporary of Hamilton) records that "he was a man of distinguished erudition, rejecting all the sophistry of the schools, and tracing philosophy to its sources — to the original writings of Plato and Aristotle." The same writer informs us that, although Hamilton was an abbot, he never put on the cloister garb, "so great was his hatred of monkish hypocrisy." Instead of staying with the monks of his own abbey of Ferne, he became a member of the University of St. Andrew's and a "teacher of the arts," taking up his residence in that city. It required the study and reflection of years to make of the youthful disciple of Erasmus a decided adherent of Luther. Hamilton was hardly an open supporter of the Reformation when he entered the priesthood (probably in 1526); still, the motives directing him to the priesthood reveal the evangelic spirit which secretly ruled in his heart. "This came to pass," says the English martyr John Frith, "because he sought all means for witnessing the truth, even as Paul circumcised Timothy in order to gain the weak Jews." Hamilton did not as yet see that true loyalty to God's Word was inconsistent with loyalty to the church of Rome. In the beginning of 1527 reports first reached the archbishop of St. Andrew's that Hamilton had openly supported the cause of Luther. At once Beaton took steps to bring him to a strict account. Such a preacher of heresy was indeed to be dreaded. In a country where noble birth and influential connections weighed more with the people than in any other European kingdom, a preacher of Lutheranism, with royal blood in his veins and all the power of the Hamiltons at his back, was as dangerous a foe to the church as Martin Luther himself would have been.

The affair was serious. No time must be lost. Beaton set on foot immediate inquiries into the truth of the news brought to him. When he found the young priest "spotted with contentious heresy, with the varied heresies of Martin Luther and his associates, battling against the truth," he summoned Hamilton before him. Patrick had equipped himself to preach the truth, but did not find himself quite ready yet to die for it. He had the faith of an evangelist, but not of a martyr. He vanished from Scotland (spring, 1527), and went to the gospel school of Germany, accompanied by two friends and a servant. He spent a short time in Wittenberg, but unfortunately no details of his intercourse with Luther and Melancthon are preserved. From Wittenberg he went to Marburg, and was present at the dedication of the new university of the landgrave Philip. His name still remains written on the first page of the academic album. He formed a warm

Takes refuge in Germany.

attachment for Francis Lambert, whom Philip had brought from Strassburg and made president of his theological faculty. Hamilton soon distinguished himself under him by his progress in theology. The pupil's affection was fully returned by the master. Lambert has left us a written testimony to his friend's ability and worth. He says, "His knowledge was unusual for his years, and his judgment in matters of religion was exceeding correct and profound. The object of his coming to the university was to ground himself thoroughly in the truth, and I can truly say that I have seldom met any one who occupied himself with the Word of God with more spirit and devotion. He often conversed with me upon this subject. He was the first, after the founding of the university, to present by my advice a series of theses for open disputation. His theses were conceived in the spirit of the gospel, and were maintained with the greatest erudition." These theses were afterwards translated into English by John Frith, and in this form preserved by Fox in his "Book of Martyrs," and by John Knox under the name of "Patrick's Commonplaces." They are an interesting and important memorial of the earliest faith of the Scottish Reformation. Their teaching is purely evangelic, without the peculiarities of either the Lutheran or the Swiss confessions. Hamilton's theology, like Lambert's, was "modeled upon the teachings of Luther, and in its philosophic form was presented and enforced in the style of the Commonplaces of Melancthon."

After the lapse of half a year in Protestant Germany, Hamilton felt that the time was come when his duty to God and fatherland called him home. His two friends appear to have been deterred by the danger from accompanying him. No consideration of danger could keep Hamilton from his lofty design of evangelizing his fatherland. What a change! Six months before he fled from his country because he did not feel that he had grown equal to the vocation of a Christian martyr. Now he hastens to confront the danger which he then hastened to avoid. Most amazing, yet not so difficult of explanation; for these six months he had spent among the most renowned champions and doctors of the reformed faith. His instructors had all been evangelical teachers of the first rank, and they were Christian heroes as well. For such a man as Hamilton it was impossible to have fellowship with such and not partake of their spirit and be overcome by their influence.

Arriving in Scotland, Hamilton repaired to the family residence of Kincavel, near Linlithgow, and there took his first congregation. His older brother, Sir James, was now in possession of the family estates and honors. His mother was living still; he also had a sister Catherine, a lady of spirit and ability. His near relatives and the family servants constituted his first audience. His work among them was blessed with marked success. Both his brother and

At home for a
life-work.

sister embraced the truth, and in after years were esteemed worthy to suffer for its sake many things. Hamilton did not confine himself to Kincavel. He set out to preach the long-lost gospel in all the country around. "The bright rays of true light," says Knox, "which by God's grace were in his heart, began to blaze gloriously around, not only secretly but openly." "Wherever he came," says another historian, "he omitted not to expose openly the corruption of the Roman church, and to show the errors which had crept into the Christian religion. He was hearkened to by many. By his doctrine and his gentle bearing he won a large following among all sorts of people."

What Hamilton preached to gain such success may be seen in his "Commonplaces." From this little tract we gather that the soul and life of his short but fruitful work as a teacher were the "truth as it is in Jesus." This, as the spring of all love and hope, he preached to the people of Scotland. He aimed to reform the national church from the root, not from the branches. By renewing the germ of faith and life in Scotland, he hoped to improve the tree and its fruits. Nor was his hope disappointed. True, the preacher himself was soon silenced and slain. But his teachings lived after him, working like leaven on the popular heart, till the whole was leavened.

Hamilton had married not long after coming home from Germany, a decided step for a priest and abbot. His bride was a young lady of noble family. Her name has not been handed down to us. The reformer was influenced in this, says Alesius, by his hatred of Romish hypocrisy. He showed here Luther's disposition, declaring by word and by deed how utterly he repudiated the presumptuous, oppressive dominion of the papacy. But neither wedlock nor ministry was to continue long with him. The archbishop of St. Andrew's resumed (in 1528) the proceedings against him, which had been interrupted the previous year by his flight to Germany. With an affected tone of justice and moderation, Beaton sent a messenger to invite him to a conference at St. Andrew's over such points of the church's condition and administration as seemed to need amendment. Hamilton was not deluded by his representations. He clearly saw his foes' policy, and foretold the speedy result of their undertaking. Knowing well, as did Paul, that bonds and imprisonment awaited him in the city of the scribes and pharisees, he yet felt bound in spirit to go thither, not counting his life dear unto himself, so that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry which he had received

Goes boldly to
St. Andrews.

of the Lord Jesus to testify the gospel of the grace of God. On his arrival at St. Andrew's, about the middle of January, the proposed conference took place, and was continued through several days. The archbishop and his coadjutors, still affecting moderation, seemed to approve the reformer's views in many respects. At the close of the conference Hamilton was allowed to go freely about the city

and the university, declaring his views without restraint in public and in private. By this policy of hypocrisy and delay his opponents would accomplish several objects. They would gain time for intrigue, and for securing the consent of the political leaders of the country to the tragic result that was coming. They also gave Hamilton opportunity and inducement to publish his opinions without reserve in a city peopled with their own allies. Every new expression of his hostility to the church was at once taken down, and used as a weapon for his destruction.

The good cause was nevertheless essentially assisted by delay: for the diligent reformer used the favorable opening, unexpectedly made, to the best advantage. He taught and disputed in public in the university on all the points wherein he sought a reform in church doctrine, administration of sacraments, or other observances. He kept on thus for a whole month. This busy time of public debate and private conference was a precious seed-sowing. At St. Andrew's he was in the church metropolis. He was meeting leading men of all classes, beyond what was possible in any other single city of Scotland,— professors and students, deans and canons, secular and spiritual members of orders, Augustines, Dominicans, and Franciscans. They all heard his voice and felt the power of his teaching. At last the moment arrived when Beaton and his advisers thought it safe to unmask. A summons was sent Hamilton, notifying him to appear before the primate on a day named, to meet the charge of teaching divers heresies. Hamilton's friends, seeing what would come, urged him, while still at liberty, to save himself by flight. He utterly refused to fly from St. Andrew's. He was come hither, he said, to build up believers by his death as a martyr. To turn his back would set a stone of stumbling in the way, to cause some at least to fall.

Going before the archbishop and his associate judges, Hamilton was charged with teaching heresies as set forth in thirteen articles. He made answer that certain of the articles were matters of controversy. He could not pronounce for or against them till he had further evidence. The first seven articles contained teachings unquestionably true, and he was prepared to defend them. The articles were then submitted to the consideration of an assembly of theologians, Hamilton, in the mean time, being allowed to go at large. But soon all was ready for the close of the tragedy. The reformer was arrested and taken to the castle of St. Andrew's. The last of February he was brought before ^{is put upon his} a court of heresy, made up of prelates, abbots, priors, and ^{trial.} doctors, sitting in imposing assembly in the metropolitan cathedral. The theologians delivered their condemnation of the articles to the court, pronouncing their teachings opposed to the church and heretical. Then the monk Campbell arose and read the articles in a loud voice, turning one after another of them into an indictment against the reformer. "I my-

self," says Alesius, "was an eye-witness of the tragedy, and heard him reply to the charges which were brought against him. He was very far from denying them; on the contrary, maintaining and establishing all of them by clear proofs, out of the Holy Scripture, and combating the views of his accuser." At last Campbell closed, and turned to the court for new instructions. "Read aloud the indictment," cried the bishop; "add new charges; call him a heretic to his face!" "Heretic!" shouted the Dominican, turning to the pulpit where Hamilton stood. "No, my brother," answered Hamilton gently; "thou in thy heart dost not count me a heretic; in thy conscience thou knowest that I am no heretic." This personal appeal must have gone to the monk's heart, for in several private conferences he had confessed to Hamilton that in many points he agreed with him. Still, Campbell had engaged, in a mean way, to play a part, and he had to play the part through. "Heretic," he again cried, "thou sayest that it is granted all persons to read God's Word, and especially the New Testament!" "I wot not," replied Hamilton, "if I said so; but I say now it is reason and lawful to all to read God's Word and to understand the same, and in particular the last will and testament of Jesus Christ, by which men are led to see their sins and repent of them, to amend their lives by faith and contrition, and to seek the mercy of God in Jesus Christ." "Heretic, thou sayest it is but lost labor to call on the saints, and in particular on the Virgin Mary, as mediators with God for us." "I say with Paul that there is no mediator between God and man save Jesus Christ his Son, and whoever they be who invoke or supplicate any departed saint, they spoil Jesus Christ of his office." "Heretic, thou sayest it is vain to sing soul-masses and psalms for the relaxation of souls departed, who are in the torments of purgatory!" "My brother, I have never in God's Word read of such a place as purgatory, nor yet believe I that there is anything that can purge the souls of men except the blood of Jesus Christ. Their ransom is by no earthly thing, neither by soul-masses, nor gold, nor silver, but by repentance for their sins, and by faith in the blood of Jesus Christ." Such was Hamilton's noble confession in presence of that solemn tribunal. He declared the whole truth of God. He spoke the truth in love, calling his shameless and false accuser by the name of brother.

Sentence of condemnation was passed. Its execution was appointed for that very day. The bishop having reason to fear that the liberation of the prisoner might be attempted by armed citizens, the usual forms of deposition from the office of priest were omitted. In the space of an hour or two after Hamilton had received his sentence in the cathedral, the stake at which he should die was made ready by the executioner, opposite the gate of the College of St. Salvador. When the martyr came in sight of the fateful place, about noon, he bared his head, and, looking upwards, prayed to Him who only could

His death of agony.

grant him a martyr's strength and triumph. When he reached the stake, he gave to a friend a copy of the New Testament, his long-time companion, removed his hat and coat and other outer garments and gave them to his servant, with the words, "These will not profit in the fire, but they will profit thee. Hereafter thou canst have from me no profit except the example of my death, which I pray thee keep in memory; for though bitter to the flesh and fearful before man, it is the door to eternal life, which none will attain who denies Christ Jesus before this ungodly generation."

The archbishop's officers made a last endeavor to shake his courage. They promised him life if he would recant the confession made in the cathedral. "My confession," he answered, "I will not deny through fear of your fire, for my confession and faith rest upon Jesus Christ. As regards your sentence against me this day, I make appeal here, in the presence of all, against that sentence and decision, and commit me to the grace of God." The executioners proceeded to their office. He was made fast to the stake, and powder placed under the fagots and lighted. Still, though the flame was thrice kindled, it did not reach the stake. Dry wood and more powder were brought from the castle. The pangs of the martyr were thus dreadfully prolonged. Alesius, who witnessed the whole scene, tells us that his execution lasted almost six hours, and in all that time he assures us the martyr gave no sign of impatience or of anger. When surrounded and consumed by the blazing fire, he remembered, in the midst of his agony, his widowed mother, and in the closing moments commended her to the care of his friends. His last audible words were, "How long, O Lord, shall darkness brood over this realm? How long wilt Thou suffer this tyranny of man? Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."

In this tragic yet glorious way Patrick Hamilton met death, February 29, 1528, — the noble martyr of a noble cause. He found it impossible, while the Roman church remained entire and supreme in Scotland, to give a long life of labor to the cause of the gospel, once more advancing. He therefore accepted joyfully the honor of promoting it by heroic steadfastness and devotion in dying. Scotland needed such a martyr that she might be shaken to her foundations. There was more awakening power in such a death than in the labors of a lengthened life. If his words were few, they proved to be seed words, and fruitful. They were the words of the wise, which are as goads and as nails fastened in a sure place. His fiery torture fastened and stamped them forever in the heart of the nation.

At Marburg the surprise of the reformers and their sorrow were equal. "He came to your university," wrote Lambert, in a Latin memorial, to the landgrave Philip of Hesse, a few months after this, "away from Scotland, that far-off corner of the earth, and then returned thither to be its first and its renowned apostle. He was all fire and zeal to confess

Christ's name, and has offered himself to God a holy and living sacrifice. He brought to God's church not only the renown of his position and talents, but his very life. This flower of glorious fragrance, nay, this ripe fruit, your university has produced in its very beginning. Ye are not disappointed in your hopes. Ye founded the school hoping that from it should go forth fearless confessors of Christ and steadfast champions of his truth. Behold, ye already have such an one, — an example every way glorious! Others, if it be God's will, will soon follow after." — P. L.

LIFE XXII. GEORGE WISHART.

A. D. 1500 ?—A. D. 1546. CLERICAL LEADER,—SCOTLAND.

AT the death of James Fifth of Scotland (December 18, 1542), his daughter, afterwards Mary Queen of Scots, was but ten days old. Under James, who favored arts and sciences, and invited scholars into the kingdom, the doctrines of Calvin had entered the country and been accepted by many Scotchmen of all classes. The papists had grown enraged, and had succeeded in bringing a number of Protestants to the stake. Their leaders now were the queen mother, of the family of Guise, in France, and cardinal Beaton. The other side were led by Lord Hamilton, of Arran, the head of the regency. The enraged cardinal sought in every way to strengthen himself. He purposed to put down the Scotch nobility by the help of French troops, and with it the new doctrine. One of the victims of his rage was George Wishart, the Christian martyr.

Wishart came from a family (in Pittarow, in Mearns) of which several members were already Protestants. He studied at Cambridge, returning to Scotland in 1544. He was too full of love to God to stand an idle spectator of the ignorance of his people, and was constrained to preach. He began his mission in Montrose, with great blessing. Persecuted in that city, he turned to Dundee. Here he gave lectures upon Romans, surprising all and converting many. The clergy, excited, announced that their pretended New Testament was a heretical book, written by a certain Martin Luther, whom the devil had sent to earth to mislead souls. Wishart replied, but was ordered by the authorities to leave Dundee. He departed, and was made welcome in other places. He preached in many parishes of Ayrshire, and often in the fields to great multitudes. He spoke with ravishing eloquence of "the King in his beauty," and of "the land which is very far off," thousands hanging upon his words.

Wishart's labors here were interrupted by the news that the plague had entered Dundee. He was greatly moved, for Dundee lay near his heart. Not content with praying for the city, he hastened back thither at all haz-

ards. The day after his arrival he gathered the people at the East Gate, the well citizens inside, the sick outside, the gate, and preached to them out of the overflowing faith in God which filled his own heart. His text was, "He sent his word, and healed them." (Psalms cvii. 20.) A general awakening followed, with extraordinary results. Every day he made that gate his pulpit, preaching the word of life, while he went from house to house visiting the sick and dying, and comforting them. Even at this moment his foes sought his life, putting an assassin upon his path. A priest hired by Beaton to carry out their bloody purposes attempted it in the very place where Wishart preached! The design was frustrated. Its disclosure endeared Wishart to the popular heart, and increased the zeal of the preacher, who counted that his time was short.

After the close of the plague, or after the worst was past, Wishart went again to Montrose. While he labored there, studying and preaching, his life was sought again by Beaton. When Lord Hamilton would not consent to an open arrest, Beaton aimed to entrap Wishart in secret. By forged letters, written as if from friends desiring his ministerial help, the cardinal planned to get him into his power. The plan had almost succeeded, when it was revealed, and Wishart saved for a while longer. Yet he said, "As soon as God ends one conflict there is a summons to another." His friends in Ayrshire wished him to meet them in Edinburgh, "for they would secure a public debate from the bishops, and he should be openly heard." He assented, and at the time appointed left Montrose, amid the prayers and tears of the disciples. On his way he was profoundly affected in spirit, and said, "I am convinced that my work draws near an end. God bids me therefore not now to turn back, when the conflict is at its height."

He went with a few friends to Leith, without finding those whom he expected. He remained in hiding here and in other places for some time, not, however, ceasing to preach. About Christmas he went to Haddington, where he expected many hearers. Lord Bothwell, however, at the instigation of the cardinal, prevented their assembling. Wishart said then to John Knox, who was with him, "I am weary of the world, for the world seems to be weary of God." To the few faithful friends and believing followers of Christ who gathered about him at the close of his testimony he bade a solemn, affectionate farewell. Deeming that he had preached his last sermon, he went the same night to Ormiston. John Knox would have gone with him, but will go alone into peril. Wishart would not permit him, saying, "No, no; one is sufficient for one sacrifice." Some friends passed the evening with him, spending the time in religious exercises; afterwards Wishart retired to rest. About midnight Lord Bothwell surrounded the house with a troop of soldiers. Resistance or escape was out of the question. As soon as Wishart perceived this he bade his friends open the door, and with cheerful resignation

said, "The good will of my God be done." Taken by the cardinal, he was led to Edinburgh. Near the last of January he was carried to St. Andrew's, whither the cardinal called the bishops and all the church dignitaries. He purposed to give his proceeding dignity and importance, and so sought to involve the bishops in Wishart's condemnation. The summons was obeyed. With great array and with military escort they marched to the abbey church. The sub-prior Winram, who was suspected of favoring the gospel, was ordered to preach. Beaton aimed to secure an open expression of the views imputed to him, or a retraction of them by a discourse in favor of the church's authority and doctrine. Winram, whom he hoped thus to entrap, spoke ably, but circumspectly. Wishart was next placed in the pulpit, that he might be seen the better by all as he listened to the charges read by a certain priest named Lauder. After the close of the indictment, Lauder spat out bitterly and contemptuously at Wishart: "What answerest thou to these charges, thou renegade, traitor, and rogue?" The articles on which Wishart was condemned need hardly be repeated. Among them were the charges of rejecting the authority of church and pope, the seven sacraments and purgatory, the sinfulness of eating meats on Friday, and prayers to saints and angels. He was held up as an embodiment of ungodliness. His defense was calm, strong, and unanswerable. His arguments were so powerful that the prelates themselves said, "If we suffer him to preach, he is so crafty and well versed in Scripture that he will win the people to his belief and excite them against us." He was doomed to die at the stake. The sentence was pronounced by the cardinal.

Led back to prison, he stayed till the fire was prepared. Then, with a rope round his neck and a chain about his body, he was taken to the stake and secured. His Christian courage did not forsake him. He exhorted the assembled people to seek repentance, faith, and holiness, defended himself against the reproaches of his enemies, and talked of the blessing and glory of other days, when the ark of God would sail triumphing over the floods; humbly and heartily praying, not for himself alone, but for all God's persecuted people, and for his persecutors and murderers that they might have repentance, enlightenment, and pardon. His submission, heroism, and death agony affected the people deeply. Murmurs arose as the flames crackled about him and painfully tortured him. Cheerful he waited, till his soul ascended to his Lord. His body was left a mere heap of ashes. Thus, on March 1, 1546, George Wishart was tried, sentenced, and burned to death. — C. B.

LIFE XXIII. JOHN KNOX.

A. D. 1505—A. D. 1572. CLERICAL LEADER, — SCOTLAND.

THE renowned Scottish reformer, John Knox, was born in 1505, near Haddington, the shire town of East Lothian. His father, though not noble, was of an ancient respectable family, and gave his boy a classical education. When young Knox had learned the elements in the Latin school of Haddington, he was sent to Glasgow University (1521). He there enjoyed the instructions of the learned John Mair (or Major), having as a fellow-student the famous scholar, George Buchanan. Of his early life, or the events which led him to embrace Protestantism, there is little known. He became a priest about 1530, and it appears was connected for some time with a convent in his native county. He early renounced, as did his fellow-student Buchanan, the subtleties of the scholastic theology. He applied himself to the Bible, as well as to the writings of Jerome and Augustine. Gradually he opened his heart to receive the doctrines of redemption, which were echoing from Germany to Scotland, and which his youthful and noble countryman, Patrick Hamilton, had of late sealed with his blood.

Knox first betrayed his change of sentiment in certain lectures in the university at St. Andrew's, where Hamilton had perished in the fire. His defection aroused the clergy to denounce him Knox begins re-form work. as a traitor, and deprive him of his priesthood. He escaped death only by timely flight from the vengeance of cardinal Beaton, who had engaged his emissaries to lay hold of him. He found protection under Douglas of Langniddrie, and employment as a tutor. Knox next appears in the company of George Wishart. The sword which was carried before the preacher after the attempt to assassinate him in Dundee was borne by Knox. On the night when the noble martyr was arrested, at the cardinal's command, he ordered that the sword be taken from his zealous attendant. Knox begged for leave to follow him, but Wishart answered, "Nay, return to your bairnes [meaning his pupils], and God blis you; ane is sufficient for a sacrifice."

The cruel martyrdom of him whom Knox revered as his spiritual father, and whom for his endearing qualities he cherished as a brother, made certainly a powerful impression on the ardent soul of the reformer. Knox himself was in constant peril from the bloody foe. We find him, after the murder of the Romanist Beaton, seeking a refuge in St. Andrew's Castle, which the cardinal's slayers held as a safe resort from the persecutions of the papists. There an event befell him which had the most serious bearing upon all his future. Until now Knox's utterances in favor of reformed doctrines had been private, consisting in Bible expo-

sitions to his pupils and his neighbors. He had never undertaken the place of a public preacher. Nor did he consider his office as priest enough to justify him in doing so, without a call from a Christian congregation. He received this call in the most unlooked-for manner. Among the Protestants taking refuge in St. Andrew's Castle were Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, the poet and the scourger of the priesthood; Henry Balnaves, one of those stout barons who lent aid by pen and sword to the Scotch Reformation; and John Rough, a noted reformed preacher. These men quickly recognized in Knox's ability and skill in giving instruction to his pupils the germs of an energy and popular eloquence that were destined to earn him renown. They urged him to undertake the preacher's work. Knox, distrusting his own ability, and entertaining a lofty idea of the importance of the office, steadfastly declined. Finally, by a mutual agreement, without letting Knox know anything of their design, they resolved to take him by storm. On a certain day after Rough had preached a sermon on the election of ministers, wherein he maintained the right of a Christian congregation, however small, to choose its own preacher, he turned suddenly to Knox, and said, "Brother, you shall not be offended, although I speak unto you that which I have in charge even from all those that are here present, which is this: In the name of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ, and in the name of all that presently call you by my mouth, I charge you that you refuse not this holy vocation; but, as you tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, and the comfort of me whom you understand well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labors, that you take the public office and charge of preaching, even as you look to avoid God's heavy displeasure and desire that He shall multiply his graces unto you." Then, addressing himself to the congregation, he said, "Was not this your charge unto me, and do ye not approve this vocation?" They all answered, "It was, and we approve it." Overwhelmed by the scene, Knox attempted to address the audience. His feelings mastered him; he burst into tears, and hastened from the church. Yet, though he feared and trembled, he accepted the office so solemnly and unexpectedly laid upon

Knox's first preaching. him. On the day appointed he appeared in the pulpit, and took his text from Daniel vii. 25: "And he shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws," a choice which reveals directly his view of the papacy, and the confidence with which he anticipated its overthrow.

Knox's ministerial work, entered upon by him so hastily, was interrupted just as suddenly. St. Andrew's Castle was attacked by a French fleet, and its garrison compelled to surrender. They, and Knox along with them, were made prisoners of war, carried to France, and sentenced to work upon the galleys. Fastened by chains, they were exposed to all

the indignities with which papists were accustomed to treat those whom they called heretics. Their confinement lasted nineteen months, in which time Knox and his comrades were visited with all kinds of inducements and threats, in order to turn them from their faith. At last, by the intercession of Edward Sixth, they were set free. Knox repaired to England, and received an appointment at once from the deeply loved and greatly cherished king as one of his preachers. In this office he served two years at Berwick and Newcastle. The next two he was in London, as one of the six royal chaplains appointed by the privy council. He was even named as bishop of Rochester, but declined the preferment. Already long before his visit to Geneva, Knox was at heart a Presbyterian. After a sojourn of five years in England, during which he assisted Cranmer in reforming the church's doctrine and worship, he married Marjory Bowes, a lady of good family, whom he had met during his residence at Berwick.

On the death of good king Edward and the accession of the cruel and bigoted Mary (1553), Knox was forced to think of his personal safety.¹ He is found in Geneva (1554), cement-^{Knox with Calvin.} ing a friendship with Calvin, which remained unbroken as long as they both lived. He writes at this period, "Albeit that I have in the beginning of this battle appeared to play the faint-hearted and feeble soldier (the cause I remit to God), yet my prayer is that I may be restored to the battle again." At the close of this year he received a call to be minister to the English congregation at Frankfort-on-the-Main. By reason of disputes there, in reference to the use of the English liturgy and divers ceremonies, he felt obliged to give up his office. The next year (1555) we find him once more on the shores of Scotland, "restored to the battle again." He stayed in his home but a short time. He found Scotland groaning under persecution, but hardly ready for deliverance. Having received an invitation to Geneva from his exiled countrymen, he returned to that city (July, 1556), and remained there until the beginning of 1559. Though parted from his native land, his heart yearned towards his countrymen. He employed his pen to comfort them in their trials, and to strengthen their Christian constancy. At this period Knox published his renowned "First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women." Its occasion was the tyranny of Bloody Mary, as the English queen was called, on account of the number of executions under her reign. The open declarations of this book against women's rule caused its author serious embarrassment afterwards, during the reign of Elizabeth in England and Mary Stuart in Scotland. Mary of England dying, and Elizabeth's accession opening brilliant pros-

¹ Knox's wife, Marjory, remained in her home until 1556, and then joined her husband and shared his fortunes, dying in Edinburgh, 1560. She was the mother of two sons. In 1564 Knox married a daughter of Lord Ochiltree, whom he left a widow, with three daughters.

pects to Protestantism, Knox took his final farewell of Geneva, and set out for his native country (January, 1559). He found Scotland ready to cast off the Roman yoke, which had now become hateful to the entire nation. The luxury, depravity, and tyranny of the clergy had estranged the people. Their avarice and pride had excited the enmity of the nobility. A succession of cruelties against the reformed, culminating in the burning alive of an old man named Walter Mill, had awakened sympathy for their victims. The attempts of the queen regent, Mary Guise, to extirpate Protestants by French assistance roused Scottish courage and patriotism. Knox, after his election by the Edinburgh Protestants as their preacher, went on a crusade against popery throughout divers cities of the kingdom. His manly and telling preaching created the most astonishing result. The people rose up, tore the images out of the churches, and in some places, going beyond the wish or purpose of the reformers, destroyed a number of convents. Finally, after the queen regent's death, the Scotch Parliament assembled (August 1, 1560). Accepting the religious situation, it asked from the reformers a confession of their faith as opposed to popish errors. This was very promptly prepared by Knox and his associates. No opposition being raised by the popish bishops, the confession was approved by Parliament (August 17th), and the Protestant religion formally established. In connection therewith Knox prepared "The Book of Discipline," with the aim to establish a constitution for the reformed church of Scotland. The book in its foundation thought and plan favors presbyterian government. It closely resembles the Geneva and French books, such changes being introduced as were required to adapt it to the institutions of Scotland. It recognizes no office above the pastorate; yet, till the presbyteries were constituted, there were to be men known as superintendents, to attend to planting churches and to overseeing great districts. Doctors and teachers of theology were also recognized as church officers. Each pastor was to be supported in church rule by a company of ordained elders, and in the administration of secular matters by deacons. All these officers were regularly installed after election by the people. The courts of the church were the session, presbytery, synod, and general assembly. The public worship was to be held according to the directory modeled on the pattern of Geneva. This constitution, though accepted by the church, was not recognized by the civil power. This was due to the avarice of the nobility, who raised objections against appropriating the revenues of the old church, as fittingly proposed by Knox, to the support of religion and education.

By the arrival of queen Mary Stuart at Edinburgh (August, 1561), Knox and Mary Stuart. our reformer was engaged in a new conflict. The young and beautiful queen was received by her subjects with huzzas. But she brought from France a spirit steeped in the prejudices of

the Romish church, and a resolution, formed in concert with the house of Lorraine, to restore the old religion in her dominions. Accordingly, she prepared to celebrate high mass in Holyrood Chapel the first Sunday after her arrival. The excitement produced by this was immense, for the mass had been forbidden by Parliament as gross idolatry. Knox looked on the revival of the forbidden rite as a step towards the overthrow of the reformation so happily begun. He declared from his pulpit the next Sunday that "one mass was more fearful unto him than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm of purpose to suppress the whole religion." On account of this and other sharp speeches he was summoned to an interview with the queen. She charged him with stirring up her subjects against her, and among other things upbraided him with sedition, by reason of his book on women's government. He vindicated himself from the charge of disloyalty. The conversation then turned on the nice point of popular resistance to civil power. Knox maintained that a ruler might be resisted, illustrating by the case of a father who, through madness, tried to slay his children. "Now, madame, if the children arise, join together, apprehend the father, take the sword from him, bind his hands, and keep him in prison till the frenzy be over, think you, madame, that the children do any wrong? Even so, madame, is it with princes that would murder the children of God that are subject unto them." Dazed by the boldness of this answer, the queen sat some time in silent stupor, and then said, "Well, then, I perceive that my subjects shall obey you, and not me, and will do what they please, and not what I command." "God forbid," replied the reformer, "that ever I take upon me to command any to obey me, or to set subjects at liberty to do whatever pleases them. But my travail is that both princes and subjects may obey God. Queens should be nursing mothers to the church." "But you are not the church that I will nourish," said the queen. "I will defend the church of Rome, for it is, I think, the true church of God." "Your will, madame, is no reason, neither doth your thought make the Roman harlot to be the true and immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ." "My conscience is not so," said the queen. "Conscience, madame, requires knowledge, and I fear that right knowledge you have none." "But I have both heard and read." "So, madame, did the Jews who crucified Christ. Have you heard any teach but such as the pope and the cardinals have allowed? You may be assured that such will speak nothing to offend their own estate." "You interpret the Scriptures in one way," said the queen, evasively, "and they in another; whom shall I believe, and who shall be judge?" "You shall believe God," replied Knox, "who plainly speaketh in his Word, above your majesty and the most learned papists of all Europe." He offered to show that papal doctrine had no foundation in God's Word. "Well," said she, "you may perchance have opportunity therefor sooner than you think." "ASSURE-

edly," said Knox, "if ever I get that in my life, I shall get it sooner than I believe; for the ignorant papist cannot patiently reason, and the learned and crafty papist will never come in your audience, madame, to have the ground of his religion searched out." At the close of this singular conversation, the reformer, as he took leave of the queen, with reverent obeisance said, "I pray God, madame, that you may be blessed within the commonwealth of Scotland as greatly as ever Deborah was in the commonwealth of Israel."

Some time after this, on the news of the massacre of the Protestants of Vassy, by the queen's uncle, the duke of Guise, Mary gave her foreign servants a brilliant ball, continuing the dance till the late hours. Knox expressed himself upon this in severe terms from the pulpit, and was again summoned before the queen. To vindicate himself Knox repeated his sermon to Mary, who at its close uttered a warning to him. "He is not afraid," murmured one of her attendants. "Why should the pleasing face of a gentlewoman affray me?" said he, regarding them with a sarcastic frown. "I have looked in the faces of many angry men, and yet have not been affrayed above measure." While Knox had reason to be disturbed under Mary's rule, she and her papal advisers had equal reason to be in dread of the fearless reformer. At every sign of danger to the Reformation cause, he blew the alarm. He cheered the desponding, exhorted the wavering, and pointed out the unfaithful. We can obtain a picture of the effect of his pulpit efforts from the report of an English ambassador, who says in a letter to secretary Cecil, "I assure you the voice of one man can put more life into us in one hour than six hundred trumpeters blowing incessantly in our ears."

Knox's heroic position.

The last interview of the reformer with the unhappy princess was stormier than the preceding, and on both sides very characteristic. He had wounded the queen deeply by his discourse against her marriage with the unprincipled and unfortunate Darnley. Never had princess been treated as she was, she passionately exclaimed. She had borne his severe speeches, she had sought his favor by all means. "And yet," said she, "I can never be quit of you. I vow to God I shall once be revenged." With these words she burst into tears. Her attendants tried to soothe her excitement, resorting to all kinds of courtly flatteries. In the midst of the scene the stout, unbending spirit of the reformer showed itself. He stood unmoved in presence of beauty and royalty though bathed in tears. After the queen had vented her emotions, he proceeded to defend himself. Out of his pulpit, he said, few had occasion to be offended with him. He could hardly see his own boys weep when he corrected them for their faults; far less could he rejoice in her majesty's tears. But in the pulpit he was not his own master, but bound to obey Him who commanded him to speak plainly and flatter no flesh on the face of the earth.

He had only discharged his duty, and was forced, therefore, rather to see her tears than hurt his conscience or betray the commonwealth. Knox's defense only inflamed the queen's anger. She ordered him to withdraw. While he awaited the queen's pleasure in an adjoining apartment, among the queen's ladies, he could not forbear gently speaking of the extravagance of their dress. "O fair ladies, how pleasing were this life of yours if it should ever abide, and then in the end that we might pass to heaven with all this gay gear! Fye on that knave, Death, who comes whether we will or will not!"

The enemies of Knox soon took opportunity to satisfy Mary's wrath by bringing against him a charge of high treason. He was accused of writing circular letters to the leading Protestant nobles, inviting them to be present at the trials of two persons who were accused of disturbing the celebration of mass. His best friends, seeing the peril in which he was, counseled Knox to throw himself on the queen's mercy. This he utterly refused, conscious of having done his duty. On the day appointed, he appeared before an extraordinary assembly of counselors and nobles, who were to investigate the matter. When the queen took her place in the council, and saw Knox standing uncovered at the end of the table, she could not withhold an expression of triumph. She burst into loud laughter, and said, pointing to him, "That man made me weep, and never shed a tear. Now will I see if I can make him weep." Knox, unmoved by the imposing concourse, maintained his cause with such dexterity, and exposed the danger of Protestants from papal machinations so tellingly, that, although his judges were in part his personal enemies, he was honorably acquitted, to Mary's anger and mortification. "That night," writes Knox in his history, "was neither dancing nor fiddling in the court, for madame was disappointed of her purpose, which was to have John Knox in her will, by vote of her nobility."

Knox charged
with high treason.

When the murder of Rizzio, Mary's favorite, brought the queen's displeasure upon the Protestant nobility, Knox thought it prudent, on account of the hatred cherished against him, to leave Edinburgh and to withdraw to Ayrshire. Soon, however, the crimes and misfortunes of the unhappy Mary, following one upon another in quick succession, opened the way for his return. He had found no stronger supporter among the Scotch nobility than James, earl of Murray, the regent of the kingdom, — "a truly good man," as archbishop Spottiswood writes, and worthy of a place among the best rulers Scotland ever had. Even to-day he is honored as the "good regent." The very virtues of Murray had, in this rude, disturbed period, made him enemies. His overthrow was plotted, and in January, 1570, he was shamefully slain in the streets of Linlithgow. The sorrow of Knox over this sad event was increased by other circumstances which clouded the closing days of his life. He was taken soon

after with paralysis, and never entirely recovered. He was at conflict with the party which adhered to the exiled and imprisoned queen. He was loaded with reproaches and calumnies by the friends of popery. He was troubled by coldness, apostasy, and self-seeking in religious things on the part of the rulers. His soul was rent with anguish at the news of the massacre of the Protestants in Paris, and throughout France, on the night of St. Bartholomew's. The old warrior, weak in body and worn in spirit, sighed for release. "Weary of the world" and "longing for departure" are expressions constantly recurring in all that he wrote at this period. His life was again in peril. On one occasion a shot was fired at the window where he usually sat. The bullet struck the lamp in front of him, and buried itself in the ceiling of the room. He withdrew for a time to St. Andrew's. Naught, however, quenched the ardor of his soul, or shook his steadfastness. He continued till the last to write, as he said, "with his dying hand," and to preach with that ardor which even his infirmity could not destroy. "In the opening of his text," writes excellent James Melville, who heard him at St. Andrew's, "he was moderate the space of half of an half hour; but when he entered to application, he made me so grew [thrill] and tremble that I could not hold a pen to write. He was very weak. I saw him every day of his doctrine go hule and fear [slowly and warily], with a furring of masticks about his neck, a staffe in the ane hand, and guid godly Richard Ballanden, his servant, holding up the other arm, from the abbey to the parish kirk, and by the said Richard and another servant lifted up to the pulpit, where he behooved to lean, at his first entry. But ere he had done with his sermon he was sae active and vigorous that he was lyke to ding the pulpit in blads [beat the pulpit in pieces], and flie out of it."

The reformer's precious life, nevertheless, ran quickly to its close. He returned to Edinburgh, and preached his last sermon in the church of the Tolbooth, at the installation of Lawson, his colleague and successor. When with loving but trembling voice he had uttered the benediction, he descended from the pulpit, and, leaning on an attendant, crept down the street, which was lined with the congregation. Anxious to take the last look at their beloved pastor, they followed him till he entered, for the last time, that little house in the Canongate, which even to our day has been preserved in memory of the reformer. In the closing days his spirit was clouded by gloomy temptations. To such a spirit as his they were as painful as death itself. He soon mastered these, and was able to give a testimony to the truth of the gospel, which he had preached so faithfully, to his elders and many friends who visited him on his dying bed. To each and all he gave suitable admonitions. At last his speech began to fail. He desired his wife to read him the fifteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians. "Is not that a comfortable chapter?"

said he. "Oh, what sweet and salutary consolation the Lord has afforded me from that chapter." "Now, for the last time, I commend my soul, spirit, and body [touching three of his fingers as he spoke the words] into thy hand, O Lord." Then he said to his wife, "Read where I cast my first anchor." She read the seventeenth chapter of John's Gospel. He lay quiet for some hours. At ten o'clock they read the evening prayer, from the "Directory for Worship." When they asked him whether he heard the prayers, he replied, "Would to God that you and all men had heard them as I have heard them. I praise God for that heavenly sound." About eleven o'clock he gave a deep sigh, and said, "Now ^{Knox's last} it is come." His faithful servant, Richard, saw that he was ^{words.} speechless, and wished him to give them a sign that he died in peace. Knox raised his hand, and signing twice expired without a struggle. Dying at sixty-seven (November 24, 1572), he was not so oppressed by years as by his great bodily labors and his great spiritual cares. His remains were laid in St. Giles Churchyard. As the body was lowered into the vault, regent Morton pronounced his epitaph: "There lies he who never feared the face of man."

John Knox's most prominent qualities have been brought out in his story. Though austere, he was not fierce or revengeful; though decided in his purposes, and bold, strong, and unflinching in action, he yet overflowed with the milk of human kindness. He lives to us a reformer of heroic zeal, a preacher of power, a writer of fertility and force, a Christian of profound piety.¹—T. M.

LIFE XXIV. WILLIAM OF ORANGE.

A. D. 1533—A. D. 1584. LAICAL LEADER, — HOLLAND.

THE bright crown on the brow of Charles Fifth had a rich jewel in the seventeen Netherland provinces which after 1500 were a part of the Hapsburg inheritance. Their numerous, well-fortified cities had a persevering, industrious population. By skill in all kinds of labor, by busy trading, and by attendance upon their excellent schools, their people had grown intelligent and rich. Great sympathy had been felt by them with

¹ The memory of the reformer, which from varied causes had fallen into oblivion, or been loaded in Scotland by a mass of calumnies, was by the labor of his biographer, the late Dr. MacCrie, again revived. In his *Life of John Knox*, he has dispersed the clouds of prejudice around that honored name, and raised a monument to the Scottish reformer, more glorious and enduring than memorials of brass or marble. The aim of his publication was not only to justify John Knox's character, but to renew a universal interest in the cause which Knox championed. The name of John Knox is now, what it was once before, a rallying call for all friends of the faith and polity of the Scotch Reformation. Knox left many writings behind, some of them polemic, others practical, the majority suggested by occurrences in his life. His largest and most important work is his *History of the Reformation*. A new and beautiful edition of this, with valuable notes, has, along with his other works, been published by Mr. David Laing, of Edinburgh.

the reforming efforts of the fifteenth century. When, therefore, in the sixteenth century, the Reformation came like a sudden tempest over the West, the Netherlands presented an open door in many places — in the cloisters of the Augustines, among the rest — to the preaching of the gospel. Luther's Bible was soon translated into Dutch, and read with diligence. Small evangelic churches were gathered here and there, especially in the cities. There entered a current of Calvinistic reforming influences, chiefly by way of France. Lutheran elements, at the same time, were coming down from Germany.

Charles Fifth, a native of Ghent, was strongly attached to the Netherlands. All the more he supposed that what he had in vain attempted in Germany, the cleansing of his empire from heresy, he must carry through at any cost in the provinces. He therefore put to death the confessors of the gospel there by hundreds and by thousands. When unnumbered victims had fallen, there was a fresh beginning made by the imperial Inquisition, which had as yet failed of its purpose. By an edict of September 25, 1550, all heretics were to be killed: anabaptists and relapsed heretics to be burned alive, women heretics to be buried alive, the heads of the others to be put upon pillars and their goods forfeited. After the peace of Passau (1552) and of Augsburg (1555), the emperor saw that he had failed to establish a Roman Catholic empire. He was weary. Four weeks after the religious peace (October 28, 1555), in his palace in Brussels, surrounded by his magnates, Charles gave over his government into the hands of his son Philip.

There have been tyrant rulers, history records, in nearly all countries, but above all of them, at least in modern times, Philip has attained a peculiar eminence. Others have been pitiless and immoderately self-willed in their rule, but yet have shown some signs of a nobler nature. Philip reveals not the slightest trait of manhood to soften the picture of the worst despot ever known by a Christian people. He renewed at once (1555) the terrible edict of 1550. He was resolved to extirpate heresy in the Netherlands by the hands of the executioner. Philip did not blind himself to the difficulties in his way. He saw that he must be at peace with other lands, and hence as quickly as possible ended a war with France, in which he was involved. The French army had been beaten (August, 1557) at St. Quentin's and Gravelines by the count of Egmont. Instead of seizing upon the booty he had won, Philip made offers of peace. The noted cardinal Granvelle, a cold, sly, shrewd diplomatist, without a religious hair on his head, said, in the name of Philip, to the cardinal of Lorraine, when they met in Peronne, that the kings of Spain and France were alike concerned in the duty of rooting out heretics. He began a negotiation, which was further prosecuted by the duke of Alba before Henry Second himself. As personal sureties for the faithful performance by Philip of certain stipulations,

The era when
Orange arose.

several of his nobles journeyed to Paris, and among them William of Orange. The French king, supposing him a trusted participant in the purposes of Philip, did not hesitate, when on a hunt with him in the forest of Vincennes, to speak of the plan devised by himself and the duke of Alba. William of Orange to his horror heard that nothing less was intended than a second Sicilian vespers, in which the Protestant chiefs should in one day be blotted from both kingdoms. The carrying out of this plan was frustrated by the splinter of Montgomery's spear which entered the eye of Henry in a tournament at Paris, and caused his death. Nevertheless, the plan had this immense result: that it first started William of Orange upon a road where he soon found himself forced to give battle with that reactionary force which threatened all the later civilization of West Europe, and thus to become the saviour of Protestantism in Holland, the founder of the modern Netherlands, and the bulwark of civil and religious liberty.

In the lovely valley of the Dill, which flows into the Lahn near Wetzlar, lies the village of Dillenburg, with its ancient crumbling castle, whose towers gleam afar. Here William of Orange ^{His birth and early years.} first saw the light. He was the eldest son of Count William of Nassau-Dillenburg and his second wife, Juliana von Stolberg. When a boy he inherited from his cousin Renatus the sovereign principality of Orange. His education was intrusted to queen Mary of Hungary, a sister of the emperor Charles, and viceroy of the Netherlands, with her residence in Brussels. His especial teacher was a brother of Granvelle. Thus William, the son of a Protestant father, was educated a Catholic. The courtly youth was soon conspicuous among the young nobles at Brussels through his great talent and readiness. He was noticed by the emperor, and distinguished by marks of favor and confidence. They were justified by his success both as a soldier and a diplomatist. When Charles retired, William was made, by Philip, viceroy of Holland, Seeland, and Utrecht.

The prince's position in Brussels was thus a lofty one. He possessed in unusual measure the qualities which fit a man to rule others and become master of the situation. His keen mind penetrated the thoughts and efforts of his neighbors. He maintained, meanwhile, great cheerfulness and affability of manner, yet with a reticence and reserve which won him the surname of "the Silent." He was a complete cavalier and a courtier, gladly received in the halls of the imperial palace in Brussels, and moving there with the most finished elegance of manner. It suited him at the beginning to play the wealthy prince. He surrounded himself with a court frequented by the nobles of Germany. He indulged in luxuries and splendor such as belonged to his position, and expended upon them more than his income justified. This he did not only when, as an ambassador, he had to represent his master, but in his own home, where the choicest entertainment was ever afforded. He was able for a long time to con-

tract debts without troubling himself respecting them. He took no interest in religious matters, showing at this period thorough indifference. His aims were those of the skilled and clever statesman, who wanted influential position, and to attain his aims used such means as were offered. The inner life of Orange first began gradually to have a new character when, in the midst of his outer career, with its perplexities, he came upon the problem which he was required to solve. Of this problem the first suggestion gleamed on his mind in the forest of Vincennes.

Returning to Brussels, William found Philip decided to leave the Netherlands. At an assembly of the states, in Ghent, the king made request for a tax of three millions. The states granted it, but with the condition that the Spanish troops, arbitrarily introduced into the Netherlands, be removed. In support of the desire expressed by all the provinces, the nobles, led by William of Orange, viceroy of Holland, Seeland, and Utrecht, by count Egmont, viceroy of Flanders and Artois, and by count Von Horn, admiral of Flanders, pointed out the injustice of quartering foreign troops in Holland, and the unprecedented outrages which these committed upon the citizens. The king was constrained to grant the request. He departed to Spain, leaving the rule to his half-sister, Margaret of Parma. Brought up with Ignatius Loyola as her confessor, and familiarized with the Macchiavellian policy of Philip, she was not without judgment, nor lacking in better impulses. She had for advisers in her councils of state and finance, and in her privy council, William of Orange and his friends, counts Egmont and Horn.

For her chief adviser she was given, by Philip, the eminent representative of absolutism, bishop Granvelle (made cardinal January 24, 1561), with count Berlaymont and the adroit jurist, Viglius van Aytta, both thoroughly devoted to the bishop. Margaret and Granvelle had been secretly instructed, in the face of the guaranteed rights and liberties of the provinces, not to send the Spanish troops away, to summon the states as seldom as possible, to impose the taxes required on the separate provinces, and to adopt the most relentless measures towards heretics.

The last point was first in the minds of the king and the cardinal. The execution of a scheme of the emperor Charles was counted necessary. The four bishoprics of the Netherlands were clearly seen to be too large for efficiency. They must be divided, and the number multiplied. In conjunction with the pope, who published a bull in the Netherland bishoprics (May 12, 1559), fourteen new bishoprics were erected, and endowed with the incomes of certain rich convents. The new bishops received instruction to maintain the Inquisition to the utmost, in their districts, by special agents.

The public mind received the innovations with the very worst grace. It was regarded by all ranks and classes as a measure in the interests of the Inquisition, and as a usurpation. The old bishops complained be-

cause their territories and incomes were curtailed. The abbots were angry at the unjustified and illegal diversion of their endowments. The nobles lamented that by the increase of the number of bishops their own power in the legislature was diminished. The people groaned over the streams of blood which the hydra-headed Inquisition poured out in all the cities. The king's stratagem already seemed to be breaking up the old order of affairs. The people in several districts rose up and opposed the entrance of the new bishops into their offices.

Meanwhile, Protestantism, in spite of all the butcheries of the Inquisition, was making headway in the country. Many of the youth who had studied in Geneva returned, bringing evangelical doctrines. Preachers were sent thither from France. Many Huguenots, exiling themselves after the massacre of Vassy (1562), were settled in Antwerp. Calvinistic sentiment constantly gained strength. A confession of faith, prepared by the Walloon preacher, Guido de Bres, and others, was revised in accordance with the views of the Geneva preachers, and sent to king Philip. In the midst of heroic conflict with the Spanish Inquisition, the evangelic church of the Netherlands, whose worship was held in forests and out-of-the-way places, began an organization after the Geneva pattern, with presbyteries and synods. A synod held May 1, 1564, in Antwerp, exhibits in its articles a complete church organization of the Calvinistic order.

We must distinguish between this evangelic movement, advancing quietly, and for the most part secretly, and making entrance into nearly all the cities of the Netherlands, and the exasperation expressed loudly on all sides at the Inquisition, and at Granvelle, who was regarded as the embodiment of Spanish tyranny. Chief among the representatives of the nation advanced the prince of Orange, as the leader of the portion of the nobility that arrayed itself against the misrule of Spain. Counts Egmont and Horn stood by his side. To these three were added Hoogstraten, Meghem, Arenberg, Mansfeld, Berghes, Montigny, Brederode, and other noblemen. Orange, with the counts, earnestly petitioned of the king (March 11, 1563) to remove Granvelle. When the petition was refused, he withdrew for a year from the council. At last Granvelle's removal was effected (March, 1564).

The Inquisition continued its bloody work as before. The council of Trent had decreed the persecution of heretics. Its condemnatory decrees were published in the Netherlands, in spite of the efforts of Orange and the nobility. The increasing confusion and complication of affairs endangered so greatly the safety not only of individuals, but of the nation, that a great number of the nobles, to ward off the peril, entered into a league named the "Compromise." Its author was really the knightly and accomplished Philip von Marnix, lord of Aldegonde, who had been a student in Geneva, and embraced there the evangelic faith. It was declared in the compact that inasmuch as a throng of foreigners,

Opposes papal
persecution.

using the Catholic religion as a cover for their ambition and greed, had influenced the king, against his oath and despite the assurances given his subjects, to increase the severity of the laws, and set up the Inquisition by force of arms, they, the vassals of the king and nobles of the nation, were obliged to form a league, and by oath bind themselves to prevent the establishment of the Inquisition with all the means in their power. Yet they wished solemnly to testify that they purposed naught that was opposed to the honor of God, the service of the king, or the good of the land.

The regent was in terror, seeing the league, to the number of four hundred armed men, approach her palace (April 5, 1566). They insisted first on the repeal of the religious edicts, and received in return from Berlaymont their nickname of *Gueux*, or *Beggars*. Their imposing movement was sure to prove momentous. This Orange had foreseen. He had admonished them of it before they came to the regent. He had refrained from subscribing their compact. He was against violent measures, which would make new complications. As chief of the nobility, he would maintain their cause, and yet fulfill his duty as an officer of the government. He found the task a difficult one, and soon was forced to more decided measures.

In an assembly at St. Trond (July, 1566), the nobility and the Protestants of Antwerp, who for a month had been holding public meetings, formed a solemn fraternal alliance. Orange saw here a very great danger. He considered the Calvinists too fierce and radical. He thought he might endure the followers of the Augsburg Confession. In this feeling he wrote to the league, admonishing them against excesses. But the wrath of the people of Lower Flanders was roused by the Inquisition, by sermons on the idolatry of image worship, and by the imposture of transubstantiation. The mob, in a fierce image-breaking riot, sacked the churches, broke the altars and images, taking away money and jewels, burning mass books and vestments, and threatening the bishops themselves with sore chastisements.

Orange saw that fanaticism would ruin the country, and strove for the removal of the Inquisition and the placing of the opposite religions upon an equal footing. He addressed a memorial from Utrecht to the states of Holland (November, 1566), recommending as the best means of establishing peace freedom in religion, or the adoption of the Augsburg Confession, or at least toleration of Protestantism. Toleration thenceforward was William's watchword. A new course had been adopted by the regent. She tried to make political capital out of the image-breaking, at which some of the league stood aghast. She went to work in earnest to subdue the nobility and the nation. Protestant assemblies were forbidden. Where they existed, they were dispersed. Spanish garrisons were placed in the cities. Protestant chapels were torn down.

Their joists were framed into gallows to hang Protestants upon. The Knights of the Golden Fleece were required to swear that they would serve the king against all persons whatsoever, and would renounce every alliance that was in opposition to this oath. Egmont and others took the oath. Orange declined.

William, well informed by his secret agents at the court of Philip respecting the purposes of the latter, had reached an hour of ^{His decisive} decision. The "Compromise" had now lost all its power ^{step.} (1566). Egmont, with the vain and weak, had been won to the side of Spain. Orange, in his isolation, found himself forced to the side of the Protestants. He saw that his cause and theirs were one, and that his was the task to establish through the religious liberty of Holland her political liberty. He did not yet perceive that the contest, if victorious, would lead to the founding of a new nation. He kept for a while his old relation to Philip. Without power to prevent violence to his people, he laid down his office, and retired to his home in Germany. He had written first to Philip, assuring him that he would not decline to give his life to his service in any just cause.

Philip despised such conscientious loyalty. He preferred to rely on ten thousand Spanish and Italian troops, who were on their way to the Netherlands, under the grim duke of Alba (1567). Received by Egmont on the frontier, Alba was welcomed by him to Brussels (in August), and at once, trampling upon all the rights and liberties of the states, opened his "Council of Disturbances," named by the nation the "Council of Blood," and began the eighteen thousand executions of which he afterwards boasted. Egmont and Horn, craftily seized at a merry banquet, were beheaded within a year upon the Brussels market-place (June 5, 1568). William, at whom Alba especially aimed, was summoned by the Council of Blood (January 19, 1568) to come before the same for trial. The penalty of refusing was perpetual banishment and forfeiture of his entire estate. Very naturally he failed to appear, and besides, in his position as a sovereign prince and a Knight of the Golden Fleece, he impugned the authority of the Council of Disturbances. His property in the Netherlands was at once confiscated by Alba, and his eldest son, who was a student in Louvain, was imprisoned and sent to Spain.

An edict was issued by the Council of Blood (February 16, 1568), by which the people of the Netherlands, with some few exceptions, were declared guilty of treason and heresy, and arraigned before the court of the Inquisition. The most dreadful bloodshed prevailed in the land; almost the whole reformed population became fugitives. In the north, many cities were well-nigh desolate. In the south the rancor, the dislike, felt by the Walloons against the true Hollanders, along with the intrigues of the popish nobility, almost annihilated the reformed faith.

The prince of Orange, finding that nothing save war could help the

Netherlands, was now untiring in enlisting an army for their deliverance. He had no thought of freeing them from Philip's rule, but only from the Inquisition and the arbitrary power of the viceroy. He purposed the restoration of constitutional government. Two armies, collected in Germany, and led by him and his brother Louis, entered the country. At first they had some success. Directly all seemed lost, save Seeks freedom by battle. William's confidence in his cause. His brother (Adolphus) had been slain, and he was forced back to the frontier of France. After a time freedom found a new hope, on which William reposed. Many Netherlands who had been driven across to England, under stress of their great poverty, undertook to fight their foes in detail upon the sea. At first these "sea-beggars" were only pirates. William soon perceived what great ends might be attained by this naval warfare against the Spaniards. He gathered the vessels of the sea-beggars into a fleet, gave them letters of marque, and made count William von der Mark their commander, who had the fortune (April 1, 1572) to capture Brill, the key to Holland.

This victory made a decided impression on the minds of the Netherlands. Nearly all the north rose in arms, placing themselves under the banner of Orange as the viceroy of the king. William advanced over the Rhine in the summer of 1572, with twenty-five thousand troops, and commenced a heroic contest, in which more than once he was on the brink of ruin. Yet he appeared ever as represented in his medals, "*Sævis tranquillus in undis*," and after each hard battle rose again with heroic strength to let his enemy know the power of his blow.

In the first years of the struggle, or till 1575, Philip's rule was recognized. The war was therefore properly a war for religious liberty; not for the reformed faith, or for the Protestant, but for religion in general. Orange was the embodiment of this sentiment of Christian toleration, and especially at the time when he renounced popery (1573) and embraced the reformed confession. The prince seemed to have won the most brilliant success when Requesens, the successor of Alba (in 1573), and viceroy in the south, had died (1576). The Spanish troops were unpaid, and undertook to pay themselves by plunder. For defense against them, the southern provinces decided to unite with the northern. The "Pacification of Ghent" was made, with the intention of erecting a single state, embracing all seventeen provinces, but preserving the separate rights of the provincial territories. In regard to religion, the ruling idea was toleration, and possibly the equality of the reformed and Roman confessions in all the provinces. The enforcement of this scheme seemed hopeful when the Prince of Orange, soon after, by choice of the states, was made "Maintainer of the Peace" in Brabant, with almost dictatorial powers. Alas, Spanish intrigue excited local feeling in the provinces, largely Romanist, and craftily induced them to ignore the "pacification." Artois,

Douay, and Hennegau adopted a new compact for themselves (January 5, 1579), resolving to maintain liberty, but not to tolerate the reformed worship. This led the seven Protestant provinces, Gelders, Zutphen, Holland, Seeland, Utrecht, Friesland, and Frisian Ommelland, to combine, in accordance with William's advice, in the "Union of Utrecht" (January 23, 1579). They formed a Protestant commonwealth, which two years later threw off entirely the Spanish yoke, and became the foundation of the Dutch nation, which exists till this day. Its principles were the civil liberties of the several provinces, the union of all for their common ends, and the Protestant faith. The last was so vital that it was declared with truth by William, in his "Apology," that without loyalty to the Reformation the Netherland republic could not last a day.

The reformed faith now prevailed in the United Provinces, and could have free exercise. Alas, the thought entered the political rulers that a church independent of the state could not be allowed in their nation. A church government, which was published (1576) under authority of the prince of Orange, allowed congregations presbyterial rule and discipline, but denied them synodical self-control, since it was doubted if two headships could exist in a community. When, at the first Netherland national synod (at Dort, 1578), the attempt was made to give the church a perfectly free presbyterial constitution, with a national synod meeting every three years as the supreme authority, the project was rejected by the civil government. At a synod in Middleburg (1581) the question of the church's constitution was further considered, but without securing a united and free organization. Nothing was attained beyond provincial bodies. Presbyterial government in many congregations was very imperfect. From this sprang, in large part, the disquiet which arose in the church of Holland after 1600. Its origin was in the setting up of the state as the controlling power in the church.

Had the prince of Orange been allowed a longer life, church matters in the Netherlands might have been more happily arranged. He had appointed a commission (1581) to draft a church constitution on the basis of the views of the synod at Middleburg. The draft had been drawn up, but before any conclusion could be reached concerning it the hand of the assassin had brought the life of William to its close (July 10, 1584). The murderer, Balthasar Gerard, was a popish fanatic. Under the mask of a needy Protestant, he had introduced himself to the king, and received money. His confession testified that he was led into his crime by a Franciscan and a Jesuit. The whole land was overwhelmed by sorrow, for the "Father of the Netherlands" had been taken away.

The contest of which William was the great leader was none the less carried forward with untiring constancy. In the father's place rose his

oldest son, Maurice. When the Spaniards had been fearfully weakened, they finally were constrained to grant a twelve years' truce to the Netherlands, in 1609. From this date the freedom of the Netherlands may be considered established. (The formal recognition of the seven United Provinces as a free and independent nation was granted by Spain at the Peace of Westphalia.) From this truce, the state which had been created by William's power and wisdom developed in freedom and security the character which it had won under his leadership. The Netherlands were the first nation to grant freedom of conscience and toleration, to distinguish between political obligation and religious conviction. "Fugitives for conscience' sake from other nations," as Lechler writes, — "Jews from Spain and Portugal, like the parents of Spinoza; Socinians from Poland, like Samuel Crell; Huguenots and Jansenists from France; Presbyterians, Quakers, and Episcopalians from England,—all betook themselves to the protection of the Netherlands. The United Provinces were the free land in which Cartesius, Spinoza, Becker, Bayle, and Leclerc could publish their belief. And to these provinces under William Third England owes the salvation of her Protestant liberties and her laws of toleration." — H. H.

NOTE.—No Holland name, after William of Orange, is more widely known than James Arminius. But its celebrity is less due to anything remarkable in him or his achievements than to the identification of it, as if by accident, with one of the ways in which mankind have regarded the decrees of the Almighty. The fame of Arminius reminds us of that of Amicus. The latter's name was attached as a convenience to a savage shore just discovered; and, lo, it speedily meant a continent. The former's to a few debaters in Holland, and soon it was used to designate a widely extended theory of the purposes of the Eternal. The opposing views are called sometimes Calvinism, sometimes Augustinianism. The points of difference between these, in their unfolding of the mind of God, it does not belong to this note to describe. Suffice it to say, that both deal largely with—what is now, and in this present life must ever continue, above man's power to comprehend—the ways of God, which are indeed a right theme of theological speculation, and if men please, of friendly denominational divergency, but can never be justly made a shibboleth of Christianity.

James Arminius (or Hermann, as his family name would be if changed from Latin to German) was born in Ondewater, Holland, in 1560. When fifteen years old he went, by the favor of Christian friends, for his parents were both dead, to Leyden University, to remain there seven years. The next six years he pursued theological studies at Geneva, and in Italy. At twenty-eight he was back in Holland, installed as preacher in Amsterdam amid popular approval.

Soon came the incident which has given his name its wide fame. A volume had been published assailing Beza, his teacher in Geneva. Arminius was called upon to answer it. To the surprise of the doctors he agreed with its author, and arrayed himself against a portion of the doctrines of Beza and Calvin. At once he became the leader of a party, and a champion in theological warfare, so popular in his century, and so healthful to Protestantism. His ability was approved by men of position in such degree as gave him, at forty-three years of age, a professorship at Leyden, the scene of his youthful studies. Also he received the first doctorate of divinity ever bestowed by Leyden University.

The school which, since its opening in 1575, had commemorated Holland's triumph (1574) in driving, by old ocean's help, the Spaniards from Leyden, was to Arminius a five years' battlefield with a fellow teacher older than himself. As to this contest we may repeat the decision given by the Court of the Hague, before which the two learned Doctors held discussion upon their theologies. It was that "the two professors differed in points of little importance and unessential to religion." It may be believed that neither was an extremist in his views. Certainly Arminius did not dare as much as some have dared in his name, defining what the Almighty can or cannot perform. At the end of five years' theological warfare Arminius died, only forty-nine years of age. Ten years after his death, 1618-19, Holland adopted, at the Synod of Dore, a Confession, under five heads (Predestination, Atonement, Man's Nature, Grace and Free Will, Perseverance; whence the phrase "Five Points of Calvinism," divergent from the views of Arminius. It was the era of denomination making. We cannot call the one side or other a sect, for a sect is a party which refuses to maintain some essential truths of our religion. Arminius, of whom Neander declares that he was "the model of a theologian, in conscientious and zealous investigation," was more than a mere sectarian.—H. M. M.

THE CHURCH'S REFORMED PROGRESS.

PERIOD FIFTH. COMPRISING CENTURIES XVII.-XIX. (OR FROM THE END OF THE REFORMATION ERA TO THE PRESENT TIME). DIVISIONS OF THE PERIOD: CENTURIES XVII., XVIII., THE CHURCH'S REFORMED PROGRESS THROUGH EXTENDED INSTRUCTION IN DOCTRINE AND THROUGH THE BUILDING UP OF DENOMINATIONS; CENTURY XIX., THE CHURCH'S REFORMED PROGRESS THROUGH ENLARGED EFFORT IN MISSIONS, CHARITIES, SCHOOLS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REFORMS, AND EVANGELICAL UNIONS.

LIFE I. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

A. D. 1594—A. D. 1632. LUTHERAN, — SWEDEN.

THE pure-hearted soldier, the heroic deliverer of the reformed church in Germany, was born in Stockholm, Sweden, December 9, 1594. He was the son of Charles Ninth, who was made king of Sweden (1604), after the dethronement of Sigismund, who had accepted the throne of Poland and become a Romanist. Charles was a zealous Lutheran and a grandson of Gustavus Vasa. The boy early inclined to affairs of state and to the army. Through his reforms the arms of Sweden were to win new glory. When fifteen years old, upon the breaking out of a war with Russia, he asked his father to let him lead the army. He was refused, but the very next year (1611) he was given an independent command in a war with Denmark. He carried through more than one affair successfully, surpassing even what was expected of him. His father dying this year (October 30th), Gustavus was declared of age by the estates of Sweden, and, though hardly seventeen, undertook the charge of the kingdom and the conduct of the war with Denmark, Russia, and Poland. His great military talents were soon shown. He revolutionized the army organization. He adopted and enforced new principles in respect to weapons, tactics, use of artillery, and discipline. He joined to all this the power of moral and religious feeling. Every regiment had a chaplain. Daily service was held not only as an act of worship, but as a measure of discipline, — one, however, that was readily accepted by the soldiers, by reason of their religious enthusiasm.

The youth's keen, true understanding of state affairs was shown in his finding in the youngest of his counselors, Axel Oxenstierna, the great

statesman, the man whose counsel he might follow in the greatest emergencies. Axel's coolness and caution were suited to make up for any rashness of the king, and to keep his ardor within bounds. The mere fact that Gustavus did not succumb to the three mighty foes whom his father left him served to indicate the ability of the youth and the lofty destiny that awaited him. Gustavus began to perceive this destiny when the war of religions in Germany, which was begun in 1618, gradually went against the Protestants, and the very existence of the evangelical church was (1629) placed in jeopardy. Gustavus was devoted to this church with a deep affection arising from profound conviction. In the full strength of his manhood, at thirty-five years of age, he decided, in face of the hugely increased power of the emperor, like a Luther in the face of the papacy, to carry out his long-considered and bold resolve to save the Protestants of Germany, who were on the very brink of destruction; to humble the emperor; and, if possible, to obtain the title of king of Rome and the succession to the emperorship of Germany, which had now been held so long by foreign princes who had done nothing for the German nation. That this last thought was in his mind must be granted, since it was shown afterwards. Nor is it one to be seriously reprehended, for if it was ever desirable that the imperial office should not be held by a Romanist nor by one of the Hapsburg family, it was especially so at that period. The Protestant princes then needed powerful assistance. Besides, the Swedes were kinsmen. The only question is, How did Gustavus Adolphus go to work to achieve the object named? History replies to this that to preserve Protestantism, and to obtain equal rights for it in Germany, was first and last his chief and most earnest aim. This, the facts prove, was ever put by him honestly and fairly in the foreground.

Luther's spirit of reformation lived anew in Gustavus Adolphus. Luther's word had shaken the world, and put the papacy on its defense. Gustavus's sword was to smite it anew. His task was the more needful and the more difficult, too, from the apathy of the Protestant princes. Yet in proportion as obstacles increase, do mental endowments increase to those who are called to meet them. This was eminently true of Gustavus Adolphus. His noble spirit shone forth in his personal appearance. Of pure German blood, he was of slender form, but majestic, towering stature. The dazzling fairness of his countenance was enhanced by the bloom of his cheeks. With his wealth of yellow hair, true German, and flowing upon his shoulders, joined his glorious eyes, — short-sighted, it is true, but none the less fiery and expressive. His countenance wore a majesty which commanded reverence. Earnestness, graciousness, and dignity characterized his glance, which, when animated, enraptured by its gentleness. The high-arched, nobly formed nose helped to give him the look of a hero. Resoluteness of will

Gustavus finds
his life mission.

His personal ap-
pearance.

and thorough understanding of his circumstances were added to his other mental powers. He showed in business affairs a judgment as profound as comprehensive. Hence his undertakings were circumspectly begun, carefully and energetically carried forward, steadfastly and perseveringly pushed to completion. His lofty mind was possessed also of a splendid imagination; and with his sound judgment and insight was united the gift of eloquence. He thus rose above a man of talent to one of genius,—a glowing star shining before the eyes of the world. In the purity of morals which marks true greatness in man or prince, the Swedish king was an example to his generation. His personal courage and intrepid daring in face of danger were so noted as to cause his followers great concern. He was just in judging, by reason of his goodness of heart and strength of character. Schooled in wisdom, he made toleration a law of state, and in the lands which he subdued treated Romanists and Protestants gently and impartially, putting them upon a perfect equality. Nor would he have changed this rule, symmetrical as he was in character, had he lived longer, and well would the carrying out of it have been for Germany. For this cause his early death was so profoundly and universally lamented. It was a sign, people said, that the Germany of that day was not worthy of him. But let us briefly run over the story of his career. Buildd up by his example, we shall be led to cry at his early death, “O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!”

The love of Gustavus's youth was Ebba Brahe, daughter of the high bailiff of Sweden. To her he composed tender verses in the midst of dangerous campaigns, and with her would have shared his crown and kingdom, had not his stout-hearted mother, queen Christina, daughter of duke Adolf, of Schleswig-Holstein, prevented, and secured Ebba's marriage to her son's general, Jacob de la Gardie. Gustavus went on a visit to Germany, and in Berlin saw, for the first time, the princess Marie Eleanore, of whom his ambassador, Birkhold, ^{His love leads him to Germany.} had written him some two years before. She was sister of elector George William of Brandenburg, and second daughter of John Sigismund, then recently deceased. Five years younger than Gustavus, she passed for a perfect beauty, as charming as majestic in appearance, and was possessed of great taste and knowledge in the arts. Gustavus made a second journey to Berlin expressly, in 1620, and obtained from the elector's widow the hand of her daughter, wedding her in Stockholm, November 28th. His wife gave him the profoundest affection and respect. The happy union was tried only by his many absences in the wars, and by her tender solicitude for his life. This marriage helped turn Gustavus to a close inspection of the affairs of Germany. His military abilities were already generally known. After the battle of Prague (November 3. 1620), the

Spanish general, marquis Von Spinola, had declared, "Gustavus of Sweden is the only Protestant chief whom we dare not provoke." Gustavus could not regard the triumph of the emperor with indifference, since it affected his brother Protestants. He was too generous to shut his ears to the cries of the exiled princes of Mecklenburg, who asked aid from Sweden. These princes were, moreover, his neighbors and kinsmen. Nor could he overlook the danger to Sweden from the emperor taking the duchy of Pomerania, after the death of Bogislaus, the last of the ruling family. For the emperor had perverted a treaty made at Brandenburg, and possessed himself of Pomerania and Rügen. Gustavus took the burning of the Swedish fleet, with the offer of thirty-five thousand dollars as compensation, as a part of a far-reaching plan on the part of the Hapsburgs against Sweden. He regarded the pledge wrung from the Danish king, the ally of the Protestants (in the disgraceful Peace of Lübeck, May 12, 1629), that he would not meddle again in German affairs, as a prelude to the imperial designs against Sweden. Then, when the edict of restitution was published (March 6, 1629), restoring to the Romanists all the property and church endowments which had become Protestant since the year 1555, a measure which especially affected Northern Germany, what course was to be taken by so ardent a Protestant and so skilled a warrior as Gustavus Adolphus? Could he refuse help when Stralsund, which was the key of the Baltic, and had asked his protection, was hard pressed by Wallenstein? Could he disappoint the discouraged and perplexed Protestants of Germany, whose eyes were upon him? For though it be granted that his aid was not asked by the sleepy Protestant electors, he was the more ardently longed for by the lesser princes, the cities, and the people. Gustavus therefore armed, taking the advice of his council, and obtaining its consent to each important step, although not obliged to do so; for he desired, if misfortune came, not to bear it alone. The heart of Sweden was his, not only for the sake of what he was, but for the sake of what he had done for Swedish institutions, even amid severe wars, thus showing how much he thought of the advancement of his fellow-men.

Gustavus's army, formed in the Danish-Russian wars, was supplied with skillful generals, and made ready to march. A peace or an extended truce was made with each of the neighboring countries. The king then called the Swedish estates together (May 19, 1630), brought into their presence his little daughter, Christina, four years of age, as his heir, commended her to their allegiance, and bade them a touching farewell, foreboding that he should never more return. He had appointed throughout the whole kingdom three days of fasting and prayer, — the first Fridays of July, August, and September, — to supplicate God's blessing on his difficult enterprise. Long after Gustavus was dead, the church of Sweden kept up the observance of these days.

Takes his leave
of Sweden.

On setting out, the king's fleet was hindered by prevailing southwest

winds, and even after it had reached the high seas was obliged to return. The passage was made so tedious and difficult that fresh provisions had to be obtained from the Swedish sea-ports. Finally, just one hundred years after the presenting of the Confession of Augsburg, the king cast anchor (June 25, 1630), in the midst of a thunder-storm, at the little island of Ruden, by the most western of the three mouths of the Oder. The shore was ablaze in the night with fires kindled by the foe, who retired to his camp at Anklam. Gustavus stepped into a boat, and ordered a landing. It was effected, by the aid of flat boats, upon the island of Usedom. Gustavus first set foot upon the shore, fell on his knees, and poured his heart out in ardent prayer to God. He then seized a spade. While half the forces joined with him in throwing up defenses, the rest stood by their arms ready for battle. Eleven regiments were landed in the course of the night. The rest followed with cannon, baggage, and horses. Before noon an army fifteen thousand strong occupied a well-fortified camp, provided with artillery, around the little village of Peenemünde. General Leslie, in Stralsund, who in April had cleared the island of Rügen of the foe, joined the king, who at once drove the imperial troops off the islands of Usedom and Wollin, and made himself master of the mouths of the Oder. He obliged the old duke of Pomerania to give up Stettin to him (July 20th), and to secure to him, after the duke's death, the possession of Pomerania, until compensation was obtained for the expense of the war.

The trust in God shown by Gustavus in this bold enterprise, long considered though it was, is doubly wonderful. He was marching against an emperor who had put the Protestants down and mastered Germany, and who, as Gustavus knew, had an army four times larger than his own. With a king who was in the habit of calculating everything, this could not have been mere temerity. It must have come from his conviction that he was doing God's work. Gustavus also lacked money. France offered help, wishing to lessen the power of Hapsburg, but it was refused by Gustavus as long as its acceptance meant any injury to Germany or any subjection to France. This strength of spirit, which in a critical position refused French gold and braved a superior force, must it not have come from God? Though Gustavus knew that Germany, however exhausted, had more plentiful resources than poor Sweden, he generously declined to lay the country under contribution, like Wallenstein, or to quarter his soldiers upon the people. Add to this that in 1629 and 1630 the plague raged in Sweden, in Stockholm driving the court from the city, as had been the case in 1620, and the resolution of Gustavus must be ascribed to a lofty, irresistible motive. The very moment when Gustavus landed in North Germany the whole force of Wallenstein (removed from command September, 1630) and of Tilly was in arms, one hundred and

The source of
the king's
strength.

sixty thousand fighting men. Yet Gustavus did not remain on the defensive, as some advised, but moved forward to attack them; this, although he had five years earlier, when offered by France the command of an army against the emperor, asked for such an object seventy-five thousand men. What could it have been that made him so confident, even when his brother-in-law, the fearful elector of Brandenburg, was doubtful, and the elector John George of Saxony was coquetting with Austria? What save an inspiration from above?

The effort has been made to cast a shadow over the fair picture of Gustavus, as drawn by Protestants, by throwing on him the blame of the fall of Magdeburg (May 10, 1631). This is not just. He was throughout the siege of this strong and wealthy city anxious to relieve it. But he needed the support of the Brandenburg strongholds of Cüstrin and Spandau, and also the help of the Saxon army. The blame must rest on the two loitering electors. They gave the needed aid only when, after the sack of Magdeburg, their own capitals were threatened and surrounded. Not till Saxony was overrun by Tilly, and heavily oppressed, did John George in his extremity ask the aid of Gustavus, who treated him more kindly than he deserved. He fought, at the desire of Saxony, the battle near Leipzig, or Breitenburg, and, in spite of the poor support and the shameful flight of the Saxons and their cowardly electors, he, with his Swedes, revenged on Tilly and Pappenheim the cruelty shown to Magdeburg. The battle (September 17, 1631) lasted from two o'clock in the afternoon until seven, and ended with the complete overthrow of the hitherto invincible marshal Tilly. Gustavus has been blamed because, after this grand victory, he did not at once march upon Vienna, to dictate peace to the emperor at the gates of his capital. He was advised to this by the unwarlike elector of Saxony, whom he had called back from his flight and treated most magnanimously. But as surely as Hannibal, after his victory of Cannæ, was withheld by sufficient reasons from attacking Rome, so we know that Gustavus, whose boldness was certain, was kept back from a tempting course by a superior knowledge of strategy. He preferred to march to Southwest Germany. There Saxony had proven unable, after proffering to do the work, to break or to weaken the power of the Romanist alliance known as "The League." Gustavus, marching on triumphantly, took Erfurt, fell upon Thuringia and Franconia, seized Würzburg, went by way of Rothenburg on the Tauber towards the Rhine, took Frankfort, passed over and took Mainz. Here and in Frankfort by turns he passed the winter, establishing his court and camp. Embassies from all the powers, and many of the highest German nobles, came to one whom all Europe now honored as a bright, propitious star. His patriotism in the midst of his success appears in his repelling demeanor to France, who would support him, but wanted to take Alsace.

His first great
victory.

He set a praiseworthy example which put to shame the German emperor's action in the peace negotiations at Münster at a later period.

The winter of 1631-32 passed in political negotiations, which proved the king as skilled in statesmanship as in war. On the 13th of March he left Mainz. His able general, Gustav Horn, who had, since January, been engaged in various expeditions, joined him. March 22d, at Kitzingen. His army numbered forty thousand men, and compelled the crippled force of Tilly to fall back to Ingolstadt. Gustavus appeared before Donauwörth March 26th, expelled the duke of Lauenburg, and gave the city a free constitution after a quarter of a century's subjection to Bavaria. He thus possessed himself of the bridge over the Danube, the key of Bavaria. He also took the bridge over the Lech. Tilly had intrenched himself in the village of Rain. The elector of Bavaria, with all his militia, was with him. Yet Gustavus took the place April 15th, Tilly falling mortally wounded. The king marched on to Augsburg April 24th without hindrance, making a solemn entry into the city, and taking an oath of allegiance from the citizens. On the 25th he hurried to Ingolstadt, behind whose stout walls the elector Maximilian was encamped. It was here that a ball from a twenty-four pounder passed close to the calf of the king's leg and through the belly of his horse, while the rider fell covered with blood and dust. Prince Max, according to Tilly's dying counsel, fell back to Regensburg before Gustavus could take that city, the key to Bohemia. In the beginning of May the king entered Old Bavaria. He was forced to use severity here by the hostile acts of the people, excited as they were by their priests. His soldiers, embittered by the malice shown, burned some villages in return for the killing of their comrades by the peasants. Gustavus took all the lowland, with Moosburg on the Isar, Landshut, and Freising, and on May 17th drew up his army in array before the walls of Munich. The keys of the city were at once surrendered to him. He remained in Munich three days, keeping his troops under strict discipline, and exacting a fine of three hundred thousand thalers. Called to meet Wallenstein. The distress of the allies of the emperor obliged the latter to restore Wallenstein (displaced at Regensburg, two years before, by the urgent request of the princes) to the supreme command, acceding to his oppressive conditions. The latter soon had an army of fifty thousand men, and drove the Saxons, with their inefficient and traitorous general Arnim, from Bohemia. He then marched upon Nürnberg, to prove as quickly as possible who was first in Germany, — he or the Swede. Gustavus, leaving Memmingen, marched after the Bavarians, who had left Regensburg and entered the Upper Palatinate. He reached Nürnberg June 18th, and Sulzbach June 22d. Gustavus made a treaty with the old city, wishing to spare it the fate of Magdeburg. He began then to besiege Wallenstein, who with sixty thousand men was intrenched between Stein

and Dombach, overlooking Nürnberg and the army of Gustavus. Upon August 31st the king, having been reinforced by duke Bernhard of Weimar, proffered battle, both armies then suffering from pestilence and hunger. Wallenstein chose to keep in his intrenchments, nor even after enduring a severe assault would he come out. But when Gustavus, to put an end to the suspense, left Wallenstein behind, and took up his march with drums beating, the latter set his camp on fire and directed his course to Coburg, Altenburg, and Leipzig. Gustavus, who had turned south, was called back by this movement. The plan of Wallenstein was to devastate Saxony during the winter, draw away its elector from the side of the Swedes, and in the spring overrun North Germany and Mecklenburg, cutting off the retreat of Gustavus, and crushing him. The latter by forced marches reached Arnstadt October 23d, and Erfurt October 28th. His queen overtook him in the market-place of the latter city, and received from him the day following his farewell kiss. When, upon November 11th, Gustavus reached Naumburg, the people at his entry fell upon their knees before him, extended to him their hands, kissed the hem of his garment, and proclaimed him their saviour. Aghast at their idolatrous worship, the king exclaimed, "I am afraid that Heaven will send me misfortune, for this people honor me as a god!" He then intrenched himself to await the coming of duke George of Lüneburg and elector George of Saxony. Wallenstein fell back to Weissenfels, where the news of the intrenchment of the king at Naumburg reached him. Purposing to cut him off, if possible, he set out November 14th for Lützen. The king, seeing his plan, at once left Naumburg. On his march he heard of the detaching of Pappenheim's forces, and of Wallenstein's troops encamping in security about Lützen. "Now I believe," he cried, "that God has given the enemy into my hands!" He joined battle, though the Saxons were missing as in the battle of Leipzig. The Swedes pushed rapidly upon Lützen. It was night, the 15th of November, when they descended from the hills to the plain, and encamped in open ground, with the king at their head.

Upon Tuesday morning, November 16, 1632, a thick fog hung over the field of battle, preventing the hostile armies, though so near together, from seeing one another. About eleven o'clock the sun came out. The Swedes had offered their morning prayers upon their knees, and sung Luther's hymn, "Ein' feste Burg." The king then began the hymn composed by himself, "Fear not, thou little flock," and, protected only by his coat of cloth and leathern doublet, mounted his horse and rode through the ranks, addressing every nation with a suitable speech; and then, waving his sword above his head, gave the command, Forward! Lützen, set on fire by the imperial troops, to prevent themselves being outflanked, was in flames. The cannon thundered upon the advancing Swedes. Musketeers concealed in ditches

The king's great victory.

opened on them a murderous fire. None the less, Wallenstein's batteries were stormed, and two of his immense squares broken through. The Swedish cavalry were stopped by the ditches, but when the king went over followed after him. Gustavus, seeing his infantry giving way, hastened to their relief with part of his cavalry. Riding at their head, the fog again gathering, and his near-sightedness deceiving him, he fell among Piccolomini's cuirassiers. His horse received a pistol shot in the neck; by a second the king's arm was broken. As he turned he was struck by a shot in the back, and falling from his horse was dragged some distance in the stirrup. Of his grooms, one was dead, the other wounded. The Swedes, at the word "The king is wounded, captured, dead," were filled with renewed rage, and led by Bernhard threw themselves, fearless of death, upon the foe, and drove him back on every side. Even when Pappenheim came up with fresh troops they took courage, attacked him and obtained a complete victory. More than nine thousand of their slain enemies, Pappenheim among them, were spread over the town. After nine hours of battle Wallenstein was beaten, leaving the field to the Swedes. Thus gloriously died the great Swede, Gustavus Adolphus. His was a spirit as circumspect as it was bold. Rarely did any plan of his miscarry. In battle he was undaunted and as bold as a lion. In counsel he was wise and noble-minded. His deeds have left men impressed with his greatness, unselfishness, and generosity. His soldiers clung to him, not only because he led them to victory, but because he took care of them, kept them under discipline, and went before them in every difficulty and danger. The people revered him as a deliverer and a man, and not simply because they were overwhelmed by his great deeds. Even those not Protestants could not refuse him the tribute of profound esteem. As long as German history lives, so long will his name brighten and shine as a star in the sky.

Two hundred years after his death rose the Gustavus Adolphus Endowment, a beneficent and holy institution, intended to lend help to oppressed and dispersed evangelical churches. It has done much good already, and remains a fitting memorial of this royal Christian hero. So also does the Swedish monument at Lützen, which marks the place where he fell. — J. O. V.

LIFE II. PAUL GERHARDT.

A. D. 1606—A. D. 1676. LUTHERAN, — GERMANY.

AMONG the noblest and loveliest of the results of the Reformation is its harvest of holy song, blessing in particular the evangelical church of Germany. At the time when he whose portrait we are to portray first saw the light, the lofty song of the "Wittenberg Nightingale" had

for over half a century resounded through the empire. With it, too, had been heard other songs, sung by poets whom the master spirit of Luther had inspired. Before their songs arose, the church for half a thousand years had been doomed to silence. She indeed had been permitted to add to the priestly litanies sung in unknown Latin her "Lord, have mercy," her "Pray for us," or her "Amen;" but these had come to be mere soulless echoes. How happy she was made when her tongue was at last unloosed; when in church and at home she could utter, according to her heart's desire and longing, her Christian faith, renewed in apostolical purity, in the winged words of her own mother tongue! With Luther leading the choir, she had sung, "Dear Christian people, all rejoice!" "Be Thou exalted, Jesus Christ!" "A mighty fortress is our God!" and all of Luther's seven and thirty valiant songs. With Paul Speratus she had repeated, "Salvation now has come!" With Justus Jonas, "Were God not on our side!" With Paul Eber, "When in the sorest need!" and "Lord Jesus Christ, true man and God!" With Nicholas Decius, "To God alone be highest praise!" And with others like new and lofty songs, which ascended to the skies. They were glad hymns of sincere Christian confession. He who sang, sang not for himself, but for all reformed Christendom, with which he felt himself in unison. What was known and accepted as abiding truth he uttered in song. The creed, which denoted the "standing or falling church," naturally gave character to the poetry of the Reformation. It came not with honeyed words, but clad in steel armor. It advanced in short, comprehensive, positive sentences. The renewed church needed to be defined, her foundations to be well established. As has well been said, the poetry of the Reformation shows "the Holy Spirit doing the work of the lapidary." There was in it a holy defiance, a nervous conciseness. This period of "objective hymnology," as it is called (which is not for a moment to be confounded with didactic poetry, for it soared on eagles' wings in the most sublime and inspired lyrics), came to a close. This occurred in part through the bursting forth of the tempest of war. There arose then a desire to gather

New era of hymnology. from the church's confessions treasures of gospel truth to strengthen the individual heart for days of darkness, or under life's burdens and varied relations. This gave sacred poetry a subjective character. We hear songs of the cross and of consolation,—"home and heart melodies," as John Heermann called his hymns. The believer sings his individual experiences to strengthen and encourage his brethren. He aims less at celebrating the facts of Christian redemption than at consecrating, sanctifying, and glorifying all personal and home conditions and relations. Morning and evening songs, wedding and nursery songs, songs of health, of sickness, and of death, and the like, are now sung.

In this era, as its leader, as its first and greatest master, rises one who,

next to Luther, takes the first place as a hymn-writer in the German, and indeed in the whole Protestant church. Who of evangelical Christians in Germany can hear the name without having notes, as it were, of bells and of grand organ-pipes salute his ears! Paul Gerhardt's name has resounded through the world."

The poet's birth was in 1606, in Gräfenhainichen, near Wittenberg, a city of electoral Saxony, burned up afterwards by the Swedes in the nineteenth year of the Thirty Years' War. His father was the burgomaster of the city. Paul's youth is veiled in obscurity. We only know that he was brought up a Christian. Early in life he was forced to reflect upon religion. He saw in youth the flames of the most devastating of all wars sweep over his country. He beheld it smitten by a thousand horrors and distresses, among which was the pestilence, and left at last a desert and a ruin. This indescribable calamity led his heart upward, and increased the disposition which he had manifested even from childhood to prayer and contemplation. He does not meet us again until 1651. He has now, for several years, had a place as a friend in the house of the advocate Berthold, in Berlin. Though forty-four years of age he is still a candidate without a parish, a circumstance which remains an enigma. Even then he has written and published some of his best songs: the morning song, "Awake, my heart, and sing!" the Easter song, "Approach within my gates!" and the jubilee song ^{Gerhardt's first hymns.} upon the Peace of Westphalia, "Praise God that now resound the notes of peace and gladness!" Meanwhile, he preached frequently in the churches of the city, embracing every opportunity of doing so, gladly. Why an official position was not offered him is, as has been said, inexplicable. His faith here met the sorest trials, yet came forth triumphant in God. An opening at last came. The "provostship" in Mittenwald became vacant. The magistracy asking the Berlin clergy to recommend some one to the place, they unhesitatingly named Paul Gerhardt. They testified that "he was well known for industry and learning, of good mind and of sound faith, honorable and peaceful in disposition, and spotless in life." Upon this account Paul Gerhardt was esteemed and loved by high and low in the city. The clergy could bear witness that at their invitation he had, by his excellent gifts, many times placed the churches of the city under obligation, and had grown to be greatly beloved. Upon this favorable testimony Gerhardt was called, and upon November 18, 1651, was ordained in the Nicolai Church, Berlin. He then solemnly subscribed the creed of the Lutheran church, including the "Form of Concord." His subscription, especially to this last, was to have a very serious result to him.

He became pastor of Mittenwald in the beginning of 1652. No record is preserved of his labors there. It may be supposed that they were exemplary. He was not free from trouble, especially in his relation to his

colleagues, over whom he was placed, without fault of his own, — his second assistant in particular, whose ambition and envy could not forgive Gerhardt that he was preferred to himself. He stayed five years in Mittenwald, in the last year wedding Anna Maria Berthold, the daughter of his good friend in Berlin. His home and married life became a model for his congregation. In June, 1657, he was called by the magistracy of

Is a pastor in
Berlin.

Berlin to be a dean in the Nicolai Church of that city. He gladly accepted the place, hardly foreseeing what trials it would bring. He found himself delightfully related to his people, and to his new colleagues. How could it be otherwise, when he had long been known as a gifted theologian, a zealous pastor, and a man of the purest character, sincerest faith, and kindest heart! The people flocked in crowds to hear him. His services were the most frequented of all in the capital. By his preaching many were awakened from religious indifference. The church life of Berlin seemed about to bloom in a joyous spring-time, when upon the swelling shoots and buds, so full of promise, there settled the mildew of an unfortunate church quarrel.

Even before Gerhardt became a dean there was war between the Lutherans and the Reformed. Never could hotter excommunications and charges of heresy have been uttered against Rome than were pronounced by the pulpits of the two parties against one another almost every Sunday. The Reformed were reviled by their Lutheran brethren as sacramentarians, antinomians, rationalists, Socinians, or the like. Their doctrine was declared a complete apostasy from the clear, plain word of Scripture. The Reformed, while upon the whole taking the defensive, paid back their adversaries with epithets which were not altogether soothing, such as "slaves to the letter," "Capernaumites," "ritual peddlers," and reproached them with having but half divested themselves of popery. The noble Christian elector, Frederick William, while accepting heartily, like all his house, the Reformed creed, yielded to the Lutherans the most kind and appropriate recognition, and as a father resolutely protected them in their rights and liberties. But he had long been pained by the church trouble, and had never ceased striving to reconcile the parties. His well-meant endeavors were thwarted chiefly by the unyielding temper of the Lutheran theologians. Finally, in 1662, with an aim at harmony, he summoned the representatives of the two creeds to a colloquy. After many objections from the Lutheran side, the meeting took place in a room in the electoral library, baron chief president Otto von Schwerin in the chair. The edict of the elector which called the assembly together said, among other things, that "the unchristian charges, slanders, and anathemas, the false interpretations, the forced charges of blasphemous belief, should be put away on both sides; that true Christianity and the practice of real, sincere, undisputed religion should be enforced upon the minds of the people. For this object they

should confer amicably on the following questions: Does the Reformed confession teach or affirm anything for which the one teaching or affirming it should be damned 'judicio divino'? Does the said confession deny or conceal anything for the lack of the knowledge and practice of which Almighty God would withhold from any one salvation?"

Paul Gerhardt had now been serving as dean of the Nicolai Church for five years, quietly, peacefully, faithfully, and successfully, hardly taking note of the world outside. With a loving heart, he had, although a brave upholder of Lutheran views, never been guilty of pulpit controversies. When he heard of such he uttered his sorrow, and poured forth before God in his closet his longing for a union of all Christians in the love of Christ. But he was obliged now to appear upon the field of strife, and to be a leader even of his party.

Becomes involved in church strifes.

The colloquy went on, or rather crept on, through seventeen sessions. The doings had little in them that was refreshing; while the length and breadth and repetition in them were, as we would think, intolerable. The Lutherans started out with the proposition, to which they ever returned, that their creed in substance coincided with the gospel, and that of course the Reformed, so far as they varied from it and taught something else, were in error. The Reformed pointed constantly to the distinction between essentials and non-essentials in evangelical doctrine. The Lutherans would not allow that this applied to any article in their creed, which, they said, as a whole was fundamental. The Reformed wished the concession that they with their idea of the Sacrament could be saved. The Lutherans thought that they could admit this only in the case that the others held to the Zwinglian or Calvinistic view from innocent ignorance of the Lutheran opinion. To the wish of the Reformed to be regarded by the Lutherans as brethren, there was returned, and that by Gerhardt too, the ambiguous reply which evaded not very handsomely the point at issue: "A Christian is one who possesses the true and saving faith, pure and unperverted, and shows the fruits of the same in life and conduct. Hence I cannot take the Calvinists as Calvinists for Christians." The Calvinists on their part made the mistake that they wished many things in the Lutheran confession to be pronounced unessential at once, when they should have first sought for a thorough discussion. Unfortunately, both parties avoided trying the questions at issue by the Scriptures. Hence, after a year had passed, they were upon the same ground which they occupied at the start. Paul Gerhardt, at last, in the name of himself and his associates, declared the result: "That they would abide unmoved in their doctrines; yet they would show the Reformed all neighborly and Christian love and friendship, and heartily desire and seek their salvation. As to the rest, they must maintain their right and liberty to show by word and pen and in the public sermon the errors of the Reformed, and to attack and refute them with stout arguments."

The elector was exceedingly grieved at the failure of the colloquy. When he was told that the pulpit war was waged anew, and more hotly and angrily than ever, he published an edict (September 16, 1664), which was sent by thousands through the country, in which he declared, with emphasis, "that absolutely he would not endure longer the war of confessions, and especially the mutually insidious accusations of heresy from the pulpits." He added to this peremptory declaration the order that if any one wanted a child baptized with the omission of the exorcism, as it was called (which indeed was chiefly a custom in obscure churches), the wish should be unhesitatingly granted by the preacher. This edict, which sharpened into an order that each pastor should promise it obedience, and should lose his office if he refused, made a great stir in Berlin and in the country, and excited numerous remonstrances. The elector insisted upon obedience. The first who by refractoriness incurred his wrath were two preachers of the Nicolai Church, provost Lilius and master Reinhardt. In spite of all the loyal protestations and entreaties for mercy by both the magistracy and the clergy of Berlin, and by the estates of Brandenburg, they were deprived of their places. Now it came the turn of Paul Gerhardt to sign the agreement. Held by his conscience to the Form of Concord, solemnly accepted by him, he gave a decided refusal. He could not sign the bond which pledged him not to oppose doctrines contrary to the Concord. Gerhardt now met the fate of his colleagues, albeit one of these, the provost, by submitting had been reinstated in his office. The deposition of Gerhardt, who had never spoken in angry controversy, excited great attention and sorrow, even outside his own communion. Petitions poured in on his behalf. The united guilds came to the palace to petition the elector for him. In vain. The elector said crushingly "that he knew nothing of the very noted piety of preacher Gerhardt, but he knew well that he had undoubtedly detained others from subscribing the agreement." When he was beset anew with prayers for Gerhardt, he finally made this decision (January, 1667): "Because he had heard no complaint against Paul Gerhardt, except that he would not sign the bond, his electoral grace was constrained to suppose that he did not rightly understand the meaning of the edict. Therefore he would restore him fully, and would allow him to exercise his office as preacher as formerly." The liveliest joy filled everybody; only the pardoned himself was not joyful. Communing with his heart, he expressed himself both to the magistracy and to the elector with equal decision and modesty, saying "that his conscience forbade him to avail himself of the electoral favor, inasmuch as it was proffered him with the express declaration that he did not accept the electoral edict and agreement because he did not understand it. It would be certainly expected of him that even without signing he would follow it, and so would give up the Form of Concord, which was a constituent part of the Lu-

theran creed." After full deliberation he gave up his office, to the sorrow, not of his parish only, but of the whole Lutheran church in Berlin. Who will dare judge him? He obeyed his conscience. If it erred, it erred with the Form of Concord, which uttered anathemas upon the Reformed confession, and commanded him to do the same. Could he, standing where he did in relation to the church and its creed, have acted differently, or have kept his office? Many think so, because the electoral edict did not forbid the opposing of other creeds wholly, but only in an angry and hurtful manner, enjoining upon him simply moderation and gentleness,—such, indeed, as he had always shown before the edict was made. But, thought Gerhardt, who will decide what is gentleness? He also deemed that on account of the elector's expectation, expressed so clearly, he would feel hindered and constrained by the edict as truly as if he had signed it. Let us leave him here. He must answer, for the momentous step which he took, to his God only; and He is kind to the faithful and upright, and will graciously accept the great sacrifice which his oft-tried servant offered him according to his convictions, however much they were in need of purification through the gospel of peace.

Gerhardt, left with his wife and his child, without office or income, yet escaped want through the kindness of friends in Berlin. He did not know the full measure of tribulation till his faithful wife was taken from him (1668). Bereaved and desolate, he still found help in God through prayer, and comforted himself by singing, "Commit thy ways to God!" his own sweet song.

What was he to do? Gerhardt looked to God, saying, "Thou ever op'st the way; with Thee is full supply!" He cast his care upon God, and God cared for him. He received a call (October, 1668) from the magistracy of the electoral city of Lübben, in Lausitz, to the archdeaconship. He looked upon it as from God, and accepted it (May, 1669). We know nothing of his life in Lübben, save that from the magistracy he endured much which made him feel the loss of the love and kindness of his friends in Berlin. He remained in the place seven years. Was it strange that, as he approached seventy, he grew weary of his long, painful, and thorny road, and felt a deep longing for the rest of the saints in light? He had but one care, and that was for his boy Frederick, now seventeen years old, and this he laid upon God. He drew up as a legacy to his tenderly loved son a series of precious rules, the sum of which was: Pray diligently, study what is noble, live peacefully, serve faithfully, remain steadfast in thy belief and confession. So thou, too, in dying wilt depart out of this world willingly, joyously and blessedly. Amen. Gerhardt now lay ready to set sail for the eternal harbor, breathing already the air of home. Sensible of his weakness, and his approaching end, he at one time repeated, while his face was shining like

an angel's, the words of his hymn, "Why should I grieve," adding with strong, clear voice, —

"No death can us e'er slay; it only tears our souls from cares, from thousand wants away.
'Tis death that shuts the door of bitter woe, and bids us go, and leads the way to yonder shore."

Soon after he gently bowed his head, closed his eyes upon the earth, which had given his outward life fewer roses than thorns, and joined the cloud of witnesses of whom the world was not worthy. His death occurred June 7, 1676. His remains were laid in the principal church of Lübben, not far from the altar. The grave of this seer will one day be more conspicuously marked than it has ever yet been. Gerhardt is honored, however, in the Lübben church by a full-length oil-painting, with the inscription, "A theologian shaken in the sieve of Satan" ("Theologus in cribro Satanæ versutus"). Beneath is a Latin epigram, which may be thus translated: —

"Like life, thou findest here Paul Gerhardt's form so dear,
All faith and hope and love! His praise of One above
Sounds loud as seraph's lyre, or song of heav'nly choir.
O Christian, sing his lays, and rise to God in praise!"

Gerhardt has, however, builded his own most glorious and enduring memorial. It is in his immortal songs. It is a cause of surprise that amid the long strife of creeds in which he was a leader, and the severe strokes of fortune, he kept his tuneful frame of mind. But outward assaults only drove him to commune with his heart and with God. They opened the exhaustless springs of living Christian experience which poured forth in all his songs. I know no one, since Luther, to whom the saying in Hebrews, "He being dead, yet speaketh," can be more justly applied than to Paul Gerhardt. Nor has any but Luther so touched the hearts of German believers. Many of his songs became people's songs, and were heard not merely in the church and the house, but in the field and the forest. The common remark is a true one, that he composed his songs, not like the singers of the Reformation, expressly and immediately for the church as the church, but rather for personal needs, for the individual soul. They are therefore subjective in character. None the less, there is in them a churchly spirit. He belongs with his whole heart to the church. He surrounds the Lutheran creed, fixed as it is, with the bloom of a strong, hearty soul life. Paul Gerhardt is the last of the strictly church poets who present and exalt faith objectively. He is also the first of the masters whose poetry, addressing the Christian heart, glows with a personal delight in the objects of faith; is pervaded with a power which, by appropriating the things of heaven, conquers death and human woe.

At one with his songs, Gerhardt vouches for their truthfulness. What he sings he is. What he confesses he has verified by his experience.

Gerhardt next
to Luther.

A well-moulded mind, a symmetrical Christian, he is in culture a leader of his generation. He is its first poet in the form as well as in the substance of his productions. If any one stood near him, it was Paul Fleming, who sang the well-known "Grieve not thyself for aught." It might have been supposed that Gerhardt, as a churchman, would have sung carefully prepared hymns of doctrine, as an ascetic, — songs in contempt of the world. But in fact he was the song-leader of a true Christian unity, whom Lutherans and Reformed, with equal delight and devotion, have followed. With child-like love flowing from Christ, and free from morbid pietistic weakness, he embraces all human relations far and near, raising them into a loftier, transfiguring atmosphere. Nor were his songs with organ accompaniment always. In the van of armies his songs of war resounded, his hymns of victory and of peace. Awakening cheerily from sleep he sang, "The golden sun of joy and bliss." Leading the farmers and mowers to the fields, he calls them to repeat, "I sing to Thee with heart and voice," and bids them praise with him One who showers unceasing blessings and benefits upon the earth, singing, "His rule has nothing e'er forgot." He summons himself and all who hear to a pleasure walk amid the newly awakened blossoms of the earth, in his

"Go forth, my heart, throw off all sadness, in summer days of light and gladness."

With buoyant spirit he praises health of body in the song,

"Who healthy is and whole, to God lift up the soul!"

He welcomes those who come home from travel, as they approach, crying, "Cheer up, the home is near!" He attends the bridal pair, garlanded with myrtle, to the altar with his lovely lines, "Full of wonder full of power." He glorifies Christian marriage: —

"How blest the state, O Christ our Friend, whereon thy blessings rich descend!"

He sings in imitation of the last chapter of Proverbs, —

"The wife who fears the Lord, and virtue makes her care,
We praise and love accord for beauty sweet and rare."

Yet the grandest songs of Gerhardt are his songs for the church. He goes with her the year through, a constant and indispensable companion, and especially through her holy-days. Of one hundred and twenty-three songs of his, thirty at least have been universally and heartily adopted by the German evangelical church. They are wanting in no hymn-book worthy of mention. Who does not think of Christ's advent when he hears, "How shall I welcome Thee?" or, "Why dost Thou stand without?" How much would be taken from Christmas were we to lose "To thee, Immanuel, we sing," and "Joyfully my heart arises," and "At thy cradle here I stand." New Year's requires his pilgrim song, "Come, let us journey on." He gives us, too, the key-note, when we think of Christ's passion, in "The Lamb shall bear the load," and in that incomparable hymn, "O sacred Head, now wounded." His song of the resur-

rection day, "Rejoice ye, far and near," and "I know that my Redeemer lives," — how they bear up the worshiping spirit! His song of the pentecostal day, "Enter within my gates," opens the heart to the Comforter beyond any other. And whom has not his wonderfully soothing "Now be silent, all ye woods," hushed into sweet accord with the silent woodlands and meadows? What believer has his song of defiance, "Will God forth for me go?" not encouraged and prepared for renewed contest with the powers of darkness? If all the throng were gathered together to whom Paul Gerhardt has spoken in his "Commit thou all thy ways," and in his equally enlivening and hearty "Why should I longer grieve?" giving them comfort and resignation of soul, who could number them!

Enough! Paul Gerhardt is ours! Of few men can this be said with as genuine pride and as joyous gratitude as we say it of him. His peer in sacred song no other nation can boast. May he still, as he has done ten thousand times already, sing clouds away from the brow of the anxious, and mists away from the eyes of the doubting! May all who hear the chords of his harp, or who join in unison, hasten with him to those clear, sunny heights where we hear him, far above the storms and the tempests of earth, exult with triumphing assurance of approaching victory:—

"Satan, world, and all their army at the worst can only gibe;
Gibe and scoff shall never harm me, God will shame the scoffing tribe."

F. W. K.

LIFE III. PHILIP JACOB SPENER.

A. D. 1635—A. D. 1705. LUTHERAN, — GERMANY.

If ever, to any servant of God, there has been granted the privilege — man being the judge — of effacing every stain of sin, and of arraying himself in the beauty of holiness, it has been granted to Spener. For this reason, preëminently, he deserves a place in the evangelical calendar.

The youth of Spener fell in the period when the dreadful effect of the 'Thirty Years' War, with all its woes, was weighing upon the German church. The attention of Christians, till now absorbed by questions of theology and doctrinal controversies, was beginning to turn to the building up of Christian life. This proved helpful to the forming of Spener's mind. He was born in 1635, in Rappoltswiler, in the district of Rappoltstein, in Upper Alsace. His father was first the steward of the count of the region, and afterwards his counselor. Spener's boyhood owed much to a widowed countess of Rappoltstein, who was his godmother. When he was but twelve years old he was so impressed by her death that he "wished to depart out of the world along with her," and for a time

sought to obtain his release from life by prayer to God. Going, when fifteen (1651), to Strassburg University, he found John Schmid laboring there as professor and preacher, — a man whom his contemporaries describe as of the purest Christian character, and as the agent of spiritual awakening in many young men. Young Spener, who, knowing nothing of conversion, supposed grace to be given in baptism, opened his receptive heart to the powerful influences around him. Serious, quiet, and retiring, he had no better evidence to adduce of his being wicked than his attendance upon a dance when he was eleven years of age. He was helped, spiritually, by an early study of Arndt's "True Christianity." This was the only book on practical piety then possessed by the Lutheran church. In a sterile period it guided thousands of souls in the way to Christ. Besides, Spener read certain awakening and edifying English volumes which strict Lutherans rejected. He passed his college days in quiet study. He says, "With dancing and gallant doings, with fencing, drinking, shooting, and boxing, I have nothing to do."

It was then the custom, when a student had completed his course, that he should travel as a scholar, for the sake of further intellectual improvement. Spener set out in 1660 on such a trip, going ^{Is trained by travel.} first to Switzerland, to Basel and Geneva, thus for the first time becoming acquainted with the Reformed church. He had been much prejudiced against it by his college teacher, Dannhauer. He became, however, very favorably impressed with the Christian life of the Genevese clergy and laity. He was especially affected by the discourses of the fiery, enthusiastic preacher of repentance, Labadie, and at a later period translated his "*Manuel des Prières*" into German. An intended visit to Central France had to be given up on account of sickness. He returned towards the close of the year 1661 to Strassburg. Afterwards he went as a traveling companion of the young count Von Rappoltstein to Würtemberg. Such attentions and friendships met him, both in the court of Stuttgart and in Tübingen University, that many supposed he would be secured for the church of Würtemberg. But a call to Strassburg brought him again to the city which was his second mother. He accepted the place of a "free preacher," as it was called, by which he had no pastoral work, but only preaching, to do, and hence was able to labor also in the university as a "privat-docent." He served the church of his land in this subordinate position for only a short time. When twenty-one (1666) he was called to be "senior" and pastor of the first evangelical church of Frankfort-on-the-Main. The earnest men of that day often preferred, instead of conferring in respect to such calls with their own inclinations, to ask the mind of theologians of high standing, or of the church courts. Spener intrusted the decision in his case to the magistrate of the city of Strassburg. He, after consulting with the theological faculty, pronounced that this honorable call should be

regarded as from God, and gave up the promising youth to the imperial city.

Spener's field in Frankfort placed great and difficult tasks before him, especially since he entertained such high views of the claims upon him and his office. To realize in its true ideal the Christian Church as portrayed by Paul was the problem to which he set himself. The congregation was to be bound together not by the Lutheran confession alone, but by a Christian Lutheran belief and life, and to be made subject to the threefold rule of state and church and family. How different was the condition of things in Frankfort, when Spener went thither, and in all the Lutheran churches, from this ideal! In all established churches the life of faith was seen only in an individual here and there. It was so, also, in the great city congregations. In Frankfort discipline and church order had greatly declined. The clergy were contented with a mechanical execution of their duties. Their numbers were far too few for the performance of pastoral labor. The magistracy, who were represented in the church assemblies in the imperial cities by a deputation of inspectors, were accustomed more often to hinder and oppose than to assist any attempt on the part of the pastors at strict church discipline. Spener was possessed of no Elijah zeal in his work of reform. His zeal before God was a gentle flame, marked by prudence, gentleness, and humility. His work in all his varied fields, like his general influence upon the church, was characterized by its gentle progressiveness. To attack the existing arrangements as little as possible, to breathe into them, rather, a new spirit, and thus lead them to something better, was the aim of Spener in his work at Frankfort.

As a foundation for an experience of religion, he purposed, first of all, to extend the knowledge of religion among his people. The effort put forth by the Lutheran church in this direction was not sufficient. The catechising and school-instruction were mostly a mere memorizing. The preachers took their texts from the lessons of each Sunday. Their sermons were too dogmatic and unpractical, and for the mass of the people too learned. The saying of Luther, "What is to be done by the church needs to be begun by young people," was in the mind of Spener. His first work was to throw some life into the teaching of the catechism. A consultation with his colleagues resulted in their agreeing to discuss the doctrine of each week's catechism lesson in the sermon of the previous Sunday afternoon. Spener himself rehearsed it, also, in the opening of his sermon every Sunday morning. He was not bound as pastor to attend to catechising, yet he entered upon it, setting an example to his colleagues. Through his tact with the young, he awakened an increasing interest. His Sunday afternoon exercises in the catechism attracted adults as well as children in growing numbers. Spener's first aim, according to the usage of his day, was merely to cause the people to un-

derstand the truths of religion. But he became more earnest, especially after a stranger, who had visited his catechism class, had pressed upon him the question, "But how shall we join head and heart?" in his seeking to join with the understanding of truth its application to the daily life. He thus came to originate a new and practical method in catechetical instruction. His "catechetical tables," one hundred and eight in number, which appeared in 1683, were thankfully received and used throughout a large territory. In his sermons he aimed at the utmost plainness and simplicity, at thoroughly explaining the Bible, and at practically applying it. Though his discourses, by their prevailing didactic character and lack of what we call enthusiasm, by their diffuseness, also, and their extreme length, impress us as dry, still they present the rich essence of the gospel, which listeners in those days seldom heard, and which gave them an attractiveness that won the hearts alike of the learned and the obscure. His preaching was in other ways effective. He sought to enlarge the popular knowledge of the Bible. The appointed lessons, which sometimes seemed neither fresh nor appropriate, were not enough. He therefore, before beginning his sermon proper, used to explain passages of Scripture, especially the epistles. Confession of sins as then practiced was very unprofitable. In large churches like that of Frankfort even the best pastors could hardly obtain a correct idea of the mental condition of penitent persons. Yet this was demanded by the larger Lutheran catechism, before the rule requiring confession was done away. The pastors contented themselves, therefore, with a mere repetition of the formula of confession. One of the great sorrows of Spener was that by this lifeless form the Lord's Supper was become, with both ministers and people, a piece of ritualism ("opus operatum"). Many a time did Spener sigh for the church's reviving. In some portions of the Lutheran body, the existing evil was remedied, at least in part, by the pastor visiting communicants at their homes. But Spener could not introduce this custom into Frankfort, nor the practice of confirming the young communicants, which he equally desired.

All that Spener had done thus far was within the limits of the prevailing church customs. Not so the private meetings for mutual edification, which soon, under the nickname of "con-^{Spener's new measures.}venticles," were setting the whole church in uproar. In themselves they furnished no occasion of offense. They were even approved by the Lutheran church confessions. Conferences (*colloquia mutua*) of Christians respecting matters of religion had been approved and recommended by the Smalcald Articles. Certain friends of Spener, who were awakened, proposed to meet for conversation upon religion instead of upon other subjects. Spener could not but approve their wish, and offered his study for their use, and himself as their leader (1670). These were not prayer-meetings in our understanding of the name, but social talks, first upon

certain devotional books, then upon the books of the Bible. From their very nature they admitted of none as leaders save the educated. This new measure, so very unobjectionable, was not entered upon by Spener without consultation with his colleagues. He sought thus to disarm opposition. But among worldly spirits of both the clergy and the laity, outside of Frankfort especially, evil reports began to circulate. The name given the meetings, conferences to promote Christian piety (*colloquia pietatis*), suggested the nickname of "the Pietists." Before long, meetings were held here and there over the city, in some cases without the pastors having any part in them, and with excesses also, such as compelled Spener, in one instance, to insist upon putting an end to the conference. There was also a more serious result. These social gatherings of persons of like minds for edification afforded to many greater profit than the public worship of the church. Those of more serious turn began to doubt as to the propriety of joining in the Lord's Supper with the great promiscuous crowd. Thus, to the displeasure of strong churchmen and to the grief of Spener, these conventicles promoted "separatism." But Spener succeeded in what few leaders accomplish,—the checking of those among his followers who proposed to surpass their teachers in zeal for holiness. A publication of his, full of wisdom and spiritual discernment ("Abuse and Use of Complaints over Christian Degeneracy," 1684), made such an impression far and wide that, as Spener says, "nearly all the estranged ones" returned to the church. None the less the cause of offense remained, and the seeds of separatism were planted in the district of the Rhine.

But of all Spener's labors in Frankfort on the church's behalf, nothing was so significant and effective as his little work, "*Pia Desideria*," or, "*Heart-Longings for a Revival of Piety in the Evangelical Church*," 1675. In this book Spener uttered the desires and cravings which had been in many souls ever since the war, but had not before found expression. Beginning with the cry of Jeremiah, "Oh, that my head were waters!" he presents from his deeply stirred spirit the wounds of the church, and the means of healing them: (1.) The more general circulation of the Scriptures, with meetings in private for a thorough study of their meaning. (2.) The improvement and faithful exercise of the pastoral office; the laity to coöperate with the pastors in edifying one another, especially by means of family religion and prayer. (3.) The serious truth that to know is not enough in religion; practical experience must be added. (4.) Correct relations with errorists and unbelievers; controversy in the true spirit of love, with a wish not simply to convince, but to benefit, the one opposing. (5.) Some way of studying theology which will make students as earnest in living Christian lives as in studying their books. (6.) Some other way of preaching, which will present as the chief truth that Christianity signifies a new man, the essence of his

Spener's most effective book.

life being faith, and its activity consisting in bringing forth good fruits. Spener's book was met from all sides, and from leading theologians, with letters of approval. Both pastors and people expressed publicly their gratitude. His measures, and especially the religious colloquies, were put into practice by earnest pastors. "Orthodoxy," if deeply wounded, was entirely silent. Spener had not been moderate in his expressions, but had added strength to his complaints and charges by bringing forward upon his side distinguished church authorities.

Thus twenty years passed with Spener in a blessed work in the city of Frankfort. Secret envy and opposition he found, his foremost opposer being the court preacher Mentzer, in Darmstadt. Yet in the whole tribe of controversial theologians, then so ready with their pens, only a single voice accused Spener's orthodoxy, — a certain deacon Dilfeld, of Nordhausen, whose weak and obscure attacks were without result. Spener, having studied under Dannhauer, the strong Lutheran leader of the church in Strassburg, was yet an upholder of Lutheran orthodoxy in its strictest form. One proof of this is his severe sermon, preached in Strassburg, against the Reformed (1667), and his upholding from the pulpit, against his opponents, the "*elenchus nominalis*." The champions of Lutheran orthodoxy, even Calov, the inflexible Wittenberg inquisitor, sent him friendly letters. Yet already the agitation which was to end all this harmony was beginning. The religious awakening, which had risen independently of him, but had been greatly promoted by his efforts, was all this while growing. Spener was looking for a new age of blessing in the church. In 1675 he writes, "I have joyfully observed that in several places students are aroused. Such movements of hearts seen in many at the same time are a clear proof of the divine presence, and show that a time is at hand when God will have pity upon his church. Know that not in our church only is this evidence seen, but among the Reformed, too, are many who are caring for the cause of God; and even among the Catholics, in their dense darkness, some are concerned about their condition. For quite a time I have seen that which resembles the events preceding the Reformation under Luther."

Spener's light was now to be set upon a loftier candlestick. He was to become more than ever a centre of the awakening throughout Germany. He received a call in 1686 to be-
Spener called to
Dresden.
 come chief court preacher in Saxony, having a seat and a voice also in the supreme consistory. This was at that time the highest place in the evangelical German church. Spener modestly sought the opinions of devout theologians upon his accepting or declining the call. Only when he was advised by them unanimously to accept, did he consent to go. It was characteristic of the man that in his correspondence on this business with Carpzov, the Saxon court preacher (which is still preserved), he had to be reminded by the latter to ask in reference to his future salary.

But even though Spener's new field in Dresden was larger and more important, what could inviting waters avail when opposing winds were beating upon the sails! Spener bewailed "the opposition upon every side. That I interest myself in a matter is of itself enough to prevent anything being done." In Frankfort he had had to lament that many a good enterprise failed through the ill will or indifference of the magistracy. Yet he could there throw his own weight as "senior" into the scale, as well as the authority of a united body of pastors who were well disposed to him. But in Saxony he was but a single spoke in the bureaucratic driving wheel. He found opposers, open and secret, among his colleagues; he had dubious friends at the court, and declared foes in the majorities of the theological faculties of Leipzig and Wittenberg. The favorable beginnings having vanished, this was the condition of affairs after 1689. In March of that year Spener felt compelled by his conscience as a pastor to address a serious discourse to the elector, putting it in writing, because personal access to the elector, who hardly ever stayed

Loses favor by faithfulness.

in Dresden three days at a time, was out of the question. At once his hitherto well-disposed princely patron was turned to his most bitter enemy. Through the strict precaution of Spener the nature of his communication was never disclosed. Yet it may be inferred from what Spener says in a letter to his son-in-law Reichenberg. He writes under date of April 15, 1689, "What has been told you of the elector's sickness has not reached our ears, but if he continues to live as he is doing his sudden death is prophesied by his physicians." Then, when George Third, taken ill in the camp at Tübingen in September, 1691, died suddenly, Spener tells his son-in-law that the prince has died of "intestinis corruptis." How great was the elector's respect for Spener as a man, in spite of his wrath at his letter, is seen in the reply, which with all its passion yet is profoundly reverent. It is also proven by the prince's letter of dismissal, in which he pledges an annuity to the wife of Spener in the event of the death of the latter. A disposition as shy and modest as Spener's could have taken the bold step named only through divine courage. He verifies the truth so well expressed by Francke in his tract, "Nicodemus, or the Fear of Man," that he ceases to fear man who fears God. With the conviction that he had done in his office all that prudence and deference required, Spener stood unmoved by the consequences of princely disfavor, or by the rejoicings of his enviers and foes. He declined to ask a dismissal, according to the prince's request, preferring to drink the bitter cup which, now that he was powerless, was offered him by courtiers and by his colleagues. Neither the declaration of the enraged prince to his chief privy counselor "that the sight of Spener, if continued, would oblige him to change his residence," nor his threat to turn Catholic, could alter Spener's decision. To meet the prince's desire, nothing was left the privy council save

to obtain work elsewhere for the hated court preacher. An opportunity offered in Berlin. Spener had some time before been offered a place as "provost" of the church in that city. He had answered that the two courts should settle his place between them. Berlin had supposed that the elector would not give Spener up, and had proffered the vacant office to another. This person now dying, the am- ^{Spener is called to Berlin.} bassador of Saxony in Berlin arranged that the court of Berlin should send for Spener. When this was done, Spener joyfully wrote his son-in-law that "the hour of deliverance had struck." He was to go to Berlin as provost and counselor of the consistory. His departure had hardly been announced when Carpzov of Leipzig came out against "Pietism," for this name was used in Saxony, now that Francke and his friends in Leipzig had opened their Bible schools (*collegia biblica*).

Spener's Dresden work had continued four years. The obstacles in his way had continually increased. His wisdom, which was ever great and grew by trial, forbade his attempting to set up his religious conferences in that city. Yet his stay was not without blessed results. The Saxon clergy, stiff in orthodoxy, had received a stirring up. Many of them grew ashamed of their ancient slowness. The three Leipzig masters, Francke, Anton, and Schade, brought together by Spener's counsel and invitation, kindled a fire among the students and the people. In Dresden the electors and several nobles and statesmen were won to the side of the gospel.

In Berlin, Spener found his position, in most if not in all respects, better than in Dresden. The elector, Frederick Second, who took as king the title of Frederick First, and his second wife, Sophia Charlotte, who was inclined to skepticism, gave him no especial cause of joy. His parish was an untilled field; his colleagues, save Schade, who came into office soon after him, were no great help to him. Still, instead of hate on the part of the government, he met a welcome, and instead of a nervous Lutheran orthodoxy, he found liberal and tolerant reformed ideas. His counsels were listened to by the Christian counselor Von Schweinitz, and in some degree by minister Von Fuchs. His catechising, his preaching, his charges to the preachers under his inspection, his intercourse with the candidates, prepared the soil in Berlin, and gained in general an acceptance. He exerted especial influence in the filling of important positions, and above all in the founding of the new University of Halle, which was to be thenceforth the centre of pietistic revival. He also lent protection by his intercession to persecuted Pietists, who were now attacked, in part justly, in part unjustly, from every quarter.

The more the revival of religion grew, the less did it keep within the limits set to it by the prudence of Spener. As in the Ref- ^{Spener and the German revival.} ormation, men arose who would carry their views to an extreme. Unsound leaders opposed churchly authority. The "restora-

tion of all things" was preached. Excited fancies called forth visions, ecstasies, and marvelous cures. Some became separatists through excessive zeal for the church's purity. Others became mystics through unintelligent ideas upon holiness of life. Spener was affected most seriously by the controversy upon the abuse of confession, conducted as it was with great passion by some of his adherents. He was directly concerned in this dispute, which related especially to private confession and to private absolution, by which forgiveness of sins was proffered a multitude who were either not known at all to the one administering the sacrament, or were known unfavorably. Among the warmest debaters was his colleague and intimate friend, the eloquent Schade, who, in 1697, published a tract ending with the words, "Praise it, who will, confession-stool, Satan's-stool, hell-pool!" [Beicht-stuhl, Satan's-stuhl, feuer-pfuhl.]

Spener complained bitterly to Francke that his most trying cares and woes came not from his foes, but from his friends. He could hardly restrain the fiery Francke in Halle from extremes in respect to confession. It required still greater pains to keep Schade in office, excusing him from hearing confessions, against all the precedents of Lutheranism. A yet greater innovation upon Lutheranism was the edict of 1698, which left it free to Lutheran communicants to attend private confession, or to absent themselves from it.

Amid these extreme views, which made it hard to distinguish between truth and error, Spener's wisdom and theological depth assisted him to correct decisions, and to join the care of the individual conscience with the care of church-ordinances. His circumspection is seen in his judgment of the ecstasies and visions which came into notice. When asked to consider the supposed revelations of Fräulein von-Asseburg, he said: "Extraordinary supernatural events have, indeed, not prevailed in the church since the days of the Apostles, but the possibility of such must not be denied, any more than that like occurrences have, according to history, been known in all centuries. But there must be the strictest tests, and the greatest care taken to distinguish the false from the true. With what he knew of Asseburg and her devout character, he could deem her revelations neither a fraud nor a work of Satan. He could not, however, decide whether they came from inspiration or from her gift of imagination. The latter was able to produce extraordinary results with persons either asleep or awake. They had never yet been explained by the laws of nature, which were but imperfectly known. Should he, after a long lapse of time and strict examination, find that these revelations surpassed the powers of nature and of imagination, he must regard them as from God, and intended, perhaps, to give a new example of the wonders of God to men who were disposed to atheism, and to show how near we may be to the fulfillment of many of the divine promises. But so long as such a conclusion was not established by certain tests, it became him and the other

members of the council to withhold their decision, following the advice of Gamaliel. From like fear of plucking up a plant which the Father had planted, he refrained all his life from reading Jacob Böhme's works. So far as he could judge they were too obscure to be subjected to the theological crucible.

Spener's carefulness in controversy availed little with foes who welcomed any undue efflorescence of the pietistic movement in order that they might condemn the entire tree and its fruits. Spener as a controversialist.

The flood-gates were opened by Roth (pastor first at Halle, then at Leipzig) in his abusive book, "*A Portrait of Pietism*" (*Imago Pietismi*, 1691). From all directions the flood rushed in on the Pietists, and especially upon Spener. The united faculty of Wittenberg published "*Christian Lutheran Views in Clear, Candid Teachings, according to the Word of God and the Lutheran Church-Books, especially the Augsburg Confession, and the Unrighteous Opposing Views of the Works of Dr. Spener.*" No less than two hundred and eighty-three errors, it was claimed, were found in Spener's writings. Spener prepared an answer to all the principal assaults upon him. He was obliged to this by the theological code of honor of a period which was drawing to its close. Whoever did not answer assaults was counted defeated. Spener regretted that so much time must be wasted in this war with the pen, which could have been used so much more profitably in building up the church. Had it even been a scholarly controversy upon essentials, such as the earlier Lutherans waged, it had been regarded by him differently, but as the champions of orthodoxy lost confidence in their cause, and as their scholarly preparation decreased, they betook themselves the more eagerly to hateful personalities and common pratings. Yet one good came from the controversy forced upon the good man. His Christian character was displayed in so pure and lovable a form that it won the reverence of every unprejudiced person, and offered mankind a model of the way in which religious debates should be conducted. Spener thought of nothing save the cause at issue. He avoided personalities even when his foes showed personal shortcomings; he never used hot language; he made excuses for the errors of his opponents; he promised them his prayers, with him no empty formality. What a contrast with Luther's polemics! What a difference, not in times only, but in natures! It is like the difference between Luther and Melancthon, or such as Luther makes between himself and Brenz, saying, "If I may compare great things with small, I of Elijah's four gifts have received the wind, the storm, and the fire, rending the mountains and tearing the rocks in sunder! Thou, and whoever is like thee, hast been given the gently sighing breeze!" Nothing shows Spener's evenness of character like his declaring that he had never through the attacks of his foes passed a sleepless night. He refused the praise bestowed upon his gentleness in controversy, saying, "I count my

moderation no virtue, but in part a natural gift, in part a result of my habits from youth up, which make it difficult for me to use hard words upon serious questions." He is here referring to his moderate tone in replying to the Romanist Breving, for which, in fact, he was less to be praised than rebuked.

But whatever Spener's temperament, his uniform gentleness and love amid unprecedented abuse can hardly be counted merely natural. Rather it was the result of that devout education of the mind which Spener in his modesty called "an acquired habit." This being Spener's nature, he did not welcome aid when it was proffered in a spirit unlike his own. When a satire over the pseudonym of Daniel Harnacks was published against Spener's most bitter foe, John Frederick Mayer of Hamburg, Spener remarked, "Albeit my opponent's weaknesses and faults are shown in these pages so that many will think I should be delighted, I am rather disgusted. I recognize that the good cause which I, with other Christians, am carrying on, will become suspected and ruined through nothing so soon as through abusive and anonymous writings, for which we are not to blame, which we rather abhor. The champion for truth and the honor of God needs to use the weapons which Paul names (Ephesians v.) against the enemy."

The immense load of labor which Spener took upon him, the most of it voluntarily, was sustained by him only through his conscientious use of time and his enjoyment in general of good health. His official duties in Dresden and Berlin were enough for one man's strength. In a Berlin letter he mentions that he is obliged to attend consistory meetings, lasting, with a brief interval for dinner, from eight A. M. till seven P. M. But, as we have seen, he enlarged, of his own free will, his official work. Then how many books he wrote, each of them, as of his sermons, bearing his marks of careful elaboration! Caustein's catalogue records seven folios printed during his life, sixty-three quartos, seven octavos, forty-six duodecimos, besides many prefaces to the works of friends, or to recommend old books of devotional character. To all this must be added the visits constantly paid him by the high and the low, the advice which he was asked to give, which may be found in part in the volume of his "opinions," and the letters which he wrote to a vast number of persons in all parts of Germany, who sought counsel or information, or perhaps only the honor of the correspondence. In one year Spener notes six hundred letters written by him, leaving three hundred still unanswered. He considered that all his time belonged to his office. He seldom went to dinners or social gatherings. In nine years at Berlin he saw the farm belonging to his provostship only twice. But in addition to family prayers he maintained private devotions morning and evening. His faithfulness in them proves the rich endowments of his heart. Every person who commended himself to his prayers, and

Spener's work as
an author.

others for whom he felt a concern, of his own accord, were presented to God by name.

When we come to his married life, we are forced to smile as he tells us that, feeling that from his seriousness he could not be attentive enough to a wife, he had resolved to marry some widow who had been used to a crabbed husband, and would therefore not be expecting many gallant attentions. But by the advice of his mother and of an uncle, he chose a woman for whom, as he said afterwards, he could not thank God enough. He was given much anxiety by three of his sons, in whom, however, before their deaths, their father's labor bore fruit. The son who gave the most gladdening promise in religion was taken away by death at twenty years of age, while studying for the ministry.

As was said by us in beginning, as far as Spener's life is known to us, — and witnesses are abundant to his public and his private acts, — we know of no man in the company of the toilers and champions in the kingdom of God, of whom it can be said in like measure, Behold a soul in whom Christ has, indeed, formed his image! We have been permitted to see several hundreds of his letters to his nearest kindred, his children, and his most intimate friends; in all of these is the same loving, devoted, gentle, and pure spirit as was seen by the public. Even in the Dresden period, when the unrighteous anger of his prince was poured upon him, when the exultation of his foes in court and in nation mocked him, he uttered not a harsh word, nor a cutting personality, nor indeed does he make any definite communication concerning their plottings. In writing to his wayward sons, he shows a holy fatherly seriousness along with a hearty burning affection.

The tempests which raged about Spener, the greater part of his life, did not subside toward its close. Rather they grew fiercer through the attempts of the Brandenburg government at a ^{Spener in union} union of the Lutheran and the Reformed. ^{efforts.} Spener had grown constantly more lenient towards divergency in doctrine which did not touch the essentials. He was especially so towards the Reformed. He suppressed the severe sermon against them, preached by him in Frankfort, and on his dying bed ordered that it never be republished. Yet he held to his belief that every error in doctrine had its influence upon the life. But as he came nearer to individuals whose doctrine he disapproved, he was convinced that, very illogically, error in doctrine could exist along with honesty and purity of life. He said, "When a Christian meets one who, as he finds from intimate intercourse, is making God's service the chief aim of his whole life, and whose creed is to trust to nothing in the wide world save to the mercy of God in Christ, though such an one be a member of an erring church, and himself share in its errors, he is to be regarded as a child of God." Hence came Spener's conviction that all the errors of the Reformed church, respecting predes-

tionation, the two natures of Christ, and the presence of Christ in the Supper, were "more mistakes of theory than of practice." When Spener thought thus, it was hardly to be supposed that he would oppose the union conferences of the leading theologians in the two churches, appointed by Frederick First. But his practical mind perceived that a union was not to be effected in this manner, at least at that period. The teachers of the two churches, he believed, were still too greatly opposed to one another, for a union thus attained to be enduring. He deemed it inevitable that a greater schism would result from the effort, and, instead of two parties, three or four. Invited by the king to take part in the conferences, he declined. Yet he was obliged to experience that the blame of starting this union work was laid, first and chiefly, upon him, the "patriarch of heretics."

In the year following (1704) Spener had the first warning of the ap-
Spener's closing
days. proach of death. He gathered his colleagues (June 11th) in the Nicolai Church, in order to declare to them once more, as was the custom then with the leaders of the Lutheran church, his hearty agreement with the Lutheran confession, and above all, that he bore no resentment against his adversaries, but wished from the bottom of his heart to meet all of them in glory. For a while he recovered strength, but upon the 5th of February, 1705, he suddenly and quietly took his departure, in the arms of his loved ones, going to a world where, away from strife and battle, he should reap what he had richly sown. On the night before his death he asked that the high priestly prayer of Christ (John xvii.) be read to him, not once only, but twice and thrice. He had ever deeply loved the prayer, but never had preached upon it because he did not sufficiently understand it.

Spener was God's agent in a great work. A time had to come when the church of his century, stiffened as it was in its outward ecclesiasticism, should appropriate the truths of Christianity in a living and spiritual manner. If it was to be led to enjoy a revival, without a secession, such as was threatened by an everywhere rising separatism, there had to be a man like Spener who would unite the orthodoxy of former days with personal religion in a thorough and attractive manner, and who, by his theological ability and by his awakening of regard for himself and for his piety, would serve as an agent and a leader of the desired consummation. The charming combination of churchly and personal religion which was seen in Spener did not continue to be shown in his followers. Even Halle, which was for the longest period the nursery of his views and his spirit, became one-sided. Yet a breath of life had gone forth from Spener over the church, which was to fructify it through a hundred years, and still it is at work, in that theology in the church is beginning to separate itself from dogmatism. — A. T.

LIFE IV. AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE.

A. D. 1663—A. D. 1727. LUTHERAN,—GERMANY.

“GOD is able to make all grace abound toward you: that ye always having all sufficiency in all things may abound to every good work.” One day as August Francke heard that a friend was in a very needy condition, these words came into his mind. He pondered them, asking whether God could not make him also abound. Nor did he, like many, simply look above him, but also within him and around him. He thought that possibly his hand already held the spade with which he should dig for buried treasures. He set himself down, and, since all the rest of his hours were occupied, robbed himself of his evenings to compose his “Bible Observations” (*Observationes Biblicæ*). He thus earned within a year over one hundred and fifty dollars for his friend. It was Francke’s fidelity to duty that made him all that he was to Christendom and to mankind. Each morning he was wont to say to himself that possibly he had passed his last night upon the earth, and as God was granting him the boon of another day, he would spend it as if it were the last gracious gift of God to himself. Such a view of life taught him to be faithful in little things. His life-story, therefore, urges upon every soul the question, How great is *thy* faithfulness? This interrogation is written upon Francke’s career, “Who then is that faithful and wise steward?”

The amount that any one person can achieve depends upon his times as well as upon himself, for there are unfruitful as well as fruitful years. Francke began life at the beginning of a plenteous season. Near the close of the seventeenth century the church of Luther was revived. Men had risen up like Arndt, Spener, Müller, and Scriver. Lay workers had joined them. The birth of Francke took place at this era. He was born in 1663, in Lübeck. When he was three years old his father, a doctor of law, removed his family to Gotha, the capital of duke Ernest the Pious, a zealous supporter of religion. From both father and mother August inhaled an atmosphere of piety. When nine years old he asked his mother for a little room of his own, where he might study and pray by himself. There he used to repeat this prayer: “Dear Lord, I know that there are, indeed, many positions and occupations which may at last be made to redound to thy honor! But I ask that Thou wouldst direct my whole life, from first to last, to thy glory, to thy glory only.” But it is hard for the rich to enter the kingdom; hard for the rich in mind and in acquirements. Francke found that along with his knowledge, his ambition grew also, while the tender germ of piety withered. When sixteen years old (1679) he entered Erfurt University; from there, the same year, he went to the University of Kiel, and

Francke's youth

five years later, at the invitation of a wealthy student of theology in Leipzig, who wished him for a room-mate, he entered the university of that city. The Lutherans of Saxony were then feeling the awakening influences of Spener. Francke met, in Leipzig, Christians with whose aid he founded a society for Bible study (*collegium philobiblicum*). This was not for scholarly investigation merely, but for mutual edification. Francke, as he afterwards confessed, could not say at that time, "My only love is the Crucified One." Christ was not his all in all. Honor and prosperity were also his cherished objects. Not till he was twenty-three, did he, during a stay in Lüneburg with the devout and learned superintendent Landhagen, come to know himself more fully, and to confess, "I looked over my past life, as one looks from a lofty tower over an entire city. At first I began counting the sins, but afterward I beheld their fountain-head, unbelief, or rather false belief, with which till now I had deceived myself." One who is ignorant of himself looks upon faith in a merciful God as an easy matter. So for a long time had Francke. But when the youth saw clearly the self-will and impurity of his heart, he was forced to cry, as with wounded conscience he lost sight of God, "O God, if Thou art, then show Thyself to me." He who, at a later day, inscribed upon his Orphan House, "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles," was obliged once to offer, as he tells us himself, the prayer just named. He resolved never to preach more. Then after a hard struggle there came to his heart the blessed assurance, in the face of all his accusers, that he had in his Lord Jesus Christ a reconciled God.

Happy in faith, Francke felt like the Apostle, "We cannot but speak." He returned to Leipzig (1689), thinking to lead others to God. The teachers of the Lutheran church had, in the midst of their dry doctrinal discussions, forgotten and forsaken, to an incredible extent, the green pastures of the Holy Scriptures. Spener says, "I know persons who stayed at the university six years and never heard a lecture upon exegesis." Francke relates that in his day there were no Bibles or Testaments to be found in the Leipzig bookstores. He therefore announced that he would deliver exegetical and practical lectures upon the New Testament. Soon there was such a hungering and thirsting for religion excited, that the citizens also came, and the lecture-room was too small. No sooner did spiritual activity awaken, than opposition arose also. The sect-name of "Pietists" was invented. Francke was set down as their leader. In 1690 his lectures were forbidden. He thought of maintaining his position none the less, when another field was opened up to him. Through his friend Breithaupt, a pastor in Erfurt, who shared his views, he received a call to that city, which he accepted. In Erfurt he soon gave an illustration of how a true love of God and of his people will quicken the inventive powers. Francke was by no means

Francke's good
work in Leipzig.

satisfied with the ordinary work of his office, preaching, confessing, and catechising. For the benefit of Erfurt students he gave practical lectures every day upon the Scriptures. He arranged with the members of his church for preaching in their houses. He procured and distributed Testaments, Arndt's "True Christianity," and other awakening works. As the revival grew, opposition grew also. The Romanist citizens succeeded in obtaining from Mainz an electoral decree which obliged Francke, after fifteen months of blessed activity, to leave Erfurt. Again was a door opened to him of God. Through his friend Spener, who was now in Berlin, Francke received an invitation, the very day the order came for him to leave Erfurt within forty-eight hours, to enter the electoral territories of Brandenburg, and to settle as a professor in the newly founded University of Halle.

In Halle, Francke's divinely kindled heart found (1692) in many directions an ever-widening sphere of usefulness. Here he builded an imperishable monument. Preacher, professor, guardian, orphan-father, director of mission and Bible societies, his loving genius served to pioneer the way into many and varied fields. Taking charge as preacher of the town of Glaucha, a part of Halle, he found a territory utterly waste. Where in our day the row of buildings upon the Orphan House Place, founded by him, rises with the inscription, "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles," he saw at that time a group of miserable huts with beer and dance houses, one in particular called "The Eagle," which were inhabited by a coarse and neglected set of people. He preached to these persons of repentance and of the gospel, upon a rule which he had adopted, that he would never preach a sermon without including in it so much of the gospel that if his hearers heard but that one sermon, they might be led to accept salvation. Preaching rather sows seed than waters or nourishes it. It may accomplish the latter also, but the watering and the nurturing belong more especially to personal conversation, which is so unspeakably beneficial. By this the sermon is fitted to the individual conscience. Francke made the confessional his pulpit for the heart of each individual. He found that many were kept from the Sacrament by the fee paid at the confessional. Reflecting upon this he self-denyingly surrendered this part of his small income. Another way to help the sermon in carrying the water of life to the people was the catechising. This channel was choked up when Spener arose. The pastors deemed themselves too great to be the teachers of the little ones. Francke's childlike mind delighted in children. His knowledge, too, of how imperfectly the sermon was understood by adult persons, led him diligently to practice catechising from house to house, as well as in the church. Prayer meetings also were begun, at first in private houses, then, when opposition was made, in the church itself.

As a university teacher (from 1692, professor of Greek and Oriental languages; from 1698, regular professor of theology) Francke's chief aim was to employ the science of theology (which can be understood only by means of a lively faith) in connection with other means of grace to awaken and advance the Christian life. He never made science his object, but simply his help in attaining his object, which was to establish his hearers in the faith, and to increase their ability to lead their congregations to Jesus Christ. Hence he joined with his lectures, which all tended to religious awakening, hortatory addresses, "intended to show the hindrances in the way of students of theology attaining their true ends, and how to overcome such hindrances." These addresses were delivered upon Thursdays, in the large hall, at an hour when all the other theological lectures were over, so that the students could all attend. In them the good Francke entered with candor into all the faults and failings of student life. He lived to derive from them greater blessings, as he said, than from all his other lectures.

Francke's renown throughout the world has come, more than from aught else, from his Orphan House. As everything which Found his Orphan House. is marked by the spirit of God has the "mustard-seed" character, and has grown from small beginnings, so was it with this great enterprise of Christian benevolence. It was the custom that on a certain day beggars should seek alms at private houses. Not satisfied with giving them merely bread for their bodies, Francke began to catechise them, both the old and the young. He discovered among them such utter ignorance of religion, that he began to think of providing a school for them. He set up a little alms-box and gathered contributions for this object. He at once received four thalers and sixteen groschen, and took courage to begin a little school in his own study. In less than a year he found the place too small. He was pained, however, to see that the children's home-life destroyed what his school had buildd up. He therefore formed the idea of taking the entire training of a few children upon himself. A house was purchased for this poor school. Twelve orphans, to which number the four with whom he began quickly increased, were received into it. The next year a new house was purchased. The instruction of the orphans and that of the children of town's-people were separated. For pupils prepared to take up advanced studies, a new department was opened (1699). Out of this grew the Orphan House Gymnasium, or Latin School, as it was termed, which even in 1709 was attended by two hundred and fifty-six children, of whom sixty-four were orphans. The two houses proved so inadequate for the increasing numbers that in 1698, the foundation for the new buildings of the Orphan House, as it is now, had to be laid. There was no capital at hand, upon which the new enterprise could depend. It rested wholly upon faith. As Francke says, "From week to week, from month to month, has the

Lord crumbled to me, even as one crumbles the bread to little chickens, what the immediate exigency has demanded." Others, after him, have tried to do the same, and have been like the man who began to build a tower, but could not finish it, and was mocked of the passers-by. "Empty thyself, I will fill thee," is the first lesson to be learned by every one whom God would make rich. Unless the humility which will forego self be mingled with believing courage, in equal measure, there will no success follow.

One good thought and plan stirs up another. Francke's inventive benevolence, after doing great things, was by no means exhausted. Additional institutions of charity were added to the Orphan House. By one wealthy benefactor Francke was intrusted with four thousand thalers, to found an establishment for Christian unmarried women, whether noble or common. One of the Glaucha taverns, "The Corsair," was purchased (1704), and devoted to God for this purpose. Already (1698) the devout baron Canstein had purchased a house in Glaucha for pious widows, and intrusted it to the Orphan House directors. Besides the schools already named for orphans and for the children of the citizens and of the poor, there was established a grammar-school for the children of the wealthy and noble. This too had a small and unexpected beginning. A noble widow came to Francke for a pious tutor. Francke himself professed to teach in Halle the children of noble families, but the number of pupils under the renowned teacher grew so that by 1713 a grand building was erected for their accommodation. A catechetical school (*collegium catecheticum*) was organized in connection with the university in which the students might exercise themselves with the children of the Orphan House in the very neglected art of catechizing. Also an Oriental theological school (*collegium orientale theologicum*), in which men should be trained for the higher posts in the church, by acquiring a thorough knowledge of the Greek, Hebrew, and Oriental languages. As the grammar-school prospered more and more, there was a desire for a like institution for the daughters of noble and wealthy families. Such a one was established in 1709, with the expressed purpose of leading the hearts of these also to the Lord.

For teaching all these schools much youthful talent was, of course, demanded. But when faith has begun to exert all its powers for God, one hand assists the other. Francke's success in teaching was wonderfully furthered by this, that so many young students could obtain a support while practicing their gifts of teaching under the oversight of himself or of his like-minded associates. A free table was opened (1690) for twenty-four students who taught in the schools. As the number grew, other needy students were admitted who did not teach. Francke reported in 1714 that "one hundred and fifty theological students have the privilege of the 'ordinary' table in return for two

How he found
teachers

hours' teaching each day. At the 'extraordinary' dinner, one hundred and fifty-four students are accommodated without any return being required."

By the year 1705, the number of orphans had grown to one hundred and twenty-five, of school-children to eight hundred and four, and until the middle of the century they continued to increase. The foes of the schools lent help. An investigation set on foot by them, and conducted by the notables of the duchy of Magdeburg, redounded to the credit of the schools. In May, 1714, one thousand and seventy-five boys, and seven hundred and sixty girls, were instructed by one hundred and eight teachers. This increase called for other establishments of various kinds, especially to afford employment to the orphans. These became very extensive. Particularly was this true of the Orphan House apothecary store. Some secret remedies, of which the chemical formulas had been intrusted in manuscripts by Christian people to Francke, were, after various failures, successfully prepared. For example, the now well-known "essentia amara," and "essentia dulcis." They were used with extraordinary success. Under the leadership of the devout and scholarly physician, Richter, who had placed the profits of his work, as well as his patrimony, at the disposal of his pastor, Francke, this dispensary and its preparations gained such renown, especially through the confidence felt in it by Christian people, that its medicines went beyond Germany, and even to America and Africa. The profit resulting covered in a large part the expense of the institution. There also arose the Orphan House book establishment, in part called for by the wants of the schools, and by the numerous publications issued by Francke. It was conducted by that distinguished Christian, Elers, who put his income at the disposal of the Orphan House, and was content to receive clothing and food. The business grew so greatly that it required warehouses in distant cities, in Stettin and in Berlin.

Two other great enterprises, less closely connected with the Orphan House, were yet promoted by it. One was the Bible House for the circulation of cheap Bibles among the poor, which was originated by the baron Von Canstein. Begun with the help of Francke, and of the Orphan House presses, it was after the death of Canstein (1719) carried on by Francke himself. Through stereotyping, a copy of the New Testament was sold for two groschen, of the entire Bible for ten or twelve groschen. This benefaction extended beyond the borders of Germany. Bibles and Testaments were printed in the language of Esthonia, Bohemia, and Poland, for the evangelical Christians of those countries, through the help of benevolent citizens. For the constantly enlarging business, massive buildings were erected, the first in 1727, the second in 1734. With help from Francke the Danish East India mission sprang up, unsought and unexpected. It was begun

The Bible and
the foreign
work.

by the devotion of Frederick Fourth, of Denmark, but the missionaries went from the Halle Orphan House, and were supported by German Christians. The work received from Francke especial regard and care. The first candidates from Halle for this mission, Ziegenbald and Plütschau, were ordained in Copenhagen in 1705; many most excellent men, chiefly from the college of grammar-school teachers, have succeeded them, even down to the present century. Finally, the German-American churches in the United States owe their real foundation to the Halle schools. Their connection with Halle began under G. Francke, the son of the blessed founder. At the earnest prayers of the Germans in America, destitute of religious leaders, he sent thither, in 1742, pastors Mühlenberg and Brunnholz. Others, supported by the benevolence of Germany, followed in their train.

To all this business activity of the tireless Francke, we must add his numerous books, partly scholarly, partly edifying, of which many, as for example his "Directions for Profitable Bible-Reading," attained a very large circulation, and were sent out from the Orphan House presses in repeated editions; then, his many long journeys, in which he toiled as incessantly for God as when at home; and last his extended correspondence, relating to manifold concerns in all parts of the world.

This seems more than belongs to one man's life, but Francke's faithfulness proves that God can make "all grace abound, that we may abound to every good work." When his friend Elers was asked who had taught him everything, his answer was, "My mother — Love." Love was Francke's schoolmistress as well. Had he not had strengthening, helping hands, he had not done so much. This is an inspiring fact, that where a great light blazes with the love of God, many lesser lights begin to gleam around it. Francke's burning and shining light enkindled about it many kindred souls, a Richter, an Elers, a Canstein, a Neubauer, a Freylinghausen, and how many more! When king Frederick William First saw the Orphan House (1713), and was conducted through the bookstores and the warehouses, he was so amazed at the vast work that he asked Elers how much he got out of all this. "Your majesty," replied Elers, "only just what you see." Then the king clapped Francke upon the shoulder, and said, "Now I see how he accomplishes so much. I have no such servants."

Secret of
Francke's suc-
cess.

The life thus tirelessly spent in God's service closed in 1727. The true servant of God went at sixty-four, well laden, to his home. He was suffered to declare his faith upon his death-bed in an affecting manner. This year he had in his grammar-school eighty-four pupils, in the Latin school four hundred, in the citizens' school seventeen hundred and twenty-four, and in the Orphan House one hundred and thirty-four orphans. The Orphan House supplied food to two hundred and fifty-five students and three hundred and sixty poor scholars, in addition to the

orphans. In the girls' school were fifteen young persons; in the pension for young ladies, eight; and in the widows' house, six. Francke's noble, royal establishment stands to-day a living sermon to Halle, enjoying still a widening renown and large usefulness.¹ It is related of its founder that he had trustfully prayed God that in all time it might have at least one man who would be a witness of saving truth, and as far as we know, even in the days of the prevalence of rationalism, this prayer was heard. To-day the teachers here who live in the love and faith of Christ are by no means few.

All will conclude that the influence of Francke's spirit outside of Halle, and even of Germany, must have been very great. In all parts of the world germs of truth have been sown by him and his associates through the pupils of the Orphan House and of the Halle University. Halle students have been sought as spiritual teachers and pastors in America, in the German churches in Asiatic seaports, and even in the Greek convents of Mount Athos. When new schools arose and teachers were needed, when God-fearing families wanted tutors for their children, Halle was asked to supply them. If it be true that in no age have Germany and the German evangelical church had so many faithful and believing ministers as in the middle of the eighteenth century, it is because the seed sown by August Hermann Francke remained in the hearts receiving it. The Catholic churches of Germany and France looked with envious wonder to one who, had he been a member of their communion, would have been placed in the number of the saints. — A. T.

LIFE V. JOHN ALBERT BENGEL.

A. D. 1687—A. D. 1752. LUTHERAN, — GERMANY.

OF the successors of Speuer, one of the most eminent was John Albert Bengel, who at his death was "prelate" and "member of consistory," in Stuttgart. In early childhood his loving and God-fearing ways seemed full of promise. Born June 24, 1687, in the county town of Wismenden, he when in his sixth year lost his father. A few months later, during an invasion of the French, the house purchased by his mother for her widowed home, along with his father's library, was burned to ashes. But his teacher, Spineller, showed the lad a father's faithfulness. He took him with him when compelled, by the events of war, to remove his school from one place to another. When Bengel was ready for the uni-

¹ The grammar-school numbers 100 pupils, and 18 teachers; the Latin school 389 scholars and 24 teachers; the industrial polytechnic school, 378 pupils; the German normal school, 10 scholars and 8 teachers; the citizens' school, for boys, 700 pupils and 35 teachers; the girls' high school, 130 pupils and 16 teachers; the citizens' school for girls, 400 pupils and 23 teachers; the free school, 680 pupils, while in the Orphan House are 130 orphan children.

versity, his mother was enabled, through her marriage with Herr Glöckler, a convent-steward, to help him on in his course of study. God's Word had already so affected the boy's heart as to fill him with a childlike faith, with an earnestness in prayer, with a desire for goodness, with delight in the Scriptures and in sacred songs, with a quick consciousness and a horror of what was evil. Best of all for Bengel, his goodness had no ado made over it. Now and then he gave way to youthful foolishness and frivolity. When this occurred, at once his inner guardian reproached him, and prevented evil from without fastening upon his life. He experienced, through the goodness of God, delightful hours of peace, especially at the time of his first communion. In Tübingen he enjoyed the twofold fortune of entrance into a circle of Christian stu-
Progress at Tübingen.
dents, and of finding teachers imbued with living faith in Christ, who zealously attended not only to their pupils' minds, but to their hearts. Foremost of these were the prayerful Christopher Reuchlin, and the distinguished pastor and lecturer, A. A. Hochstetter.

From these men Bengel received profit, especially after he had been quickened by a severe illness. While this brought him near to the grave in the midst of his studies, it awaked in him anew the resolve to devote his life to God's service and honor. Immediately upon leaving the university he was appointed, when only twenty, to be an assistant pastor in Metzingen. He learned here the views of the common people upon religion. Within a year, he returned to the theological school in Tübingen, to serve as "repetent" in aiding the younger students in their studies, enlarging at the same time his own circle of knowledge. For the sake of further culture he went upon a journey through Central Germany, meeting in the schools and universities many eminent men who, under the impulse given by Spener, were vying one with another in imparting to the rising generation a solid training based upon a living Christianity. He sought from men of different parties their most certain conclusions, and returned home, bringing with him precious acquisitions. He found opportunity to practice what he knew as teacher of students for the ministry, in the recently founded convent-school of Denkendorf. His inaugural address indicated his aims. It made diligence in religion the sure help to genuine scholarship. Through it came the most vigorous and perfect development of all the powers; through it the indolence of the flesh was overcome, the mind kept from disturbance by passion, the soul filled with life, power, and clearness of vision. Thus the less gifted often surpassed, in their search for truth, the greatly gifted who lived estranged from God.

Bengel's were no vain words, for they were proven by twenty-eight years of untiring toil. From first to last, the same spirit
Three hundred preachers are trained by him.
animated him, as he taught, according to the very best knowledge and light, the throngs of youth who were sent to him. He

trained more than three hundred youth for the church of his country, not a few of whom partook of his godly spirit and became wise and eminent, filling with honor and usefulness the most important places. This was not, however, his only achievement within this period. He wrought in another direction even more widely. He was wont to read through the Greek New Testament, with his pupils, every two years. This fact led him on, both as a teacher and as a Christian, to undertake a new task. Before this he had been perplexed by the question, "Have we the New Testament as it was first written?" He could not answer it then, for lack of time and of opportunity for thorough investigation. Now he would take it up and satisfy his inquiring spirit. Living in little Denkendorf, he found immense obstacles in his way. He overcame them by his untiring zeal, and soon had such a precious collection, both of old manuscripts and of rare editions of the New Testament, that he could hope for success in seeking the answer to his problem. Bengel possessed not only diligence, but a peculiar penetration, by which he classified his materials, and proceeded from numbering the different readings to the more serious task of passing sentence upon them. He thus did a work which, if it was not perfect, surpassed everything which had hitherto been accomplished by the most learned investigator. He submitted to the learned public the result, which was highly favorable to the genuineness of the received text, both in a large work, which comprised the New Testament and the means of criticism upon it, and in a small work for students, which is still constantly republished in new editions. Along with this effort to restore the original text, he joined another which aimed at its interpretation. He proceeded upon the following principles: The Bible must be taken as a unit, as an incomparable, glorious account of the divine way of dealing with the human race through the ages, from the beginning to the end of all things. It must therefore be made, as far as possible, to explain itself. The interpreter must resolve to drag nothing into the Scriptures, and also to neglect and omit nothing that is there. Hence only a devout and believing heart can unfold the Bible in its full power and glory. What Bengel discovered by four years' diligent and prayerful investigation, he published in a commentary under the modest name of a "Gnomon." He considered his observation but an index, pointing the reader to a further study of the text of Scripture. This spirited work, abounding in significant suggestions as to the real meaning of the text, has proven so useful, especially in our day, that a third edition (1835), followed by many more, has been called for. The book has been made an authority by writers of commentaries, both in and out of Germany. Bengel's view of Scripture as a coherent system of God's plans for man, even to the end of all things, led him on to chronological and apocalyptic studies. In these he strove to harmonize Bible chro-

Publishes his
"Gnomon."

nologies, and by the help of prophecy to map out the future of the kingdom of God. It was a task as arduous as bold, but was undertaken by him with the view that an expositor should leave nothing untouched which is presented in the Bible for our profit. Bengel was not blind to the obstacles in his way. While he believed that he was called to the work, he was very far from maintaining everything confidently, or considering his apocalyptic system faultless. He thought his reckoning of numbers might be erroneous, but that the great events which he indicated, and the practical lessons which he founded upon them, were stated correctly. His view in the main was: Over Europe impends a complete change in the relations of both church and state. Before the Roman papacy shall fully be proven antichrist, unbelief, mysticism, and perhaps Islamism, will blend together. Upon the overthrow of the personal antichrist, the better millennial days will ensue. These, Bengel thought, would be seen less in temporal prosperity than in an undisturbed, joyous increase of the kingdom of Christ upon the earth. This theory was published in his "Order of Ages," his "Cycle," his "Gospel Harmony," his "Revelation Explained," and in some smaller volumes. His practical lessons appeared in sixty edifying discourses upon the Gospel of John.

In the year 1741 Bengel left his place in the cloister school to be provost of Herbrechtingen. Here he found a new field. He preached to a little country church. He became a member of the consistory, taking part in the management of important church matters and also having a share in civil affairs. His impressive preaching stirred up the people. They asked him to give them private instruction in religion. This he did gladly, believing it the best way to exalt a fallen Christianity. He was equally wise in church rule. It was not the time, he said, for novelties, nor should we abandon the chariot of the church when in the wrong road, or try to help it by storming and blustering. We should let alone what we can, use whatever is useful, and seek above all else to be friends with all who love the Lord Jesus.

Bengel composed in this spirit his "Sketch of the Moravians" [under Zinzendorf], and is hence called by Frohberger the noblest and most helpful of their opponents, with the acknowledgment that his utterances have been of great service. As for the land of Würtemberg, it has still cause to thank Bengel and his friends that by their gentle and prudent rules respecting private devotional meetings, so opposed elsewhere, there was healthful provision made against the coming days of unbelief and of revolution.

Finally, it must be mentioned that Bengel by his songs, especially his "Daysman! Source of power," and "Word of the Father! Speak!" has made precious addition to the hymns of the evangelical church.

Turning to Bengel's private life we find him marrying Joanna Regina Seeger, June 5, 1714. His prayer that she should continue with him to

the end was answered. They lived one in spirit, Bengel testifying against the foes of marriage that "the most fruitful and precious experiences in affliction and in joy have come to me through the marriage relation." Twelve children were given them, of whom four daughters and two sons grew up. His manner of training is indicated by his saying, "The simplest teaching is the best; avoid everything artificial. Give the children a chance to know the Bible; if they fail to learn it all, they will retain a part. Commence with history, not with precept. Pleasure is afforded by examples, but not by commands. Overtaxing of the memory or of the mind produces mental sleepiness, satiety, self-assurance, self-conceit, and presumption. If every opportunity for gross conduct is taken away, youth will do better left to their own choice of innocent pursuits and pleasures than if kept under the dictation of others. Especially try to lead them to Christ in honesty of spirit and truthful simplicity." The result of his mode of training was that he had great joy and no heart-sore given him by his children. Death found Bengel ready. He had from youth thought of eternity, and his impressions were deepened by severe illnesses. At last he was beset by the maladies of old age. He was led then to turn from the circumference of truth to its centre, from helps to truth to the very essence. He said, "I look upon myself as an old decaying tree, and rejoice at the springing up about me of the young green shoots. The more I withdraw my mind from human renown, the sweeter grows my communion with God. By his fatherly will, I live on, till He shall ordain my end. I have nothing to plead except my Jesus. I commend me to my faithful Creator, my well-known Redeemer, my tried Comforter, and desire nothing save to be found justified in his presence." He died in Stuttgart, November 2, 1752. — J. C. F. B.

LIFE VI. NICHOLAS LEWIS, COUNT VON ZINZENDORF.

A. D. 1700—A. D. 1760. MORAVIAN, — GERMANY.

"CHRISTIANS are God's people, begotten of his Spirit, obedient to Him, enkindled by his fire. To be near the Bridegroom is their very life; his blood is their glory. Before the majesty of the betrothed of God, kingly crowns grow pale; a hut to them becomes a palace. Sufferings under which heroes would pine are gladly borne by loving hearts which have grown strong through the cross." In these words, spoken in 1731 to a royal princess of Denmark, he whom we now commemorate portrayed, without having purposed it, his own character.

Nicholas Lewis, count of Zinzendorf and Pottendorf, sprang from a very ancient noble family in Austria, upon which the rank of imperial

count was conferred in the year 1662. His ancestors had, in the age of the Reformation, turned to the gospel. In order to enjoy liberty of conscience his grandfather had left his ancient inheritance, and settled in Franconia, not far from Nürnberg. His father, a Christian statesman and court minister of electoral Saxony, had taken part with Spener, and had received from him, when forming a second marriage with the baroness Von Gersdorf, his wishes that they might be given a pious posterity and godly wisdom, by which to save them from the prevailing degeneracy. "For," said Spener, "in these corrupt times it seems to men almost impossible to bring up children, of the higher rank especially, as Christians." Nicholas Lewis, who was born May 26, 1700, was the only child of this marriage. Six weeks after his birth the father died. Four years later the mother married the Prussian field-marshal Von Nazmer. The boy remained with his grandmother, Madame von Gersdorf, in Gross-Hennersdorf, in ^{A "mother's scholar."} Upper Lusatia. Here he was educated, in the way approved of Spener, by his maiden aunt, Henrietta von Gersdorf, and by a tutor who shared her spirit. Spener was his godparent, along with the electoral princesses of Saxony and of the Palatinate. In a visit, shortly before the close of his life, to Gross-Hennersdorf, Spener laid his hands on the boy of four years and gave him his blessing. Zinzendorf himself has said, "My dear grandmother kept me for ten years in her own chamber, my aunt Henrietta prayed with me morning and evening, and passed the day in accord with the prayer." He proved a "mother's scholar" of the best kind. "In my fourth year," he says, "I began to seek God with such earnestness as accorded with my childish notions. From that time especially, it was my steadfast resolve to become a true servant of the crucified Jesus. The first profound impression upon my heart was made by what my mother told me of my blessed father, and of his hearty love for the martyred person of the Saviour. . . . I recollect weeping once very bitterly because, in family worship, I lost, by falling asleep, the verse, Thou art our dear father, because Christ is our brother. This thought sweetly impressed me in my fourth or fifth year, for I believed that as soon as one was pardoned, he was in the company of the Saviour as a brother." At this time of his childhood Zinzendorf wrote tender letters to the Saviour, and threw them out of the window, confident that the Lord would receive and read them. Already what he afterwards said of himself was true: "I have but one passion, it is He, only He." That was the day of sensibility and of false sentimentality, of playing at shepherd and shepherdess by persons in long wigs. Zinzendorf was, by nature, very susceptible. He may have fallen into a familiar and almost sensual phraseology in his expressions of tender love to the Lamb of God, who died for us. Yet his sentimentality was connected with the highest and noblest subjects, was natural and hearty, and joined with it

was fiery energy, courage, and self-devotion. The knowledge and experience which the Holy Spirit gave to him are everywhere seen, even through the weak and effeminate forms in which a heart, which was united to the Crucified, cleansed by his blood, and joyful in his benefits, tells its emotions.

Very early this heart was tried by deep-reaching speculations. "In my eighth year," he says, "I was led by a song which my grandmother sang at bedtime into a reverie and profound speculation which kept me awake the whole night, and made me unconscious of hearing or seeing. The most subtle atheistic notions entered my mind. I was so wrought upon by them, and so prostrated, that all which I have read and heard since of unbelieving doubts prove very shallow and weak, and make no impression upon me." By the use of his will, the boy subdued at once and forever this assault. "What I believed, that I willed," he says; "what I fancied, that grew odious to me. I resolved at once to use my understanding in earthly things whenever necessity arose, and to brighten and to sharpen it, since by it only could progress be made; but in spiritual things to abide simply by the truth apprehended in the heart, making this the foundation for the acquirement of more truth. What I could not bring into connection therewith I resolved to cast utterly away." Thus Zinzendorf's theology became, in accordance with its origin, a heart theology. It was free from all refinements respecting the foundations and the abysses of existence. It aimed with its entire strength at Christian living and doing. This it was which gave it limitation, but also power.

When ten years of age, Zinzendorf was sent in the company of a badly selected tutor to the Halle grammar-school, then under charge of its venerable founder, Francke. Many lovely spirits were coming to Halle to live, or to sojourn for a day. The Halle Pietists were in communication with many countries. In 1715, Ziegenbald, the missionary, came from the East Indies upon a visit, bringing with him some baptized Malays from Malabar. The young count, who may, perhaps, have been more tried than was necessary by well-meant endeavors to humble his aspiring spirit, lived in a congenial element in the midst of loving Christian words and deeds. A glow of love ascended from his soul up to his Lord. Never did he sing a song that was not full of the deepest Christian thought and fervent love of Jesus. His most beautifully simple hymns are his earliest, dating from his thirteenth year forward. After his first communion he composed a song of which the beginning and end are as follows:—

"Lo! at last dawns the hour, God appears in his power, He my vision delighteth, with my spirit uniteth."

"I behold his dear dying, see his enemies flying, heav'n he enters, still minding lost men's saving and finding."

Even then his mind was set upon active effort and association with

Studies in
Halle.

Youthful con-
flicts.

friends of like spirit. With a few comrades he formed a pious league, whose members called themselves first "Servants of Virtue," then the "Association of Confessors of Jesus Christ;" but at last adopted the name of the "Order of the Grain of Mustard-Seed" [Senfkorn-Orden]. Their seal was an Ecce Homo, with the inscription, "Our Wounds' Healing" (Nostra Medela). With Frederick of Wattewille, Zinzendorf made an especial compact for the conversion of the heathen, and of those especially to whom no one else would go. Thus his school-life became a prophecy of his after career.

He was sixteen years old when his guardian permitted him to go to the university, and to the one most strictly opposed to the Pietists of Halle, namely, Wittenberg. He was there to cultivate his noble gifts for an honorable career in the service of his state, and to tone down his religious zeal to such a measure as would enable him to attain worldly success. With obedient spirit Zinzendorf gave himself to the study of the law, but was true to his glowing love to his Saviour. He celebrated the jubilee of the Reformation (1717) with a song of penitence. The Halle strictness respecting card-playing, dancing, and the like, went with him to Wittenberg, but was not so thoroughly accepted by him that he did not have many misgivings about this rigid discipline. In his intercourse with the Wittenberg professors, who in their way were also pious, he became aware that the "orthodox" were not all foes of Christian living, and that all true piety was not found among the Pietists. He saw right and wrong on both sides, and the youth of eighteen ventured to think of making peace between Halle and Wittenberg. This work of love was forbidden him by his relatives. Yet his well-meant endeavors had at least this result, that there was brought about a conference, not devoid of fruits, between Francke and the worthy senior court-preacher Löscher in Dresden.

The guardians now in charge of Zinzendorf, planning to withdraw sustenance from his mental tendency to a spiritual life, which ^{Studies in Holland.} found support in Wittenberg as well as in Halle, removed him to Utrecht, where he arrived on his nineteenth birthday. He himself writes, "I came to Utrecht University with my Wittenberg theories and Halle practices, which made me a peculiar species of young traveling man, of which many edifying particulars might be repeated." On his journey his mind was specially withdrawn from earth and turned with desire to Jesus. He saw in the Düsseldorf picture gallery a painting of the Ecce Homo with the inscription in Latin, "This have I done for thee; what hast thou done for me?" and was greatly impressed by it. In Utrecht he read, together with his law, Spener's "Theological Views," acquired English, and entered into theological controversies with the reformed and with the doctors of philosophy, and soon found out that his reasonings were often insufficient. After a while he continued his travels to Paris, which was the resort of other young German nobles for the sake

of the excitements of the luxurious city, and the pleasures of its court. Zinzendorf not only lived with thoroughly pure morals, but sought the acquaintance of earnest Christians among the priests and bishops of the Catholic communion, and indeed became quite intimate with the devout archbishop of Paris, cardinal Noailles. He found the prelates as firmly established in their church belief as he was in his. They soon agreed on both sides to lay aside controversy in order to join in the love of Christ. At a later date (1738) he wrote, "Moreover, I cherish and highly esteem, according to my way, all who love Jesus. I would consider myself very unhappy to be counted an alien by any Catholic who loves Christ, although in many points I differ wholly from their opinions." Zinzendorf had no thought of destroying creeds as boundary marks defining the different households of God. Joining with the Moravian brethren, with the Reformed, and with the Lutherans, in sacramental fellowship, he would yet not offer this symbol of fraternity to that great corporation which failed to make a right distinction between believers and unbelievers.

Zinzendorf, now twenty-one, burned with desire to serve his Lord with a new and complete offering. He waited an occasion to begin the work which he was dimly conceiving. He thought he had found this when, upon his return from Paris, he was asked during a visit to Halle to take the place of the deceased baron Von Canstein, who had there established the first institution for the circulation of the Bible. He was refused the consent of his friends to his acceptance of the office. They held to the hope of seeing him rise in the state service of Saxony. He submitted to their desires, and became a counselor of court and of justice under the government. Having come of age he married, and purchased of his grandmother the estate of Berthelsdorf, bordering upon her property of Gross-Hennersdorf, and comprising the uncultivated Hutberg. Zinzendorf's bride was a countess Reuss, the sister of his friend Henry Twentieth, of Ebersdorf. December 22, 1722, the count and his bride visited for the first time their newly acquired property. The road brought the travelers, in a winter's night, to the foot of the Hutberg. Through the forest gleamed a light shining from a newly builded dwelling. It was

Meets the Moravians.

the residence of the first of the exiled Moravian Brethren, who had begun to build here upon June 17th, and had occupied their home in the month of October. Zinzendorf entered the cottage, kindly saluted the brethren, and, falling upon his knees, earnestly asked the blessing of God upon the new settlers. This was the beginning of Herrnhut.

The successors of the Hussites, at times tolerated, at times persecuted, had ever since 1468 preserved among the mountains of Bohemia and Moravia a church organization, as nearly apostolic as possible, and adapted to their condition. This they called the *Unitas Fratrum*, or Brethren's

Unity. In the time of the Reformation they established intercourse with the Lutherans, and received their approval. They prized their own discipline too highly, however, to consent to give it up and to be merged into the great mass of the evangelical church. A new revival among them had in the beginning of the eighteenth century, stirred up fresh persecutions by the Romanists. Many among them resolved, therefore, to emigrate. They sought for a place where they could worship God unmolested. By the recommendation of Schäfer, the preacher in Görlitz, they were directed to Berthelsdorf. The count, upon the intercession of his pious steward, consented that a place of refuge should be granted them, provisionally, upon his estate. The first of the persecuted brethren had erected, almost without the aid of Zinzendorf, their first dwellings upon the Hutberg. But very early the count recognized in these colonists, whose number soon increased, the material furnished him of God, from which and by which he was to shape and establish the enterprise for which God had chosen and endowed him. He conceived the thought of implanting in this susceptible folk the love of the Lord, the bleeding Lamb, and to make them thus a leaven in the midst of a dead Christianity. The devoted preacher Rothe, a man of Spener's spirit, whom the count called to Berthelsdorf, entered into his views. The new fold, full of Christian life, attracted many awakened spirits who, because of their enthusiasm and separatism, were no longer at home in the decayed church of Germany. In this notable mingling of spirits aspiring minds rose, and by their various natures threatened the new foundation with destruction through fanaticism, schism, and conflict. The count from his superior position strove to put down discord, and his honest intention received help from God at the moment when it was needed. August 13, 1727, at a celebration of the Lord's Supper in Berthelsdorf, amid flowing tears, the spirit of love was shed upon the prepared spirits of the multitude. The fruits of this day of grace, the memory of which is still celebrated, were never lost.

The constitution, customs, and worship of the new community were founded upon the ancient rules of the Moravian Brethren. Zinzendorf was the soul of the new creation. To prevent the destruction of their church life, they declined a union with the Lutheran church, and a place in the state church, though urged thereto by preachers Schäfer and Rothe. And yet by the impress made by Zinzendorf upon the new community, it was essentially a part of the German Lutheran church, whose fervor of feeling as an animating spirit here found its first complete development. The ardor of the Lutheran laity, which could show itself elsewhere only in church singing, here obtained free course. Lay patronage, which by others was so mechanically exercised, was gloriously used by Zinzendorf. While the office of preacher was left all its authority and dignity, the lively coöperation of other church

Becomes leader of the Moravians.

officers so disposed of the distinction between clergy and laity, which Lutheranism had copied from Romanism, that the church as a whole deemed themselves God's people. The preacher's office and the patron's office were looked upon in the apostolical sense as intended wholly for the brotherly serving of the church, in accordance with Christ's words, "One is your Master, all ye are brethren."

Zinzendorf with deep and far-reaching mind knew that the new society could secure a firm footing and lasting existence in the family of Christian churches, only by a public subscription of the Augsburg Confession, by a regular clergy, and by a retention of the old office of bishop, handed down from the Moravians. He therefore arranged that the bishop's office should be preserved in the community by the laying on of the hands of one of the old bishops of the martyr-church. This secured the Brethren official recognition by the Church of England, which she has been so unfortunate as to deny to the Lutheran church of Germany. Zinzendorf himself wished to take the clerical office. Laying down his civil position he passed examinations in Stralsund and Tübingen to obtain ordination. In 1737 he became a bishop of the Brethren in active service. But thoroughly as he was joined to the new society, he in no way suffered himself to be circumscribed, by this union or by his adherence to Lutheranism, in his general mission to needy souls. In a church conference in Herrendyk, near Amsterdam (1741), he uttered these frank words: "I am appointed of God the Lord to declare the word of Christ's blood and death, not by art, but by divine power, without regard to what may befall me. This was my calling, before I knew aught of the Moravian Brethren. I am and shall remain united with the Moravian Brethren who have embraced our Christian gospel heartily, and have called me and other brethren into the service of their church. Yet I do not separate myself thereby from the Lutheran church, for I can continue God's witness in her communion. I can tie my testimony to no denomination; the whole earth is the Lord's, and men's souls are all his. I am a debtor to all. I shall in the future lack opposition no more than in the past, but the word of Jesus the crucified is the power of God, and the wisdom of God; whoever opposes it will be put to shame."

The opposition to Zinzendorf was as extensive as his activity. What mind could reckon in how many places he sought to win souls to Christ, among high and low, without respect of persons? From Switzerland to Lithuania, in Wetterau and in Berlin, in Holland and in England, in the far-away regions of North America and in the huts of the slaves on the isle of St. Thomas, his footsteps can be traced, and his word never returned void. To some, it was a savor of life unto life, to others a savor of death unto death. Twice he was obliged to leave Saxony for a long period, yet without the community of Herrnhut, which numbered six hundred souls and was still increasing,

His great activity.

suffering any injury. Zinzendorf attended by his pilgrim company went about, founded new colonies in different lands, preached, sang, and wrote, for the glory of the name of Jesus. By the establishing of independent communities it was provided that the Brethren should be able to serve God in their own way, separate from the world, and bring up their children, their sons and their daughters, in their own belief. Those who were friendly to them, here and there (whom they entitled the *Disaspora*). were constantly visited, and given spiritual nourishment. Through them the Brethren were able more truly to become the salt of the earth. Upon the fixed theology of the universities the Moravians made little impression. They had simply a few adherents among the clergy who were inclined to pietism. John Wesley was indebted to two Moravian Brethren, with whom he made a voyage to North America, for his enlightenment as to justification through faith only. He made a visit to Herrnhut, but was attracted neither to the count nor to the community. Wesley and Zinzendorf were alike in their aims and efforts, but each had been given of God, when adopted as his child, an original character. They were so directed in their fields of labor, that they did not dare venture upon a union. No more could the Würtemberg theologian, John Albert Bengel, so full of unction and of learning, join with Zinzendorf in the latter's mode of working for souls. Zinzendorf knew how to apply the Scriptures to life, but not how to explain them, in their connection, one part with another. Zinzendorf's nearest associates were the Pietists, out of whose bosom he sprang. But they were too full of anxious scruples and of legalistic notions for him. They could not take part in his free, joyous demonstrations. In the kingdom of God there are manifold forms, which exclude one the other. But there is yet one Spirit, who unites all of them, who uses the varied gifts of grace in differing spheres for the same high object, the establishment of the divine government.

Zinzendorf, from youth, was familiar with the customs of the polite world and of courts. He moved with ease and confidence in the highest circles. He did not attach any value, however, to these things in themselves, but used all his relations simply for Christ's cause and kingdom. He was in great favor in the court of Denmark, and received an invitation in June, 1731, to the coronation of king Christian Sixth. He there made the acquaintance of the chief royal equerry, count Laurwig, whose valet Anton, a negro slave from the Danish West India island of St. Thomas, told Zinzendorf of the sad state of the negroes there, and of the longing of his own sister Anna to know the true God. At the same time, the count saw two Greenlanders from Egede's Danish mission, and formed the idea of lending aid to this faithful laborer. This was the first suggestion of the Moravian missions to the West Indies and to Greenland. Soon after (1732), the mission work

Founds Moravian missions.

of the Brethren was begun, amid the scoffs of the world, with the simplest means but with strong faith. It has continued with the greatest blessing to the present day. The count's youthful dream was fulfilled, that he should give the gospel to the heathen, and to the most wretched among them, whom no one else would approach. When the brethren sent by him and by the Unity were taken in the midst of their amazingly successful work in the West Indies, and were thrown into prison and into great peril by the hate of the planters, who were not willing that their slaves should become Christians, the count sailed over the sea, and accomplished the liberation of the prisoners and the inauguration of a better state of things. He was ever by the side of his people, confessing himself one with the abused and despised, never sparing himself, and by apostolical fidelity fulfilling what he had vowed to the Lord in his youth at Halle,—to labor to convert the heathen, the degraded races of the earth, negro slaves, Greenlanders, Esquimaux, and Hottentots.

With his faith in God, and in the power of the blood of Jesus to save the miserably perishing pagans, and to renew God's image within them, Zinzendorf joined the thought that the loftiest and most mighty ones of earth were only wretched sinners, to receive forgiveness of sins, life, and salvation, from Christ, through repentance and faith. When he heard that king Frederick William First of Prussia was near his end, he was impelled by the love of Christ to prove his gratitude to this prince, who had shown him much kindness, by directing his attention with all deference to the salvation of his soul. It redounds to the king's honor that, although somewhat against his flesh, he gently and heartily suffered Zinzendorf to speak or rather to write to him. The subject of religion was discussed by them in writing, and the remarkable letters which they exchanged are still in existence.

Zinzendorf, from childhood, abode in Christ's grace, walked before Him, and held converse with Him, as if he beheld Him with his bodily eyes. On his journeys he would often leave his carriage, walk alone, and utter to Christ words such as these: "O my Saviour, if I could but lay before Thee my plans, from beginning to end!" Thus he became assured of the pureness of his work. Thus, when his rash nature, passionate temperament, and boundless imagination carried him into excesses or false measures, he was set right again by his Master. When people were thinking that he was in an exciting passion, which would soon break forth, they were amazed to find him again in all the dignity and calmness of a child of God. Once, by a slight irregularity before the time of evening prayers, he was thrown into the greatest excitement, and for an hour long administered wrathful reproof. But directly after he appeared in the prayer-room and uttered an address full of emotion, with the purest priestly spirit.

Zinzendorf was of only middling stature, and in later years inclined to

corpulency. But his countenance glowed with a holy light, which was shed from his dark brown eyes over all his features. In his bearing there was a hearty affability joined with noble manners and priestly devotion. His wife, who was his excellent helpmeet, died in 1756. The year after he married (June 27th) Anna Nitschmann, who was, from her faithfulness in God's service, the universally acknowledged elder sister of the church. This choice he made from regard to his need of an associate. She survived him but a few days (dying May 21, 1760). Zinzendorf's first marriage was blessed with many children, of whom most died in infancy or in childhood. His son Christian Renatus, called away in youth, is still known among all the faithful by his hymn, "O passion divine, can man e'er forget thee," and especially by the last stanza, "As now we assemble all here together," with which brethren in Christ have so often accompanied the last pressure of the hand when they were separating.

The people of Herrnhut were increased in 1760 to thirteen hundred persons. Upon May 3d of this year, the count welcomed home one of the oldest of the Moravian Brethren who had been ^{His closing days.} present, May 12, 1729, on the day of the laying of the foundation of the first meeting-house. He had not seen the place for twenty-one years, he and his wife having been all this time in the service of God in Holland, England, Ireland, and America. The count himself took these returned friends around, and showed them everything that had been done in the time intervening. In the evening he joined with a great company in a love-feast, and there delivered his last address, whose key-note was in the words of a song composed by him at an earlier date:—

"The glory of Herrnhut shall end in that hour when hindrance shall rise to God's work in its power."

May 4th was Sunday. Zinzendorf, as had been his wont for many years, spent the entire afternoon in retirement, communing with God respecting himself and his plans for the church under his care. "That blessed look, often seen in him when he was in the spirit on the Lord's day, attracted those nearest him to go close to him, not to address him, which they carefully avoided, but simply to cast a glance upon him. The last Sundays of his life his eyes had more than once been seen full of tears, giving them such a blessed expression as impressed deeply the hearts of his most attached friends."

Upon May 5th he arose, after an almost sleepless night, with a severe rheumatic fever. Still he went to work, paid a visit to his sick wife, and in the evening attended a love-feast, at which a song of thirty-six verses, which he had composed upon the day before for the use of the young women, was in part sung and in part recited. After the love-feast, he remained in private conversation with his three daughters, and some other members of his family. He said, among other things, that when he had

been sick before, he had sought for the reason of his sickness and for what God intended it, and when he found a reason, he had preferred to tell it to his friends rather than keep it to himself. He knew that it was not displeasing to the Master for one to declare himself publicly to his friends as a sinner. Thereby discipline was made easier. But this time he was sure that the Saviour did not intend such a message by his sickness, for he was so happy in his mind, and in accord with his Master.

The morning of May 8th he was cheerful, although his fever was increased. He received visitors with an expression of tenderest love, and said, "I know not how to declare how dear you all are to me. We seem indeed even as the angels, and as if already in heaven." To one standing by he said, "At the first, would you have ever thought that Christ's prayer 'that they all may be one' would have been so blessedly fulfilled among us?" In the afternoon he completed some work, thanked God for his many benefits, shown to himself and to the community, addressing to David Nitschmann and others the words, "Would you, at the first, have thought that the Master would do as much as we now see with our eyes, for our communities, and for God's children here and there throughout the world, and for the heathen? I had only looked for some first-fruits, and behold we have grown to thousands." His last words, spoken to his son-in-law, were, "My good John, I will go to the Saviour now. I am ready; I am devoted to my Lord's will, and He is content with me. If He needs me no longer here, I am ready to go to Him; there is nothing in the way." Soon after he breathed forth his soul amid the church's benediction, spoken by John of Watteville in a single word, "Peace." This was at ten o'clock on the morning of May 9, 1760, when he was sixty years old, lacking a few days. May 16th, towards evening, he was committed to the "God's acre" of Hutsberg, in sacred, holy stillness, amid the thronging thousands. Upon the stone which covers his grave may be read beneath his name the inscription, "He was ordained to bring forth fruit, and that his fruit should remain." Who would not say amen to this? Amen!—H. E. S.

LIFE VII. ALEXANDER ROUSSEL.

A. D. 1700 ?—A. D. 1728. REFORMED, — FRANCE.

THE Reformed church in France, upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, met a persecution which aimed at her utter destruction. Such wrongs and outrages were visited upon the Protestants as stirred the hot blood of the south to fever heat. The war of despair by the Camisards, or people of the Cévennes, was a struggle of fanatic strength against rude violence. It was not according to the mind of Him who said, "Put

up thy sword into his place! for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." The rising was put down (1713). In place of bearing the sword, the French Reformed were to take up the cross. Patiently, trustfully, hopefully, lovingly, they were to show the world how "the church under the cross" is able to live in the very jaws of death.

The Reformed church in Languedoc, in Vivarais, in both the upper and lower Cévennes, rose up out of desolation. She was yet strong in faith, though all her schools had been closed, all her churches destroyed, all her seminaries for clergy blotted out. In the face of many dangers, in the presence of hostile troops, the people met by night, quietly, secretly, in caves, in thickets, on the plain, or under the mountain precipices, far away from human dwellings, to serve God by prayer and to nourish their souls with the word of life. None that was not consecrated to the cause was allowed to know their places of meeting. They went "into the wilderness;" they preached "in the wilderness;" they wrote, exhorted, or comforted "from the wilderness." The clergy availed themselves of this general term to conceal the places whence they put forth effort by word or pen, and also to mark their church as one persecuted. These assemblies "in the wilderness" began in 1712, and continued steadfastly the entire century, and were the refuge of the Reformed confession in France.

In the absence of ordained ministers, those of the people who were moved thereto, some of them women, delivered exhortations. No church constitution was possible. In August, 1715, just after the death of Louis Fourteenth, an assembly of Reformed preachers and intelligent laymen was convoked at Nismes by Antoine Court, ^{Work of Antoine Court.} the noble, divine, and scholar, gifted alike in soul and body, in strength of faith and purity of life, who has been entitled "The Restorer of Protestantism in France." By this assembly a number of elders were chosen, who were to make provisions for safe places of meeting for the pastors, the poor, and the prisoners. In March, 1717, a third synod in Languedoc gave full validity to the new church constitution. Since hardly any ordained ministers remained, Court sent his assistant, Corteis, to Zürich for ordination. From the latter he himself received, in a synod, the laying on of hands, so as to administer ordination to other ministers, and to restore the apostolic order in Languedoc and the Cévennes. Thus the persecuted put themselves in position to build up the church order as the pillar of Christian life even on the smoking ashes of the Camisard wars, and amid the vagaries of their "prophets." So strict was their government that unqualified ministers were deposed, and no one was allowed even to lead in psalm-singing without the consent of the elders. The churches were in connection not only with one another, but also with their brethren sentenced to the galleys. They sent to the latter, by trusty messengers, comforts for both body and soul. The clergy had to

steal from place to place, often in very strange disguises. The congregations set sentinels on the heights, with signals agreed upon, using every precaution and secret device to evade their persecutors. Every night the preachers shifted their abodes. Their adherents counted it an honor to run the risk of the punishment to which their entertainment exposed them. Often and horribly enough was it sent upon them, through bribed traitors, or through a deadly ambuscade inclosing an assembly, and bringing ministers and people to cruel death or imprisonment.

It was the hope of the Reformed that the death of Louis Fourteenth would bring better times. In this hope many of the fugitives to other countries had returned. But the regent of France, the duke of Orleans, from carelessness and indifference, made no change in the laws against the Protestants. At the best, he substituted for the desired butchery of all the Reformed the disarming of them and the execution of their ministers. The disarmed were sent to the galleys. They were forced, also, in the time of the plague in Marseilles, to bury the dead. Women were put in prison. Places of worship were torn down. After the regent's death (1724), the duke of Bourbon was moved by the bishop of Nantes, who wished to earn a cardinal's hat by severity towards heretics, to publish a new and stern edict. The government would, however, be content if the Reformed would conform outwardly to Romanism. The priests were to give the Sacrament without question to any who would receive it. But whoever was a steadfast Protestant must away to the galleys or the gallows. Nevertheless, in this grievous day the religious assemblies in Languedoc were all the more frequent and wide-spread, even if overtaken often by the troops and dragged to punishment. It was the lot of the few ministers to live night and day in perils in the wilderness, in perils by water, in perils in the cities, in perils among assassins, in perils among false brethren; in care and toil, in hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness. Amid such dangers, Court held, in the space of two months, thirty assemblies, mostly in the night, in the mountains and deserts of Languedoc and in the Cévennes up and down under the open sky, preaching, administering the Lord's Supper, baptizing in this time fifteen children, and solemnizing fifteen marriages.

Labors of Court
and others.

The places where the meetings were held remained unknown to the ministers themselves, since they arrived and departed in the night. The believers received and escorted them by the most hidden ways. The meetings were opened with prayer, a chapter of Scripture was read, a psalm was sung with suppressed voices; then, after a prayer by the minister for power to proclaim rightly the word of God, the sermon was delivered, at times the Supper was administered, and the service was closed with a general prayer, with petitions for the king and all in authority. For a precaution, sentinels, but without arms, were placed on

the heights. The preacher purposely remained ignorant of the names of those baptized or married, and of the other participants in the meeting, so as not to be able to state them before a court. For his clothing and support, the preacher of the wilderness received gifts, but without knowing from whom. The assemblies were so large that the smallest would have three thousand members. For the support of youth who felt a call to the preacher's office, that is, to "martyrdom in the church under the cross," and who entered for this purpose the seminary in Lausanne, contributions were made by believers in Switzerland, England, Holland, and Germany. Antoine Court was made (1730) "general deputy" for the management of this business.¹

One of these youthful "shepherds in the wilderness" and heroes of faith was Alexander Roussel, of Uzès. We know neither the date of his birth nor his parentage. We find him first First view of Roussel. in an assembly near Aulas. The foe, who was on the watch, was shown by a traitor, for the sake of a reward, the path to the secret resort. The troops of Louis Fifteenth stole up, and broke in like a wolf upon the fold, and rushed upon the shepherd. He did not flee; he could not and would not. He preferred to copy the Good Shepherd, and the death of Him who laid down his life for the sheep. He was bound, gagged, dragged to Vigan, mocked and mistreated all along the road. At his trial, the judge asked, "What is your business?" He answered, "To preach the gospel." "To preach it where?" He replied, "Wherever I can find an assembly of Christians." "Where do you live?" "Under the roof of heaven." After the hearing he was led with two comrades to the citadel long known as "The House of the Believers." Before his prison was a watch by five or six of the dragoons who had taken him. Towards night some grenadiers came and led him to the citadel in Montpellier. This citadel also had long earned the name of "The House of the Believers." The news was carried to his mother. She was the nurse of the duke of Uzès, the governor of Saintonge. She hastened to the duke to obtain his intercession for his foster-brother. But the time-serving lord declared that an example must be made; he could do nothing for the prisoner, unless he would abjure. With indignation the mother repelled his suggestion. She hastened with her son-in-law and other friends to Roussel's prison. "My son," she said, "thou hast prayed to God instead of to the saints. It is a crime in France which is shown no mercy. Thou wilt therefore fall a sacrifice. We have indeed many friends who can do much, but they have told me that in any other matter they would do everything, but for one who calls upon God no one will put himself out." The prisoner comforted the good mother, and waited cheerfully the hour for his entrance into the joy of his Lord. The Jesuits came to him, and

¹ Court afterwards removed from France, ending his days in charge of the clerical seminary at Lausanne (1760).

urged him to save his life by confessing the Catholic faith. He remained steadfast, resisting their sly attacks. The chosen hour came. The officials and the executioner entered the prison together. Roussel knelt down, praying for courage for the last journey. Bareheaded, barefoot, a rope around his neck, he took his way, singing psalms as he went. Reaching the foot of the gallows, he raised his eyes, mounted firmly and boldly the ladder, crying, "Forgive them, for they know not what they do!" Turning to the hangman, he said, "I forgive thee, and all who do me evil, from my heart." A moment, and his spirit fled to eternal glory. This was November 30, 1728.

A touching song of lamentation has handed down the martyr death of Alexander Roussel from mouth to mouth among the Protestant French. His mother is likened to Mary, whose soul a sharp sword enters under her son's cross. The unnamed traitor is promised, by the song, the reward of his "countryman," Judas, whose residence he shall share, having the very same host. — H. Von M.

LIFE VIII. PAUL RABAUT.

A. D. 1718—A. D. 1794. REFORMED,—FRANCE.

To the woman of Samaria, inquiring where man ought to worship, Christ foretold a time when the true worshiper should worship the Father in spirit and in truth. Such worship was offered in the catacombs of Rome; such also in the "church in the wilderness," which all the fanatic tyranny of the French ruler was not able to suppress. What country has sealed the Reformed faith with longer or sorer martyrdom than that of France! With brief interruptions, the persecution of the gospel continued from 1524, when James Pavannes, the first evangelical martyr, was burned alive on the Place de Grève, because he had written against the worship of Mary and the saints, down to 1775, when the last two persons kept in the galleys as Protestants were let out of their prisons. The revocation (1685) of the Edict of Nantes had two results: the emigration of four hundred thousand diligent and skilled Huguenots, and the aggravation of the misery of their fellow-believers who did not emigrate. The number of the latter reached a million: of these three hundred thousand died from the persecutions which they suffered on account of their faith; from ten to fifteen thousand died by the gallows, by torture, by the stake, or by the axe. When the war of the Camisards came (1701–1706), the fatal hour of Protestantism in France, it seemed, had struck. The evangelical church no longer had synods, discipline, lawful worship and instruction, or clergymen. The last, to the number of about six hundred, had been driven into exile. For that hour of sorest need God raised up

in Antoine Court the reformer of French Protestantism. He convoked synods, reëstablished public worship, at peril of his life, went as an itinerant through the settlements of his fellow-believers, and established in Lausanne a theological seminary, which from 1730 until 1812 alone supplied the ministers for the "church in the wilderness." Some four hundred and fifty candidates for the ministry left this school during these eighty years to venture their lives in the wilderness. Among them Paul Rabaut takes a front place.

He was born January 9, 1718, in Bédarieux, near Montpellier, of an old Reformed family. In his home, which was ever and anon a hiding-place for the preachers in the wilderness, he learned to know and love the gospel. When a boy he often acted as a guide to the persecuted. At the age of fifteen or sixteen he was met by a call to give his life to the Lord, renouncing every brilliant worldly prospect in order to serve his brethren. He became a "proposant," as the assistants of the preachers in the wilderness were entitled. He was to accompany them on their dangerous journeys, and be instructed by them for the church's service. When twenty years old Rabaut was sent to Nîmes as a preacher. He married, that same year, Magdalena Gaydan, a young lady whose Christian steadfastness and self-sacrifice were equal to his own. Rabaut soon saw that to fulfill his office he needed a more thorough education. He decided that he must go and study for three years in Lausanne, leaving his wife behind (1740.) This he did, and then returned to his church in Nîmes (1743), and remained in his pastorate until his death (1794). During his half century and more of labor he was protected by God's watchful care. He in whom, above others, beat the heart-throbs of the proscribed Protestantism of France, was never even once arrested or imprisoned. He ever bore himself as a servant of God, and as one dying, and lo! he still lives.

The French Protestants enjoyed a period of rest at the time of Rabaut's return to Nîmes. The magistrates ignored the meetings, which they could not suppress. But they were stirred by Richelieu, who was made lieutenant-general in Languedoc (1738), to begin anew a bloody persecution. The pretext for this was a widely circulated religious song, which besought a blessing upon the arms of England. Rabaut, who had ever spoken out most decidedly against armed resistance, and had declined to attend assemblies where armed men were present, was nevertheless accused of being the author of the hymn. He wrote to Richelieu, defending himself and his brethren from the imputation: "We solemnly make oath and asseveration in the presence of the Supreme Searcher of Hearts, who will arraign perjurers and hypocrites before his judgment seat, that the detestable song ascribed to the Protestants is not their production. Their religion obliges them to nothing more strongly than to obedience and to loyalty to their sovereign. In our sermons and

addresses we magnify this our obligation, as the Catholics who live in Neugierde can testify." He further said: "If we hold religious assemblies, it is not from disrespect to the command of his majesty, or from seditiousness, but purely and wholly for conscience' sake, to offer to our God the sacrifice which we deem most acceptable to Him, to receive instruction in reference to our duties and incitements to fulfill them." Richelieu was not able to understand how men must obey God rather than man, and proceeded with hellish hate against the Reformed. The If castle, the towers of Constance (near Aigues-Mortes), and other public edifices were filled with prisoners, both men and women.

Rabaut labors
amid dragon-
nades.

The dragonnades were begun anew in several districts.

Rabaut was obliged to hide, and to perform the duties of his office in the utmost secrecy. He preached frequently in forest ravines and desert places near Nismes. The Protestants, full of thirst for the word of God, faced the greatest dangers to attend these meetings. As many as ten thousand hearers would at times gather round Rabaut, and would all be reached by his full and penetrating voice. His sermons, as they are described by the possessor of the manuscripts of his pulpit efforts, are characterized by "great simplicity and unction, gentleness rather than harshness, few dogmatic discussions, more love than profundity, and practical exhortations, which were ever added to doctrinal discussions." Besides his preaching and his work as pastor from house to house, he attended very carefully to the education of the young, giving instruction now in one farm district, now in another, in some out-of-the-way corner. His influence with his brethren in the faith was tested at the time of the imprisonment of pastor Désubas. This young man, beloved as a preacher for his zeal and ability, was betrayed by an apostate, and led under a strong guard to Montpellier. Repeated attempts of Protestants along the way to free their pastor were defeated, having served only to waste precious blood. It seemed as if a new "war of the Cévennes" would follow, till the brave Rabaut arose out of his hiding-place to enjoin the Protestants by all the weight of his influence to put

Rabaut's noble
letter.

the sword into the sheath. Désubas died as a martyr. Ra-

baut addressed the following letter to his judge, the terrible Lenain: "When I chose the office of preacher in this realm, I was not ignorant to what I exposed myself. I viewed myself as a victim doomed to slaughter. No worldly consideration could have led me to make this choice of mine; but I was convinced that in this office I could do the most good. Ignorance is the death of the soul, and the source of endless transgression. What would become of the Protestants if they were wholly deprived of pastors, forbidden as they are the free exercise of their religion, and unable conscientiously to follow Romanism? What would become of them, deprived as they are of books from which they might instruct themselves? Surely, they would fall a prey either to in-

differentism or fanaticism ! Your highness is not unaware that the labors of the pastors have hindered such a result. For my own part, I have not neglected to instruct thoroughly those in my charge. After giving instruction in the foundation truths of religion, I have attached especial importance to inculcating moral duties. I have spoken particularly of obedience and loyalty to the king. It is indeed true that the Protestants in several districts have suffered, either in their own or their children's persons and estates, and thus terror has been produced, so that their pastors' exhortations were deprived of their effect."

It was the hope of the Protestants, after the death of Bénézet, that Louis Fifteenth would have compassion on them, if he could but be thoroughly informed of their condition. When the war minister, marquis Paulmy d'Angenson, was making a military inspection of the southern provinces, he was met on September 19, 1772, on the road near Nismes, by Rabaut in person. The pastor, on whose head a price was set, called to him, and presented him a memorial. The marquis showed him respect, and promised to submit the paper. Rabaut vanished, going on his pilgrim course. New means were used to force him to leave the country. During the night an armed mob took possession of his house, and threatened his wife, who had the care of ^{Rabaut's heroic wife.} two children and of a sick mother, with every torture, unless she induced her husband to quit the country. Magdalena would not allow herself to be frightened. She told her husband to continue in his office. She went forth herself, with her children and her mother, to pass a whole year wandering here and there, and seeking refuge in various hiding-places.

The 1st of January, 1756, a Reformed assembly near Nismes was suddenly attacked. Most of those present saved themselves by flight. Some were taken, and among them Fabre, a man of seventy-eight. His son, who had escaped, begged that his aged father might be released, and himself taken in his stead. The exchange took place, and this example of filial love excited respect. The duke of Mirejoix proffered the voluntary prisoner his liberty if Rabaut would promise to leave the kingdom. Fabre would not accept the proffer, and was placed in the galleys at Toulon. After six years he was set free, and rejoiced to find his old father still alive.

In 1761 new victims were demanded by the cruel government. The youthful preacher, Paul Rochette, was seized when on his way to attend to his official work, one night, and was brought into the city of Caussade. Three young nobles, the Grenier brothers, on the news of the danger which threatened their pastor, hastened to the city, armed with pistols and daggers. They were charged with intending to deliver the prisoner by force. The preacher was sentenced by the Toulouse parliament to be hanged, the brothers to be beheaded, and others who were concerned to

be imprisoned in the galleys. In vain did Rabaut exert himself for the innocent victims with the king's daughter, Adelaide, with duke Fitz-James, with Richelieu, and with Rousseau. The latter replied, in indifferent tone (October 27th), that the religious assemblies could be given up without a surrender of religious belief. He said, "I have preached humanity, gentleness, and toleration as well as I could. It is not my fault if I am not heard. For the future I intend to confine myself to general truths. I write no libels nor satires. I attack no person, but only men at large. I condemn no action, but only vice. I can do no more." The bloody sentence was executed. When the martyrs first were told their fate, they cried, "Then we are to die! Let us call upon God to receive graciously the sacrifice which we bring." Strong in their faith, they suffered death February 26, 1762. Rochette was the last martyr preacher of the "church in the wilderness."

The popular interest in Rochette's heroic death was very great. Public attention was still further excited by another affair, in which also Rabaut was concerned, — the Calas trial. John Calas, an esteemed merchant in Toulouse, had a son named Marc Antony. One night the youth destroyed his own life by hanging himself in the door-way of a warehouse of his father. The Calas were Protestants. Soon the word went through the fanatically disposed city that Marc Antony had been murdered by his father and his brothers, because he purposed to change his faith. The murdered man was buried as a martyr of the Catholic faith, with all the pomp of the Romish church. The father was tried, and, three weeks after Rochette's death, was executed, his goods confiscated, his children banished or confined in convents. Three years later, before the untiring effort of Voltaire, the sentence was reviewed, the judicial murder unanimously condemned by the court, the name of Calas restored to honor, and his property returned to his children. The condemning judges had accepted as proven that Protestant parents were obliged by their belief to put their children to death in case they purposed to join the Romish church. The Geneva pastors and professors protested loudly and powerfully against this infamous slander. Rabaut wrote a letter under the title, "The Shameful Calumny." He said, "We confess that it touches us in the most tender place when such crimes are charged upon us. Confiscate our property, send our people to the galleys and our pastors to the gallows, but at least respect a system of morals which springs from Jesus Christ alone. The foremost principle of the Protestants is to accept the Scriptures as the only rule of faith and practice, — this book which we are sure does not inculcate child murder. What religion is it that insists strongly that faith is a free gift of God, that conscience must be unconstrained, that men must not believe upon the faith of others, and that a blind faith is a dead faith? It is this religion of ours! Protestants have contended

The noted Calas affair.

most zealously for liberty of thought and belief. We take it to heart, then, when we are charged with a spirit of persecution. The universal belief among us is that we should bear with the erring, we should honor the Godhead, and never take vengeance, but leave it to God, to whom only vengeance belongs." The writing of Rabaut excited new hatred. It was publicly torn and burned by the executioner. Its author was forced to take fresh precautions and to flee from one hiding-place to another.

With persevering zeal Rabaut continued in his work. He was assisted by his eldest son, Rabaut-Etienne, who had left the Lausanne seminary in 1765, and had at once been made preacher in Nismes. His second son, Rabaut-Pommier, was also a pastor, first in Montpellier, and then in Paris, while the youngest, Rabaut-Dupuis, settled in his native city as a merchant. A spirit of toleration was prevailing more and more in France, and the lot of the Protestants was visibly improved. Many a hammer was wasted upon the anvil of the gospel. In the year 1780, the Reformed first won the right to have their own cemeteries. They had long buried the dead secretly and in the night-time, either in fields, in gardens, or in cellars. When sixty-seven years old, Rabaut asked from the consistory of Nismes his dismissal. It was granted in the most considerate and grateful manner. He built a refuge for his old age on Grétry Street, which is still known as Paul Street. The house is to-day a Protestant orphan asylum for the department of Gard.

In the year 1786, Rabaut was visited by the marquis Lafayette, who desired him to go to Paris to represent the interests of his brethren. Rabaut went, and toiled for a year in the capital Rabaut and his son honored. to obtain the edict of 1787, which at least was a prophecy of religious liberty, and achieved something towards it. The day for it came more quickly than was expected by even the most sanguine. The Revolution in France raised the despised preacher of the wilderness, Rabaut-Etienne, to the presidency of the national assembly. The son wrote to his aged father (March 15, 1790), "The president of the national assembly is at your feet." A few months later the grand veteran of the war of the cross was allowed the joy of dedicating the first temple erected by the Protestants since the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He closed the sublime service with the prayer of Simeon. But he had not yet come to the hour of his departure. His son, the pride of his old age, died December 5, 1793, upon the scaffold, because he dared resist Robespierre, and his son's wife killed herself in grief over his death. The aged Rabaut himself was cast into prison, amid the mockery of a frenzied people. The ninth Thermidor (July 27, 1794), he was set free. Weary of life, he returned to his home, to set his house in order. His wife had died some time before. Upon the 25th of September of this year, he met a peaceful death. After seventy-seven years of wandering, he went quietly home.

Of all the virtues which men admire, Rabaut had one only, but that was the very greatest, namely, fidelity. With but moderate gifts of mind and united invincible strength of will, and an entire consecration of self to God and to the work which was given him to do. He took up his Master's cross daily, neither seeking it nor passing it by. He bore it patiently and self-sacrificingly, till his Lord took it away, turning the cross to a crown, leading the preacher of the wilderness to living fountains of water, and him who sowed in tears to the place where all tears are wiped away from the eyes. — T. P.

LIFE IX. JOHN FREDERICK OBERLIN.

A. D. 1740—A. D. 1826. LUTHERAN, — FRANCE.

WHAT person of intelligence, unless some one who shuts out from his mind all knowledge of the kingdom of God on earth, has failed to hear at some time or other the name of Oberlin? A mystic, a fantastic, or a pietist, he may be called, — for evil report has thus sought to characterize him, — but whoever will take pains to go and study the man thus named, on his own field of labor, will soon be ready before the presence of Oberlin to bow in reverence. For our day has seen nothing in all our home-missionary enterprise, however substantial and worthy of praise, that exceeds the work done by this single individual from 1767 down to 1826. All the philanthropic effort and Christian benevolence which we greet and extol as the harbingers of a better age are to be found, in types or patterns at least, in the sphere of the labors of Oberlin.

The scene of his work was the Steinthal, a mountain hollow inclosed by high rock walls, situated in Alsace, not far from Strassburg, among the northwest declivities of the Vosges Mountains. Its name came from the old feudal castle of Stein, whose moss-grown towers look down still from their mountain summit, reminding us of the day when nothing save dagger and cross, the knight and the priest, had power in the land, or could lay claim to the rights which are the heritage of mankind. The Steinthal was indebted to tempests of war and to religious persecutions for its first very limited population. People of many lands, Italians, Swiss, Germans, and French, found here a refuge. A rude patois, a mixture of various dialects, with French, however, as its foundation, served as the chief language of the region. After the Reformation had found its way to Strassburg (1529), it soon penetrated to the Steinthal, carrying thither the Confession of Augsburg (1530). The valley comprised two parishes, Rothau and Waldbach. The profound stillness of the forests of the former was, before long, broken by the clang of iron manufactures and other industries. By the entrance of immi-

grants the Romish church again won a foot-hold. The latter, which, with its five hamlets (two of them the offshoots of the original Waldbach), was to be the field of Oberlin, had never changed from its original condition, that of a veritable wilderness, till Oberlin transformed it to a garden of the Lord.

The way for this transformation had been prepared by Oberlin's predecessor, Stuber, from Strassburg, an every way excellent clergyman, who had taken Waldbach when it was reduced to an Oberlin's predecessor. utterly ruinous condition by a succession of faithless hirelings. He had found the people, whose broken jargon he had the greatest difficulty in understanding, unable either to read or to write, and void of all civilization. A swineherd, who, from old age, was unable to work, and who had no more knowledge than the half-naked youth intrusted to him, had been put in the office of parish school-teacher. The Bible was utterly unknown. Not one of their preachers, even, had ever been owner of the book. Waldbach parish had been made, as far as the church was concerned, a kind of penitentiary, or Botany Bay. Preachers were sent thither whom their friends did not quite wish to let starve, and whom they yet hesitated to put anywhere else, on account of their bad conduct. Was it a wonder, among such a neglected people, ignorant of morals and religion, that barbarity, immorality, and superstition of every sort went hand in hand? Stuber had shrunk back when he viewed the wasted vineyard intrusted to his care. But he did not despond. With God's help he went to work, and to him belongs the credit of at least not leaving the forests to utter rudeness. He felt, however, when he had toiled four years, that he must accept a call to an especially pleasant position in the city of Barr, near Strassburg. He thus let one come after him who seems to have aimed to destroy by word and deed the good seed sown by the man before him. Happily he was soon deprived of his office. Stuber, whose conscience had given him sleepless nights, was not long in doubt as to what he ought to do. He requested (1760) to be sent back to Waldbach. His honorable desire was granted him. His sacrifice to the cause of God was rewarded by Heaven with many happy results. After applying himself actively for seven years to the material and moral good of his community, greatly improving the school, beginning a small public library, and attending in person to placing a Bible in every family, Stuber felt obliged, by weak health, again to leave Waldbach, accepting a call to the Thomas church of Strassburg. This he did more gladly, because he knew who would see to promoting and completing, with all the energy of youth, the work which he himself had inaugurated.

The young man before Stuber's mind was John Frederick Oberlin, born at Strassburg in 1740 (near the time of the birth of Lavater Oberlin's youth and of Jung-Stilling). Oberlin was one of seven sons. His parents were members of the Lutheran church, and universally respected.

His father, a worthy teacher in the gymnasium, and his mother, a finely educated and devoted Christian lady, were able to train their sons with strictness, yet allowed abundant room to each of them to develop his peculiar characteristics. So in the boy Frederick the outlines of his coming character soon appeared. Resoluteness, courage, and force were joined with a profound tenderness, and a living, self-sacrificing sympathy with the woes and misfortunes of others, whatever they might be. It happened at one time, when a crowd of blackguard boys had knocked the bucket from off the head of a peasant woman in wanton malice, that Oberlin dealt them such a rebuke there in the street that they at first stood overcome, and afterwards silently dispersed. The youth then gave the poor woman his pocket money, amounting indeed to only a few cents, to help repair her damage. One evening, as Oberlin's mother portrayed the sad condition of an afflicted family, the little Frederick suddenly sprang up, and with the bright tears filling his eyes cried out, "Mamma, I will take the poor people my Christmas money!" his brothers and his sisters imitating him in his offer.

When Oberlin had finished with the greatest credit his studies in gymnasium and university, and had taken a degree in the latter as master of philosophy, he became a tutor in the family of a physician, acquiring here much medical knowledge, which became very valuable to him afterwards. His purpose was to become a field chaplain in the French army, but this was crossed by his call to go to Waldbach. Oberlin had a profound sense of the important work here offered him. He knew, however, who was at his side, and trusted his promise: "My strength is made perfect in weakness." Already when nineteen years old, he had been impelled to make a surrender of himself to the Lord his God, to serve Him eternally, placing his hand and his seal to a solemn covenant. He was led to this largely by the blessed influence of pastor Lorenz, of Strassburg, a preacher full of unction and hearty zeal. In this writing, he says, among other things, "Holy God, to Thee I resign myself this day most solemnly. Hear, ye heavens, and give ear, thou earth! To-day I profess that the Lord is my God. Accept, O Lord, my word, and write it down in thy book, that henceforth I may be thine. In the name of the Lord of hosts, I resign all other masters who have heretofore ruled over me; the world's joys, to which I gave myself; the desires of the flesh, which dwelt within me. I resign every transient thing, that God may be my all in all. To Thee I devote all that I am and have, the powers of my soul, the members of my body, my time, and my possessions. Help Thou me, O Father, that I may employ everything to thy glory, using all in obedience to thy command. Grant me grace, O my God, to continue in this covenant with all steadfastness, and to keep the vows which are already upon me through baptism. The Lord's name be to me an eternal witness that I have offered

Oberlin's covenant.

this vow to Him, and subscribed it with steadfast, sincere heart, to be kept to the end." Under this covenant there was written by Oberlin, after his entrance upon his office in Waldbach, "Renewed" ("Renovatum").

A very painful surprise must have met Oberlin when he found Steintal, notwithstanding the faithful work of the venerable Stuber, in a profoundly wretched condition. Any signs of the labors of that good pastor were hardly to be met. The earlier ignorance and rudeness were but slightly affected. The region was inhospitable and barren, and was shut out from the world by pathless rocky cliffs. Trusting God, and taking courage from the approval and assistance of some few members of his parish, who had been influenced by Stuber,

Oberlin begins
his life-work.

Oberlin began a work of reformation, reaching out in every direction. His sermons, of which Christ was the light and life [*stern und kern*], were hearty discourses from a kind father to his children, and besides were models of popular and effective oratory. Visiting untiringly from house to house, he proved himself to possess an inexhaustible store of wise, practical counsels respecting the needs of both body and soul. Gradually he led his congregation into all his plans of improvement. He met serious opposition from a large number, who charged him with love of innovation, but through gentleness and prudence was able to overcome it. At one time, he heard that some young men had resolved to waylay him, upon the following Sunday, as he was returning from one of the subordinate parishes, which he most faithfully served, and to inflict upon him bodily punishment. Sunday came; Oberlin took occasion in his sermon to exalt the divine protection in which he who was truly devoted to God might ever confide. After service, he set out for home, not on horseback, as usual, but on foot, while his horse was led by a peasant at some distance behind him. Soon he descried the ill-disposed mob concealed in the way behind some bushes. With steady, even gait he went on by them. The conspirators were left in surprise, no one of them venturing to lay a hand on him. When a like plot was formed, at another time, against him, he first preached in the church on the text, "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also;" and afterwards, when the plotters were in conference upon the manner in which they could revenge themselves upon the man who forbade them so many things in which they delighted, Oberlin came upon them suddenly. The mere appearance of the man, so majestic and noble, with his inquiry, "Tell me now in what I have done you injury," was enough to disarm the poor creatures, and even to impress them with reverence before him. Soon there was not a man in the parish but was obliged to revere him.

Oberlin completed a year of toil and anxiety. His mother's wish that a faithful helper might be given him was then fulfilled. The woman

appointed of God for him was Magdalene Salome Witter, the lovable and cultivated daughter of one of the Strassburg University professors, a friend of the Oberlins. By advice of her physician, she sought in the air of the Vosges Mountains the recovery of her delicate health, and went to Waldbach in the company of Oberlin's sister. The circumstances of the betrothal of herself and Oberlin were peculiar. The latter had not the least thought that the cultivated and, as he thought, worldly city belle was intended to be his fellow-laborer in life. He met her in a friendly way, but regarded her for a time without concern. By and by he heard a voice from his soul calling, "Take Magdalene." "Impossible," he replied; "we would not suit one another." But ever and anon it spoke: "Take her; she is the one." He adhered to his negative reply. The moment came when Magdalene was about to take her departure. Oberlin was seized with alarm. Accustomed as he was to follow God's voice, he perceived who had been speaking to him. He went to her as she was leaving, held out his hand, and said, "You will leave us, my dear friend. But a voice says to me that you are to be my companion in life. What do you say?" Magdalene covered her glowing face with one hand, extending the other to him. The betrothal was made, and that in the name of God. Their marriage took place July 6, 1768, to the great blessing of the parish. It was soon plain that the Holy Spirit, unseen, had given the soul of Magdalene a deep and thorough Christian experience.

With renewed zeal, Oberlin, with his wife as his true helpmeet, pushed on in all directions that work of his which to-day remains to astonish us. First, he devoted himself to perfecting the schools of the region. He found helpers especially in a noble and wealthy Swiss family, the Le-grands, who, sharing his views, out of regard for him and his works removed their silk manufactory to the Steinthal. Oberlin builded in Waldbach a new school edifice, and enlarged the school-houses of the smaller villages. He employed qualified and faithful teachers. He started them upon right methods of teaching. Especially, he introduced the pure French to replace the rude dialect of the country. He promoted the material interests of the forsaken country with equal zeal, prudence, and success. Everything was neglected, — agriculture, cattle-raising, and trades. The people were slumbering in their pitiful hermit existence, as if utterly cut off from the world outside. Oberlin shook them till they awaked. Procuring the indispensable im-
Oberlin leads in things temporal. plements, he asked the people to take them in their hands, and to follow after him. They followed, willingly or unwillingly, he going ahead with shovel and mattock upon his shoulder. Work was begun. The rough places were leveled, rocks removed or buried; broad wastes, covered with broom and other wild growths, were made tillable and thoroughly manured. The mountain streams were conducted through

the valleys, so as to make rich meadows and pastures. Bridges were builded over the large streams. The one over the roaring Breusch retains till to-day the name of "Le Pont de Piété," or "The Love Bridge." In the care of his own garden, which in a short time rejoiced in an abundance of nourishing vegetables and productive fruit trees, Oberlin set the farmers an encouraging example of what they might do on their own grounds, by using diligence and careful perseverance. He took under his care, also, the condition of the roads which connected his parish with other places, especially with Strassburg. He sent a number of his young men to capable master artisans in Strassburg, to be taught. Before long, they came back skilled masons, smiths, tailors, shoemakers, or artisans of other crafts. This did not have to go on long till the entire parish of Waldbach, not only in its houses and shops, its gardens and farms, but in its language, morals, and deportment, wore an aspect wonderfully changed. Putting off the beggarliness that seemed to call for alms, it began a profitable business with the products of its fields and of its herds. Those who remembered the former wilderness to be found in this corner of the Vosges Mountains were amazed at the new creation, and could hardly believe that it was the work of a single individual. But Oberlin did the will of God. Thus he brought it about in a few years that his parish could boast a circulating library, suited for mental and spiritual culture, a small museum of natural history and philosophy, and an excellently managed savings and loan institution. Besides, it possessed an agricultural association, whose services were respectfully acknowledged by the central association at Paris. Oberlin, as the founder and patron of the society, was decorated with a gold medal by the Royal Agricultural Society, and at a later period with the order of the Legion of Honor by the king himself.

But the business and social interests of the Steinthal weighed upon Oberlin far less than the welfare of the souls of his parishioners. In his sermons and in his Bible readings—the rule for the latter being that the women should be knitting for themselves or for the poor while he was speaking—he won his way very near to the hearts of his hearers. In his home conversations with his people, respecting their every-day interests, he gently and skillfully turned their minds, almost unconsciously, to heavenly and eternal objects. He never inundated them with his religion, but let it drop as the gentle dew upon their souls. Gladly he saw that they, for the most part, received the gospel in the same spirit in which he offered it. Little by little, the community took a self-forgetful interest in all Christian enterprises and charities. There was begun, at the instigation of the wife of Oberlin, a kindergarten, conducted by excellent managers, with the deeply Christian and cultivated Louise Scheppler, a farmer's daughter, at their head. Bible and tract circulation and foreign missions received a hearty sup-

Oberlin leads in things spiritual.

port. Oberlin was the first continental correspondent of the British Bible Society. That the poor and suffering in Waldbach were well cared for will be taken as a matter of course.

Oberlin's weekly catechisings and public school examinations delighted the grown people, who attended in crowds, glad to mark the progress which was made by their children. Of course there were some who were negligent, idle, or refractory. Oberlin was unwearying, when he missed such from church or from other assemblies, in seeking them in their homes or upon their farms, and bringing them into the fold. Travel in his widely extended parish was attended with much danger, especially in the winter. Roaring snow-storms from the ravines of the mountains would sweep over the roads. The lonely traveler could easily lose his way and be caught fast in the drifts. He would find his path climbing by the edge of frightful abysses, over rocky ascents, all coated with ice; or he would be obliged to cross the suddenly swollen mountain streams upon frail bridges, which perhaps were covered already by the rushing flood, and where an accident would cost him his life. But the watchword of Oberlin was, "Forward." And God helped him in going forward for six and eighty years, and through worse things than the snowy avalanche or the mountain torrents.

By the French Revolution, the peace of all Europe and the quiet progress of the community of Steinthal were both sadly interrupted. Oberlin as a patriot. Oberlin, like many of the nobler spirits of Europe, whether in France or out of it, was at first filled with enthusiasm, remembering the evil rule of Charles Ninth and the last two Louises. But he abhorred the excess and bloodshed which followed, in the name of "the rights of man," as they were called by the mob, which inscribed this motto upon their banner. He kept aloof as much as possible from the political excitement. When he gave a hiding-place among his secluded mountains to some fugitive from France, he did it from love to man, not asking to what party the refugee belonged. When the "fête of the constitution" was held, and an "altar of France" was erected upon a high mountain, Oberlin made the inaugural address, at the earnest desire of his people, but gave it a religious character, holding fast by his Christian principles. With like propriety did he address the Steinthal volunteers, who were disposed to enter the French army. His position was made the more difficult when, after the setting up of a republican government in France, Robespierre and Marat took the rule, and ordered all churches closed and all Christian worship to cease, under the heaviest penalties. Oberlin purposed to be true to himself and to his God. He obeyed the government's command, however, in laying aside the cloak and tippet which were the insignia of his pastoral office. He would show his parish to be a law-abiding people. He caused them to hold an election of officers. The result was that on his motion the excellent school-teacher of Waldbach

was made president, and Oberlin himself chosen "orator." The church was taken for an assembly hall, as the school-room was too narrow. Oberlin thus filled his place as preacher, not in the pulpit, but upon a "tribune," hastily erected. To his great grief he had to give up, for the time being, his catechisings. Still he did not escape denunciation by the Jacobin spies. One day, to the great amazement of his people, he was arrested and dragged before the tribunal of the national commissioner of his district, to be examined. But at the moment when his trial was about to begin, the news came of the overthrow of Robespierre, and Oberlin was set free without further ceremony. Public worship was again allowed by law (1795). The clergy were, however, admonished to proclaim to their people "the oath of hate to royalty and to anarchy, the oath of obedience and fidelity to the republic and to the constitution of the year 3 of the new era." Oberlin of course executed this command in consistence with his principles. He was subject to the state for the Lord's sake, but so far only as his conscience as a Christian warranted him in showing obedience.

Some time before the Revolution (January, 1783), Oberlin had received a blow, than which no heavier one could have befallen him. By a sudden stroke he lost what was called by him his dearest earthly treasure. His faithful companion and untiring helper in every enterprise was taken away. He could not be comforted. He was unspeakably desolate. She was the repository of his most secret thoughts and plans. To her he spoke with confidence of everything that occupied or affected him. Her ever wise counsel he was accustomed faithfully to follow. Whither could he turn, or where stand, now that she was gone? And what have we here in his diary, which has been preserved to us? Nothing less than that he lived through nine years in communion with the glorified one, — now in dream, now in vision when he was awake, — and that he continued to discuss with her every measure which he purposed! What he records of this is as if it were a real occurrence. It were well before we dismiss this with the exclamation, "Phantasy!" "Delusion!" "Hallucination!" to withhold our judgment over such a mysterious fact, until it please God to show to us more concerning the relations of the worlds visible and invisible than He has yet vouchsafed to tell. We should also have charity for this child-like, believing spirit, and not count it presumption or trespass when we find him drawing a map of the world beyond; placing it upon the church wall back of the pulpit; carrying in his pocket two little tablets, one marked "oui," the other "non," and allowing them to render him in doubtful cases an answer as from God, — not, however, until he had uttered a silent prayer! These peculiarities cannot deface, in our eyes, Oberlin's noble image. They rather show the child-like simplicity and believing sincerity of the humble servant of the Lord.

His escape from death.

Oberlin's trials and peculiarities.

The death of Oberlin took place June 1, 1826, at the advanced age of eighty-six. Of him, as of Moses, it was true that "his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated." He went home in full repose upon God, abounding as few men have in good works. Christ had been life to him; death must have been gain. He left behind him, out of nine children, only one son and three daughters, besides an adopted child, his faithful servant, Louise Scheppler, whom he had led to Christ, and who after his wife's death presided in a model manner over his household. A son and a daughter had been taken away in tender childhood. His eldest son, Frederick Jeremiah, died (1793) as an inferior officer of the French army. His especially promising son, Henry, whom Lavater called his Nathanael, who for a time exchanged the study of theology and medicine for the work of war, died (1817) from the effect of service under Napoleon. His son Charles Conservé, who, like Henry, studied medicine and theology, served as a physician for a time in the French army of the Rhine, then was pastor of Rothau parish, and at the time of his father's death was practicing as a skillful and philanthropic physician in Foudai, a village of his father's parish.

Oberlin was buried solemnly in the Waldbach cemetery, the entire population of the valley thronging around with sympathizing hearts, joined by many from distant places. Over his grave were shed tears of thankfulness in abundance. A plain monument marks his resting-place. It names him "Father of the Steinthal," and adds, in French, Daniel xii. 3: "They that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever and ever." Many a token of respect was given Oberlin in his lifetime. We have noted already his recognition by the chief of his land, and by Louis Eighteenth himself. And when a nobleman of Alsace, in the service of Russia, petitioned the czar Alexander, at Frankfort-on-the-Main, for leave to pay a visit to Oberlin, whose pupil he had been, the czar replied, "Monsieur Oberlin is well known to me. I esteem him, and commission you to say to him that I love and highly honor him." When the nobleman, upon his return, was about to kiss the czar's hand in the name of Oberlin, the czar would not allow it, saying, "You know that I will have my hand kissed by no one, and least of all by a deserving pastor." He then kissed his officer thrice, saying, "This is for Papa Oberlin." The Steinthal reformer received visits from many foreign lauds, and letters testifying respect and love. Of their number, besides Lavater and Stilling, we name the poet Pfeffel and the celebrated Madame Krüdener. The memory of Oberlin is preserved in song and in biography. The honor which, above all that has been paid him, might be an object of envy is this: that to-day no member of his old parish draws near his grave-stone without profound reverence; and that every year many friends of the cause of God, from near and from far, approach his grave, blessing the man of faith, of prayer, and of toil with an "Ave! pia anima."—F. W. K.

LIFE X. JAMES GUTHRIE.

A. D. 1610?—A. D. 1661. PRESBYTERIAN,—SCOTLAND.

JAMES GUTHRIE was the first clergyman of the Scottish church who fell a martyr in her persecutions under Charles Second. Marked at one time by greater cruelty, at another by less, these persecutions continued throughout twenty-eight years, until the revolution of 1688 brought the dominion of the Stuart family forever to a close. The enmity of king Charles to the peculiar spirit of the Presbyterian church, and above all to the foundation principle of her constitution, *that Jesus Christ is the alone head of his church, and shares his kingly power with no earthly potentate*, was in a certain measure an inheritance from his ancestors. Both his grandfather, James First, and his father, Charles First, were stubbornly determined that the king's rule in church affairs, which had been acknowledged by the English church since her reformation, should prevail in Scotland. The former, recognizing in the English hierarchy the surest support of his rule in the church, had forced an episcopal constitution on the church of Scotland. This was hateful to her for a twofold reason. The Scotch considered that they must maintain their Presbyterian constitution as the alone scriptural. They believed that the imposition of the episcopalian by a royal command was a mischievous invasion of rights exclusively reserved to their invisible Head. When Charles First went to work to force upon the Scottish church the Romanized forms which were introduced by him into the worship of the English church, the Presbyterian spirit, after a long repose, rose in its might to rend the fetters placed upon it. Clergy, nobles, citizens, and work people united in the "Covenant" (1638), swearing fidelity to the Lord ^{The Scottish} their God, and to one another. They restored the church ^{"Covenant."} as she was after the Reformation. They renounced all innovations and the episcopacy which had been forced upon them wrongfully by the royal power.

The declaration of war against Scotland by Charles on account of this "Second Reformation" of the Scottish church, as it was called, was an immediate cause of the kindling of the glimmering discontent of England with her king into a bright flame, of the shaking of Great Britain by revolution to her very foundations, of the overthrowing of the throne, and of the ending of Charles's life upon the scaffold (1649).

The hearts of the Scotch, who held loyally to the royal house of their own race, were filled with discontent and pain by the news of that blame-worthy execution. They proclaimed at once the unfortunate monarch's eldest son Charles Second, and invited him from his exile in Holland to repair to Scotland to begin his reign. But they laid down the condition

that he should solemnly swear never to make any change in the Presbyterian constitution; as restored in Scotland, but to observe the same, and to bring his house to observe it. This vow the young king not only took, by subscribing the covenant before his entrance into Scotland, but renewed after that by a solemn oath at his coronation. Charles's stay in Scotland at that time was not of long duration. He was beaten by Cromwell (1651), and compelled to flee to the Continent, where he remained until the reaction in England which brought him back to the throne of his fathers.

All too quickly after his restoration, he showed, by the measures which he took for the entire obliteration of the Presbyterian church, how little weight he attached to his solemn oath. Already, during his stay in Scotland, he had by his whole behavior excited the deepest solicitude of clear-sighted Presbyterians, to whom, with all their loyalty to their earthly sovereign, their fidelity to their heavenly king was far more precious.

In this class was James Guthrie, pastor of Berling. He had ever, as Guthrie's Christian attitude. a faithful shepherd of his people, earnestly kept in mind the counsels of God for their salvation. As a zealous watchman of Zion, he had ever contended for the rights and liberties of the church, and thereby had already brought upon him the enmity of the king and of his viceroy, Middleton, who was sent to carry out his measures against the church of Scotland. This enmity soon found occasion to make itself felt. Guthrie and nine other clergymen had met in Edinburgh, in a friend's house, to prepare in common a humble address to the king, in which they congratulated him upon his return, declared their loyal sentiments, and fervently prayed God to make his rule happy and blest, but at the same time reminded him of his sworn pledges to the Scottish church. It was their intention to communicate this address to their like-minded brethren throughout the country, and to secure for it as many signatures as possible. Middleton, the moment he heard of this secret assembly, had its members dragged by a company of soldiers to prison, which Guthrie was never to leave, save to go to death by the hand of the executioner.

After long imprisonment, his trial on a charge of high treason was begun. The indictment was based upon two facts. Guthrie, though a true subject of the king, and often contending publicly, even under Cromwell, for the right of Charles as opposed to the English commander, had, in a writing published by him (1650), blamed the readiness with which Charles had been admitted to sign the covenant and to rule before he had given proof of his favorable sentiments towards the church. The other fact was as follows: At the king's suggestion, an earlier resolve of the Scotch parliament, excluding from the service of the king and the state all enemies of the covenant and of the Presbyterian church, was repealed (1651). Guthrie had denounced this, in a sermon delivered at

that time, as treason to the cause of the Lord. When he was summoned to appear before the king and the parliament to answer for this, he returned the summons with a protest against the right of the civil power to pass judgment on matters which touched the fulfilling of his duties as a pastor. The protest rested on a principle maintained at all times by the Scottish church against the civil power, though not always successfully. At that moment the condition of public affairs in Scotland prevented the king calling Guthrie to account. Now the matter should be settled.

When the trial of Guthrie before the Scotch parliament was entered upon (February 20, 1661), he defended himself with an eloquence, knowledge of law, and power of argument that ^{Guthrie's trial.} amazed his friends and confounded his enemies. "My lords," said he to his judges, "my conscience I cannot submit, but this old crazy body and mortal flesh I do submit to do with it whatsoever you will, whether by death, or banishment, or imprisonment, or anything else; only I beseech you to ponder well what profit there is in my blood. It is not the extinguishing me, or many others, that will extinguish the covenant and the work of reformation since the year 1638. My blood, my bondage, or my banishment will contribute more for the propagation of those things than my life or my liberty could do, though I should live many years. Therefore, I entreat you, since I have been deprived of my pastorate, my dwelling, and my support, and reduced with my family to the necessity of living on the compassion of others, and since I have been eight months in prison, that you would not impose on me further suffering. With the words of Jeremiah I close: 'As for me, behold, I am in your hand: do with me as seemeth good and meet unto you. But know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves, and upon this city, and upon the inhabitants thereof.'"

Guthrie's speech made such an impression upon the assembly that some of the members withdrew, to avoid any share in the blood of this righteous person. Nevertheless, the sentence of the parliament was pronounced that he be hanged as a traitor on the Edinburgh market-place, and his head cut off and set up over the gate; "also, that his estate should be confiscated, his coat of arms torn and reversed, and his children declared incapable in all time coming to enjoy any office, dignity, goods movable or unmovable, or aught else, within this kingdom." He received the sentence with the greatest composure, saying, "My lords, may this sentence never trouble you more than it troubles me, and may my blood never be required of the king's house!"

The time from his sentence to his execution (June 1, 1661) Guthrie passed in undisturbed serenity, which grew even to gladness when the day of his execution came around. On his way to the scaffold, his arms

tied behind his back, he asked that one of them might be loosed enough
 to allow him, as he was not used to walking by reason of his
 long imprisonment, to support himself upon a staff. When
 he reached the fatal ladder, he spoke, as bishop Burnet, an eye-witness of
 his execution, testifies, "a whole hour, with the composedness of one
 who was delivering a sermon rather than his last words." While he
 urgently besought the people to be true to the covenant, whatever trial
 came upon them, his address was also an earnest call to repentance for
 the sins of which Scotland was guilty, through apostasy or lukewarm-
 ness in respect to her covenant with the Lord, thereby bringing the
 wrath of God upon her. "These sacred, solemn, public oaths to God,"
 said he, "which, since we entered into them, have been attested by the
 conversion of so many thousands of souls, can never be released or re-
 moved by any man, or party, or power on the earth. As they are now,
 so for all future time will they remain, obligatory upon this realm! I
 take God to record upon my soul," said he, "that I would not exchange
 this scaffold with the palace or mitre of the greatest prelate in Britain.
 Blessed be God, who upon such a poor creature as I am has bestowed
 his grace, has revealed his Son in me, has called me as a preacher of his
 gospel, and deigned by his Holy Spirit to seal my labors, in spite of the
 opposition of Satan and of the world, in not a few hearts of this people."
 In closing, he cried, "Jesus Christ is my light and my life. He is my
 wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. To Him are all
 my desires. Him, yes Him, I commend to you with all the powers of
 my soul. Praise Him, O my soul, to all eternity!" He then ended
 with Simeon's words: "Lord, now lettest Thou thy servant depart in
 peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." At the instant he was
 precipitated from the ladder, lifting the napkin from his face, he cried,
 "The covenants, the covenants shall yet be Scotland's reviving!"

Thus died the venerable James Guthrie, who may rightly be called
 the first martyr for Christ's crown and covenant, for the crime charged
 upon him was substantially his refusal to subject Christ's royal rule of
 his church by Himself alone to the arrogated supremacy of any earthly
 power. The high honor in which a martyr of this princi-
 ple, such as Guthrie, was held by Scotland is shown by
 what followed. His headless body¹ was laid in a coffin by his friends,
 and carried to the chancel of the old church, where it was prepared by a
 company of women of high station for an honorable burial. Some of
 the ladies, dipping their handkerchiefs in the blood of the martyr, were
 blamed by Sir Archibald Primrose, who stood by, for their approach to

¹ "His head was affixed to the Netherbow, and there it remained, blackening in the sun,
 through all the dark years of persecution that followed. The martyrs on their way to the
 Grave Market passed the spot where it was exposed. At last it was taken down by a
 young man named Hamilton, a student, who afterwards became successor to the man to
 whose remains he performed this kind office."

popish superstition ; one of them answered, " We purpose not to turn it to superstition or idolatry, but to raise these blood-stained cloths to heaven, and pray God to remember the innocent blood thus shed." While the women were thus engaged, a noble youth entered, and poured on the body a vial of precious perfume whose fragrance filled the church. Perceiving it, one of the women cried, " God bless you, sir, for this act of love which you have shown the slain body of a faithful servant of Jesus Christ." The youth bowed low, and without speaking withdrew.
— K. G. R.

LIFE XI. HUGH MACKAIL.

A. D. 1640 ?—A. D. 1666. PRESBYTERIAN,—SCOTLAND.

THE persecutions by Charles Second of the faithful Presbyterians of Scotland grew in violence (1661-1666), marked especially by military outrages and exactions in the regions where the hearts of the people preserved a hearty love for Presbyterianism, and opposed as a matter of conscience an episcopacy which was imposed on them by royal tyranny. For years the faithful Scotch bore the barbarities of a rude soldiery without resistance. They had seen with deepest pain their loved pastors driven from their churches, and forced to prison or into exile, while their places were filled with unworthy hirelings. They yet cherished the hope that their oppressed cries would not ascend in vain to heaven, but that sooner or later the hour of their deliverance would dawn. At last, a deed of revolting cruelty by the royal troops in the west of Scotland put a limit to the calm endurance of intolerable injury. A portion of the people, some of the men of property joining them, rose against the cruel torturers. The rising was of small extent and short continuance, for even the decided Presbyterians were, most of them, opposed on principle to armed resistance. The handful of insurgents, after solemnly renewing the covenant and marching towards Edinburgh, where they hoped for support, were overwhelmed by the troops of the king after a valiant resistance. Those who had taken part in the rising, or were suspected of participation, were pursued with the most unrelenting severity. So also were those who had given them shelter or food, or in any way had had connection with them. A great number of such were punished by death.

Among these was Hugh MacKail, a youthful preacher of learning, eloquence, and profound piety. He had been with the insurgents but a few days. He was not equal, on account of ^{MacKail's offense.} his physical weakness, to enduring military labor. He was not with them in their battle. He had, however, at an earlier period found occasion, in preaching upon the sufferings which Christ's church has borne in all ages, to say that " the people of God have sometimes been persecuted by

a Pharaoh upon the throne, sometimes by a Haman in the cabinet, and sometimes by a Judas in the church." Though he had made no closer application of his examples, his utterance was carried to the ears of the merciless persecutor of Presbyterianism, archbishop Sharp, who at once thought he was meant by the "Judas in the church." MacKail would at that time have been put in prison had he not fled and kept concealed for a time in various places of hiding.

Now brought before the council he was interrogated respecting the instigators and leaders of the rising, and what alliances they had at home or abroad. He affirmed utter ignorance of the existence of such alliances, explaining how far his own share in the enterprise extended.

His fearful torture. There was then laid before him the instrument of torture

known as the "Spanish boot," frequently used upon the persecuted Presbyterians, and he was told if he did not confess it should be used upon him. He solemnly protested again that he had nothing more to confess. The executioner put the foot of MacKail into the boot, and proceeded to the fearful torture. A heavy blow drove the wedge down and crushed the leg. MacKail was anew called to confess, but to no purpose. Blow after blow followed, at intervals, prolonging the terrible pain. With Christian fortitude the heroic martyr possessed his soul in patience. Seven or eight blows had crushed the flesh and sinews to the very joints, when he, without a trace of impatience or bitterness, solemnly declared before God that he could say no more should all the members of his body be tortured as that poor limb. Then the wedge was given three blows more, till the joints also were crushed, and a swoon deprived him of consciousness. He was borne off to the prison. Intercession was made for him with the viceroy and with Sharp by the marquis of Douglass and the duchess of Hamilton, but in vain. He was sentenced, for sharing in the insurrection and for renewing the covenant, to be hanged as a traitor in the Edinburgh market-place. The sentence was announced to him by the council. Taken back to prison, he fell on his knees and prayed fervently for himself and for his five comrades who were sentenced with him. To a friend who came to him he said, "Oh,

He joys in his prison. what joy to be able in a few days to see the face of Jesus Christ!" When his friend lamented that one so young, living

in a day when he could be so useful to the church of God, must die, he replied, "One drop of my blood, by God's grace, can win more hearts than would probably the preaching of many years." During his stay in prison he amazed his hearers by his prayers and praises, quickened as he was even to holy gladness and to a divine repose, which never left him. When he was asked how it was with his crushed limb, he replied, jokingly, "The danger of my neck makes me forget my leg." He took care to exhort his comrades to this joyful confidence. He read to them, at night, from the Bible, and especially the sixteenth Psalm, saying, "On

to-morrow evening we shall no more in the land of the living listen to the Lord in his Word, but shall be there where the Lamb himself shall be our Scripture and our Light, in the which we shall dwell, there by the clear river of water flowing from the throne of God and the Lamb." He slept calmly, and next morning waked his comrade in suffering, John Wodrow, with the merry words, "Up, John! We do not seem as people who are to die to-day when we sleep so late!" He then prayed with great fervor that the Lord would grant him and his companions to profess a good profession that day before so many witnesses. Led to the place of execution at two o'clock (December 22, 1666), MacKail, as all who had known him were persuaded, seemed cheerful and calm as ever. His appearance as he went along the way excited, as his contemporary Kirkton relates, "such a lamentation as was never known in Scotland before; not one dry eye upon all the street, or in all the numberless windows in the market-place." The exceeding youthfulness and gentleness of his aspect, the sweetness and repose of his face, impressed all who saw him. A deep wave of sympathy and of horror ran through the multitude, and while some cursed the bishop others prayed for the young martyr. Singing the thirty-first Psalm on his way to the scaffold, he prayed, as he reached it, with such fervor and power as made many of the people weep bitterly. When he had laid his hand on the ladder to climb up, he cried aloud, "I care no more for the going up that ladder and over it than if I were going to my father's house." Turning to his companions, he added, "My friends, be not afraid; every rung of this ladder is a step nearer heaven."

Standing upon the ladder, he uttered his last words. He said, "I now give my life cheerfully for the truth and for the cause of God, for the covenants and the work of the Reformation, ^{His eloquence when dying.} which once was the glory of this people. Nothing save the desire to maintain it, and to pluck up the bitter root of prelacy, has brought me hither." When he saw some of his friends present in tears, he said, "Weep not, but rather pray and thank God, who has sustained me, and who will not leave me at this last hour of my earthly pilgrimage; for my trust and recompense is his promise, 'I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of life freely;' I hear the call, 'The Spirit and the bride say, Come!' I say to you, my friends, I go to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God, to the holy apostles and martyrs, to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem. I say to all, Farewell; He will be to you a better comforter than I, and will refresh me better than you are able. Farewell, farewell in the Lord." He then prayed once more, and when his face was covered for the fall he suddenly raised the cloth, and said, "If you perhaps marvel that you see no despondency in my countenance, I will tell you the reason: Besides knowing my cause righteous, I have confidence that, as was said of

Lazarus when he died, the angels will bear away my soul into Abraham's bosom. As at this solemn moment here are great throngs of people, a scaffold, a gallows, and many who look out of the windows, so there is grander and more solemn preparing by the angels to bear my spirit to Christ's embrace. He will present it spotless and pure through his blood to the Father, and then shall I be ever with the Lord." He closed with a flight of Christian eloquence which has often amazed us: "And now I leave off to speak any more with creatures, and begin my intercourse with God, which shall never be broken off! Farewell, father and mother, friends and relations! Farewell, the world and all delights! Farewell, sun, moon, and stars! Welcome, God and Father! Welcome, sweet Jesus Christ, the Mediator of the new covenant! Welcome, blessed Spirit of Grace, the God of all consolation! Welcome, glory! Welcome, eternal life! *And welcome, death!* O Lord, into thine hand I commit my spirit. Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth!"

"Thus passed from earth," says a Scotch historian, "one of the brightest, purest, and most sanctified spirits that ever animated a mere human form; a victim to prelatie tyranny, and a rejoicing martyr for Christ's sole kingly dominion over his church, and for that sacred covenant in which the church of Scotland had vowed allegiance to her divine and only Head and King. Till the records of time shall have melted into those of eternity, the name of that young Christian martyr will be held in most affectionate remembrance and fervent admiration by every true Scottish Presbyterian, and will be regarded by the church of Scotland as one of the fairest jewels that ever she was honored to add to the conquering Redeemer's crown of glory." — K. G. R.

LIFE XII. RICHARD BAXTER.

A. D. 1615—A. D. 1691. PRESBYTERIAN, — ENGLAND.

AMONG the most remarkable men of the English evangelical church of the seventeenth century is Richard Baxter. This place he takes not only through his powerful preaching, aided as it was by royal gifts of intellect, but also by his countless writings of a practical Christian character, many of them so full of blessing.

In the history of this storm-swept period, he is seen in the very heat of the conflict which shook England, in both church and state, to her very foundations. A decided supporter of church liberty and independence, Baxter took the side of the Presbyterians as opposed to the Episcopalians, who favored the ancient alliance of the Episcopal church and the state under the king as "supreme head." Along-side these two parties, a third, the Independents, now

Church parties
in Baxter's day.

rose up, rejecting not only a state church, but the Presbyterian principle of representative government, maintaining rather the unlimited independency of each congregation. When these came marching under their banner of democracy and radicalism, Baxter would not flinch from the ground on which he had conscientiously planted himself in the beginning. He deeply deplored the spiritual death prevailing in the national church, and as a preacher lifted his mighty voice to insist upon individual piety. His words have found echo in the great Independent preachers of the present century. Thrown amid civil and ecclesiastical wars, Baxter avoided extreme or severe opinions. He presented still a Christ-like character, full of the peace which flows from Christ in God. He proved himself, as Neander calls him, "a man of that true and right mean which only the gospel can develop and preserve." From that gospel his whole life proceeded.

The birth of Baxter occurred in Rowton, a village in Shropshire, Sunday morning, November 12, 1615, at the hour when the bells were ringing for church service. The child was given by his parents, who were not rich in this world's goods, an example of Christian piety, to which his father, who had led a careless life, had been but recently awakened. On Sundays, while the crowd went after church service to spend the hours till late evening in excess, the father, who was nicknamed Pharisee and hypocrite for his devotion, passed the day of the Lord quietly in his family. He read to them the Bible and good books, and talked of the truths of Christianity. The impressions thus made upon the boy were fixed by means of his own careful reading of the Bible, which his father explained to him in its true historical sense, and of the few books, all of the old puritan order, which were within his reach. None the less, selfish and sensual desires found place in his mind, nor left his childhood or youth unspotted, as he himself informs us. His conscience waking, and sharply reproving him, he learned all the more deeply to hate sin and to long after purity. His indebtedness to his father he thus records: "God made him Baxter's record of his father. his instrument to produce in me the first religious convictions and the first delight in a holy life, as well as to restrain me from grosser transgression. Even when I was very young, I was filled with horror of evil by his earnest discourse upon God and the future." The child was deeply moved by two other agencies: the earthquake which on the coronation day of Charles First put a sudden end to the extravagant rejoicing of the people, and the perusal of an old religious work entitled "The Redemption," which a poor villager had given to his father.

Baxter's growth in spirit ripened into a decision to serve Christ as a preacher of the gospel. His parents were too poor to support him in a university. He was, therefore, after a very imperfect preparation, committed to a certain London chaplain, to be trained for his calling. He

was tempted anew through his teacher to forsake religion. Help was brought him by a good friend, from whom he first heard a prayer "without the book," and in whose company he himself diligently prayed and engaged in the study of the best devotional writings. After eighteen months in London he went home, and there pursued his study of theology and his personal advancement in religion under a venerable clergyman named Garbett. Through many a conflict he pressed on to the full assurance of his peace with God. His health was greatly impaired, and to human view he had not long to live. He was therefore forced to forego his ambitious hope of a high academical degree and of literary renown. His flesh and blood were sorely mortified through his sufferings. He was thence led to the more earnest effort in religion and in preparation for eternity. He said afterwards that he devoutly thanked the kind providence of God for giving him treasure in an earthen vessel, training him in the school of suffering, and imparting to him an experience of Christ's cross, so that he might, to use Luther's words, be a doctor of the cross (*theologus crucis*) rather than a doctor of worldly renown (*theologus gloriæ*).

*Baxter thankful
for sickness.*

Baxter inflicted upon himself a pain deeper than that of his body by his own mistakes. In his severe self-examination he would keep his thoughts upon the sinfulness of his nature. Hence, he wrongly came to estimate his prospect of salvation by the liveliness of his emotions. In his state of feeling, which was made very uncertain by his bodily weakness, he would suffer doubt and anguish about the genuineness of his faith and of his religious life. "I am vexed," he says, "at my hardness of heart, and that I can think and talk of Christ and salvation, God and heaven, with so little feeling." Another mistake was his attempt to define the dying of the old nature and the beginning of new life in his heart by fixed dates and experiences. But he came out at last a conqueror. He learned not "to be constantly dwelling upon self." He saw that, with all his strict self-examining, "something higher was needed: man must look to God, to Christ, and to heaven more than to his own heart." He perceived that sovereign grace "frequently in unnoticed gentle ways converts men, and that in the converted there is much of the old man still remaining."

Baxter's spiritual training was not complete until he had won a victory in a struggle of his faith with the power of unbelief. Through the doubts of his intellect all the foundations of his belief were strengthened. Yet he encountered such "mountains of difficulty" in relation to the incarnation, person, and work of Christ that he would, he affirms, have been crushed and overwhelmed, if God had not proven his strength. He deemed it a divine favor that the struggle came long after the rooting of his heart in the truth, so that he was able to endure it. "The tree-top rising heavenward has its roots stronger and deeper, that it may withstand the dreadful storms."

Thus nobly trained by trial and struggle, Richard Baxter advanced to his work. He committed himself to the direction of God, not making effort for any particular position. His chief sphere of labor he found in preaching to the church of Kidderminster, a village in the county of Worcester. A commission had been established by the Long Parliament for the reform of the clergy (1640). Its dreaded investigation was anticipated by many unfaithful clergymen by agreeing with their churches to give a part of their incomes to support curates or assistants. The hireling vicar of Kidderminster had sorely neglected his people. The church therefore gave a call to Baxter, which he accepted as from God (April, 1641). He entered upon a period of quiet, blessed labor, made very short by the raging political tempests which involved his life in turmoil and trouble.

About the middle of this year (1641), the law passed the House of Commons abolishing the established church. A war broke out, with the friends of the church and the king, the so-called Cavaliers, on one side, and the adherents of Parliament, the Roundheads, as they were called from their closely cut hair, on the other. In February of the year following the king collected an army, in response to an appeal to the courtiers who stood by him. These events involved Kidderminster, and snatched Baxter for many months away from his congregation. One day, when he chanced to pass a Cavalier, who was reading the king's appeal in the market-place, he heard him shout after him, "There goes a traitor!" He was in danger of his life. Forced to leave Kidderminster, he found himself saluted in the shire-town, also, as a Puritan, from his style of dress, and heard the cry, "Down with the Roundheads!" He took refuge in the middle counties, intending to join the army that was gathering here on the side of Parliament against the monarch.

Though a resolute opponent of the indecent radical attack upon the state church by Independent fanatics, Baxter was a decided supporter of the Parliament, and of the Presbyterian party which controlled it. Here only he found genuine earnest Christian piety, with a sincere effort for a thorough renovation of the church's life. He engaged in public services every Sabbath for the troops of Parliament and the Puritan refugees. When after the battle of Naseby (June, 1645) the Independents under Cromwell were in the ascendancy, and Baxter saw the spread of fanaticism in the army, he felt called to oppose the disorder so repellant to a Presbyterian with all his power. He continued as a chaplain of a regiment, attending it in all its marches till the close of the first civil war (1647).

This unsettled life was brought to an end by a severe illness. He was received and kindly cared for at a nobleman's country-seat. During his seclusion here of four months, in the constant expectation of death, "in order to assist his thoughts heavenward and sweeten his remaining life

and his death," he composed his "Saint's Rest," a book fraught with most sacred and profound thought, and with joyous rest in God. Along with overflowing spirituality, this notable book contains significant utterances on the thorough renovation of England, which Baxter was looking for in that hour of his country's trial. He exclaims, "Oh, that I might see the whole people obedient to the gospel, and in earnest for the Reformation and the kingship of Jesus Christ! Then what a blessed country were England!"

Recovering his health, Baxter, at the call of his church, returned to Kidderminster to resume his former duties, in which he continued happily and successfully for twelve years (1648-1660). He declined a call to accompany Charles Second's army as a chaplain, in its contest with the Independents. He soon beheld the remnant of the defeated force flying through his parish. Upon the usurpation of Cromwell, Baxter was obliged to pronounce an adverse judgment. Still he recognized the good achieved by Cromwell, especially in defending liberty of conscience and of worship. He says, "I praise God that He gives me such freedom and opportunity to preach the gospel under a usurper whom I opposed, as was never enjoyed by me under a king to whom I pledged and rendered faithful obedience." Protected by Cromwell's government, Baxter displayed an amazing efficiency in his parish of Kidderminster. He sought

Baxter's ideal
pastor.

in his labors to realize the ideal of a clergyman as he portrayed the same to the preachers of his day in his book entitled "The Reformed Pastor." Under his discourses upon sin and the grace of God in Christ, moving and powerful as they were, his church became too small for his congregation. Nor did he content himself with his Sabbath sermons, but gave a week-day sermon every Thursday morning, and held meetings in his house the same day for reviewing the sermon, for conference, and for the impartation of spiritual counsel. One day every week he gathered the young for instruction in the creed and for devotional exercises. He especially promoted family worship in the houses of all church members. He invited awakened Christians to meetings, admitting whoever came, conferring with them upon questions of religious life, and leading them to edify one another. Two days in every week he catechised in fourteen families, speaking with earnestness to each individual, and administering impressive admonitions. He gave much time to looking after individuals. Every member of his parish was the object of his untiring solicitude and helpful love. He could say that among six hundred communicants there were not twelve of whom he was not able to hope that they were really pious. The savings of his scant income he used for the poor, and for the education of boys without means, of whom he trained more than one for the clerical office. He gave great thought and labor to the religious instruction of the children. He found here a lever for overcoming the opposition of unchristian parents.

Through their children he led them to Christ. He testifies that in this way were many of the adult and aged won to the gospel. He also approached fathers and mothers upon the duty of working for the Christian training of their children. He was anxious that every family should have a Bible, and that solid Christian books should be read in the parish by young and by old. The result of his labor was seen in that no schisms entered his church, and that no sects or fanatics got a foot-hold there. The parish that of late was so barren was thoroughly renewed. "When I went thither," he said, "there was in no street more than one family that called on God; when I went away there were several streets where there was not a household that did not have family worship."

To his great activity in the pastorate he added fruitfulness as a writer. He composed at this period the book already named, in which he presented to his brothers in office, with whom he met at times to discuss their common work, his portrait of the model pastor (following Paul's words, Acts xx. 28). He wrote also his work "On Self-Denial," revealing the depths of sin existing in selfishness. His "Call to the Unconverted" reached twenty thousand copies within twelve months. John Eliot, the evangelist of the American Indians, translated it into the Indian language. Others of the writings of Baxter are his "Now or Never," "On Conversion," and "On Peace of Conscience." The power of his books lies not in any rhetorical display, but in the plain declaration of truth founded on personal experience.

In April, 1660, Baxter left Kidderminster to accept a call to London. Here he preached (from Ezek. xxxvi. 31) before the Parliament upon a day of fasting and prayer, severely censuring the king's execution and the establishment of the republic. Rejoicing sincerely in the restoration of the monarchy, he took a royal chaplaincy, and devoted himself to carrying out a general church organization, but without success. Before this he had striven for a union of church parties and efforts in England. He was a member of a committee appointed by the first Parliament under the Protectorate to lay down the essential foundation articles of Christian faith as a basis of mutual toleration and of real union. In order to unite the church on the ground of the essentials of Christian faith as presented in the Apostles' Creed and the vows of baptism, Baxter would form a general church government. In every parish there should be a bishop, on the model of the ancient church. A company of overseers and stewards should be given him, chosen yearly by the congregation. The churches thus organized and self-governing should form a grand church of England, governed by diocesan and national synods. Thus the church's constitution should combine certain peculiarities of Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, and Independency.

Baxter now gave expression to his views in a conference of divines,

whose meetings were, most of them, held under the king's presidency. Before the results of the discussions were published in a royal declaration (October 25, 1660), Baxter was offered the bishopric of Hereford. He declined, expressing a preference for his old parish of Kidderminster. For he did not trust the promises of the king. He feared, as bishop, coming into conscientious conflict with the royal policy, and besides "did not know what to do with the ignorant and unqualified ministers who were come into the places of many devout divines that had lost their places by the Restoration." But he was not allowed to go back to his former quiet field. In consequence of his declination of a bishopric he was suspected of secret hostility to his king. He was accused of traitorous and anti-royal views, on the ground of certain oral and written utterances, which had been taken out of their connections and unfavorably interpreted. In the Savoy conference (March, 1661), he still toiled untiringly to reconcile the Episcopalians and moderate Puritans. He presented the plan of a "reformed liturgy" as a substitute for the prayer-book. He met insuperable difficulties in the opposition of the bishops. His public work as an ecclesiast closed at this time.

*Baxter's plan of
a liturgy.*

The so-called "Act of Uniformity," passed by Parliament, was approved by the king (1662), with a view to restore quiet to the church. By this it was established that clergy "who do not accept unqualifiedly the Book of Common Prayer in the revised form appointed by the Parliament and bishops shall be deprived of their offices and incomes." As a result, two thousand clergy of Presbyterian or Puritan views were ejected. Baxter among the rest found himself excluded from every public church office. He now for the first time married, and lived quietly at Acton, near London, devoting himself to authorship. By holding in his own and other houses private religious services, which attracted many, he was accused of a crime in keeping a "conventicle," and condemned to six months' imprisonment, which was shared with him by his wife. By the "Act of Toleration" of Charles Second (1672), all punishments of non-conformists were suspended. Their meetings in certain places were allowed, and their preachers taken under the care of the magistrates. Baxter now regained his liberty, and preached in public in London, though not in any church. Yet throngs of people gathered to his sermons, so full of the unction of the Spirit. He composed, in addition to other eagerly read religious books, a work on family religion. He delivered discourses to the rough, ignorant people in a part of London notorious for the character of its inhabitants. All this excited new opposition and persecution. He lost his faithful and Christian wife (1681). He was summoned by the officials before the court. Only a physician's certificate that from dangerous illness he could not be taken, save at the peril of his life, kept him from arrest and imprisonment. He said, "As

on the stormy sea one billow crowds upon another, so follows one distress and danger upon another." His zeal was especially employed upon an explanatory paraphrase of the New Testament, for use in family worship. Upon this he met renewed persecutions. On account of some expressions in his exposition of the Testament, he was summoned by judge Jeffreys before the court, and in disregard of his request for a thorough, scholarly investigation he was condemned to pay a large fine, as an enemy of king, bishops, and church.

Baxter before
Jeffreys.

In addition to all the labors described, Baxter put forth efforts in behalf of home and foreign missions. He viewed the work of extending the gospel to the unchristian world as in the largest sense a duty of the church. "It is a painful reflection," he says, "that five sixths of mankind are still pagan or Mohammedan, and that Christian princes and preachers are not doing more for their conversion." "The heart of a believer," he says in another place, "must bleed at the thought that such large numbers of mankind are pagans, Mohammedans, and infidels, and that the chief obstacle to their conversion is found in Christians themselves, with their strifes and schisms; and that Mohammedans and pagans often show more of the fear of God and of morality than the Christians who live among them." He heartily rejoiced at the mission work of John Eliot among the Indians of North America. A share in it was enjoyed by him through the translation of his "Call to the Unconverted," and through the success of his efforts to sustain a society to promote the kingdom of God among the aborigines of North America, which organized and took collections under the protection of Cromwell.

He could not rest, with the amount of physical suffering and moral depravity which existed in London before his eyes. He took in hand with energy the work of home missions for saving the lost. He showed the greatest activity in far-reaching labors of love, made necessary by the fearful plague, which swept off one hundred thousand citizens of London in a single summer (1665), and by the great fire, which laid two thirds of the city in ashes (1666). He viewed the home and family as the first and best place to begin the improvement of the community. To assist in establishing homes upon the gospel, he wrote his book for humble households, and his exposition of the New Testament, already named, for family devotion. He says, "The religious life, the welfare and renown of the church and of the state, rest chiefly on home discipline and the fulfilling of home obligations. If we neglect these, we let everything go. If you desire the improvement and welfare of your nation, do all in your power to promote the religious life of the household."

Thus untiringly Baxter toiled on for the kingdom of God till his death. On his death-bed he showed to his friends the believer from whose spirit flowed living water. "Ye come hither," he said at one time, "to learn to die. I assure you that your

Approach to the
"saint's rest."

whole life, however long it be, can scarce suffice as a preparation for dying. Make God your portion, heaven your home, God's honor your aim, his Word your guide, and then you will have nothing to fear." His oft-recurring prayer was, "God be merciful to me a sinner." Once, waking from sleep, he exclaimed, "I shall rest from my labors!" When one added, "And your works will follow you," he rejoined, "Naught of works!" He made confession, "My entire hope reposes on the grace of God in Christ." When, in his sorest pain, he had asked God for deliverance through death, he added humbly, "Yet it becomes not me to prescribe to Thee the when, the what, or the how." In his many sufferings he could joyfully testify, "I suffer pain, yet I have peace." His last words were his exclamation to a faithful friend by his bedside, "The Lord teach thee how to die!" At the advanced age of seventy-seven he expired, December 8, 1691. His joyful death accorded with his confession in his last will: "I, an unworthy servant of Jesus Christ, commit my spirit with confidence and hope of the bliss of heaven into the hands of Jesus, my glorious Redeemer and Mediator, and through his intercession into the hands of God, my reconciled Father, the infinite spirit who is light, life, and love." — D. E.

LIFE XIII. JOHN WESLEY.

A. D. 1703—A. D. 1791. METHODIST, — ENGLAND.

JOHN WESLEY, founder of the Methodist denomination, is one of the most blessed and renowned preachers of the church of Christ since the Reformation. He is among the very foremost of the great and influential spirits of the eighteenth century. To him it was granted, by God's favor, to arouse the English church, when it was ruined by a frigid deism which lost sight of Christ the Redeemer, and was almost dead, to a renewed Christian life. By preaching the justifying and renewing of the soul through belief upon Christ, he lifted many thousands of the humbler classes of the English people from their exceeding ignorance and evil habits, and made them earnest, faithful Christians. His untiring effort made itself felt not in England alone, but in America and in continental Europe. Not only the germs of almost all the existing zeal in England on behalf of Christian truth and life are due to Methodism, but the activity stirred up in other portions of Protestant Europe we must trace indirectly, at least, to Wesley. This furnishes reason enough for an effort to portray the man more vividly than he has yet been represented to the majority of Christians.

John Wesley was born June 17, 1703, at Epworth, in the county of Lincoln, in North England. His father, Samuel Wesley, was the rec-

tor or head pastor of the village, and was a learned and venerable clergyman of the English established church. His mother, ^{Wesley's father and mother.} too, was a woman of ardent piety and of culture. She maintained with her son, when he went to the university, an intimate correspondence in reference to questions of religion. John Wesley entered Oxford University when seventeen years old (1720), and became a member of Christ Church College. When twenty-two (1725) he was ordained a deacon; when twenty-five (1728) a priest or presbyter, which is the second of the clerical degrees of the church of England. He had before this (1726) become a fellow of Lincoln College, that is, a senior member of that corporation of students, with a right to a free dwelling and a free table. At the same time he was a teacher of Greek. Both in this and in the study of other ancient languages he distinguished himself. His talents and acquirements were subjects of universal remark in the university. Afterwards (1729), he served as tutor, or trainer of the students. He had, in the mean while, lent assistance to his father in the performance of his duties as a minister.

While Wesley was yet a student he had, under the impulse of the letters of his mother, inclined to a thoughtful course of life. This tendency was increased by his perusal of devotional books, especially the writings of Thomas à Kempis, of Jeremy Taylor, and of Law. His efforts in religion were, however, of an ascetic kind. He strove to keep the law by crucifying himself. He looked at belief upon Christ simply as one of the commandments. His brother, Charles Wesley, five years younger than he, and later than he in coming to Oxford, while a young man of correct habits, for a long time repelled his brother's admonitions to a serious course of life. He was of a more lively disposition. But he, too, underwent a change when about twenty-one (1729). He devoted himself to reading and study, became concerned about his soul, went every Sunday to the communion, and joined several other students with him in a similar way of living. Some one who noticed this gave Charles Wesley, by way of ridicule, the name of Methodist. He intended, it would seem, an allusion to a religious sect of the ^{The name of Methodist.} preceding century, which had received this name on account of its peculiarities, but had endured only a short time. Our students in Oxford University did not quarrel with the name. Upon the return of John Wesley to Oxford, in 1729, he too entered the club, and by his more mature and controlling mind grew to be its leading spirit. They extended their efforts to persons outside their number, especially to the imprisoned, the poor, and the sick. At a later day, George Whitefield was one of their company. This loyal-hearted, thoroughly earnest living together and laboring together continued until 1735. The young men had to endure many evil reports. The Wesley brothers were compensated, however, by the approval which their father, after due inquiry, bestowed upon them.

Samuel Wesley died in 1735. This same year the brothers (Charles having also received ordination) set out for Georgia, in North America. They had been invited to go thither to care for the religious wants of the colonists, and for the christianization of the Indians. Upon their passage they fell into the company of several Moravian brethren, members of the association recently renewed by the labors of count Zinzendorf. With them were their wives and children. It was noted by John Wesley in his diary that, in a great tempest, when the English people on board lost all self-possession, these Germans impressed him by their composure and entire resignation to God. He also marked their humility under shameful treatment. Wesley preached and labored in Georgia with diligence. His efforts were too much directed to attaining perfection by the law, and hence failed of effect. By the beginning of 1738 he was back in London. He gave himself to reading the works of the mystics, but without attaining peace. His spirit sought for greater clearness of vision and for more strength. He was obliged to pass through the most serious mental conflicts. He met at this time, by the grace of God, the Moravian brother, Peter Böhler. By his words the struggling, inquiring spirit was turned to the righteousness which is obtained without price from the divine favor through belief upon Jesus. This truth laid hold upon Wesley's soul, and never again left it. Wesley thought that he knew the day and the hour in which he obtained the assurance of the forgiveness of his sins. Upon May 24, 1738, he entered a religious meeting in which he heard read Luther's introduction to the Epistle to the Romans. "Then," says Wesley, "as the change was described which is wrought upon the heart by God through faith in Christ, I felt my own heart peculiarly warmed. I felt that I relied upon Christ alone for salvation. There was given me the assurance that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and had saved me from the law of sin and death." Thus in his thirty-fifth year Wesley placed himself upon the foundation of the Holy Scripture, of Paul, and of the whole reformed church. He never forsook it down to the day when, after fifty-three more long years had been given him, he ended his earthly life. He unfolded, however, in accordance with his own clear, strong intellect, the doctrine which he embraced as a believing Christian. He declared it with blessed result to many thousands whom the Lord brought to him as hearers and inquirers. Of this work in its essentials let us speak farther.

After Wesley had passed through the great mental experience of his life, he went over to Germany, to study more closely the denomination whose members had exerted upon him so blessed an influence. He visited count Zinzendorf in Marienbrunn, and went also to Herrnhut. Assisted in mind by what he saw and heard, he came back to London (September, 1738). Here he continued for some

Wesley attains
religious rest.

Wesley in Ger-
many.

time his intercourse with the Moravian Brethren. He thought, however, that he noticed in several of their utterances a degree of Antinomianism, or of a disposition to slight God's law by reason of God's grace. For this reason he dissolved his connection with these English Herrnhuters. Nothing was more opposed to Wesley's way of thinking than men's considering themselves absolved from keeping the law, when they have accepted an unconditional election from God. Wesley found an evidence of God's free forgiveness in this, that his children are filled with a warm desire, out of gratitude and a true love to Him, to observe his commands, and to persevere in them unto the end. This principle of his is the main mark of distinction between Wesley and those holding the Herrnhuter or the extreme Lutheran position. Wesley thought that he saw Antinomian elements in some of Luther's writings. He especially disliked the assaults upon the law, upon human reason, and upon good works in Luther's commentary upon Galatians.

The two Wesleys, and with them Whitefield, the most gifted of all their friends, began now to preach in the churches of London and of other cities the gospel as a proclamation of free forgiveness to sinners, and with it repentance and belief upon Jesus. Their preaching met approval and also opposition, the latter especially from the majority of the clergy, from the cultivated people, and from the lower classes. The clergy of the established church and the most devoted church people among the laity were then for the most part oppressed by a deadly formalism. The Christian doctrine had become to them a church tradition. Faith was regarded even by the bishops as a "work," or as one of the Christian virtues. In the world of culture there prevailed a deism, proud of its conscious rectitude, or else vain and frivolous. The masses were a prey to increasing barbarism, godlessness, and delusion. Among the dissenting Christians there was more seriousness. Yet Socinianism by denying the divinity of Christ, and Pelagianism by rejecting man's natural sinfulness, had weakened their faith, also. Wesley's sermons stirred up a ferment. Soon all the pulpits in London were closed to him. He found himself limited to private dwellings and to jails. Wesley, as a preacher, had the greatest composure of mind and most polished eloquence. It was not, therefore, his sensational manner, or his style of expressing his thoughts, that stirred the English bishops and other clergy to prohibit his preaching. ^{Whitefield and the Wesleys.} It was the substance of his preaching, the story of the cross, of reconciliation by Jesus' blood, of faith in Christ, of a forgiveness that must be personally experienced. For these were the especial subjects of Wesley's sermons. He declared persistently that he was thoroughly true to the confession of the Church of England, that he believed and taught with the church as to God, the person of Christ, and the Holy Spirit; yet he insisted that justifying and saving faith is not the ^{Opposed by English bishops.}

reception of the doctrine, but is an experience in the life, — a new life, created in us by God. By this life the heart is turned to holiness, love, and unlimited trust in God. “He,” every one should be able to say for himself, “for the sake of Christ receives me as his child, and gives me a new heart, which purposes forever after lovingly to observe his commandments.” The earlier preachers, even in the church of Germany, handled the truth of justification through faith too much as a mere doctrine or notion. Methodism took it up as a practical principle, which lies at the foundation of moral and religious living. The unfolding of it as a doctrinal proposition, logically and scripturally, was not its special mission. Many have unjustly set forth as the peculiarity of Methodist preaching that it requires an instantaneous conversion to be perceived in the heart and in the experience. Such it does not demand, but it does declare that, in some circumstances, conversion comes from God in this manner. This must be asserted, since God’s Spirit works in one way as freely as in another, and since a sudden and powerful work of grace must often occur as a necessity in the passing of untaught yet noble spirits out of darkness into light, out of sin into righteousness. Examples of the same are given in the Bible.

Whitefield was the first Methodist to preach in the open air. He did so in Bristol. Wesley followed his example. The results in that city, and in hundreds of other places, were amazing. The people by thousands thronged about the preachers. Their mighty singing was heard for miles around. The sound came as a message of heaven to the lower classes, neglected as they were by the too reserved mother church. Unmistakable marks of conversion in heart and in life were given in persons of all classes, even in those whose wickedness was notorious, as, for instance, the colliers of Cornwall and Kingswood. Remarkable mental and physical manifestations occurred at times, convulsive trembling, weeping, or laughing preceding the more calm reception of the Word. Wesley has narrated these occurrences, but has made them matters neither of praise nor of importance. The successes won by Methodist preaching had to be gained through a long series of years, and amid the most bitter persecutions. In nearly every part of England it was met at the first by the mob with stonings and peltings, with attempts at wounding and slaying. Only at times was there any interference on the part of the civil power. The two Wesleys faced all these dangers with amazing courage, and with a calmness equally astonishing. Charles Wesley displayed an unflinching readiness to endure shame for the sake of Christ, thus proving himself to be worthy according to the apostolic standard. What was more irritating to the mind was the heaping up of slander and abuse by the writers of the day. The minds of the evangelists were not affected, though a flood of romances poured forth (such as were popular at the time), full of ridicule of the

Open-air preaching.

people who were looking for a great work of grace in their souls. These books are now all forgotten. The literature of England, in a large part, has, through the influence of this same Methodism, acquired a religious character, which recognizes the gospel and the need of God's grace.

There occurred, unfortunately, a separation, in 1741, between Wesley and Whitefield. The latter inclined, and that very decidedly, to the strictest Calvinistic views upon election. For ^{Wesley and Calvinism.} a long time he looked upon Wesley as preaching another gospel than his. Wesley, with the independence and plainness peculiar to him, solved the question as to conditioned or unconditioned election, which in a measure was let alone by the Church of England, by teaching a real implanting of faith by God, and yet a resistance on the part of man. He stood unalterable in this Arminian view, as practical and scriptural. In it he approached Lutheranism. But there was no personal feeling in his parting from Whitefield. In 1754, the two again preached each for the other. They maintained their private intimacy, and in 1770 Wesley preached the funeral discourse of his friend. Whitefield's efforts did not equal Wesley's in outward results. He founded no denomination. At a later period (1770), there arose a warm contest out of the opposition of Wesleyan Arminianism to strict Calvinism. The excellent Fletcher, a clergyman of the English church, supported the views of Wesley in his solid volumes.

Wesley now found himself driven more and more to the organizing of churches. A base of operations had been given the <sup>Wesley organ-
izes classes.</sup> labors of himself and his associates by the erection, in 1740, of a chapel at Moorfields, near London. His adherents in the populous cities and districts of England wanted instruction in God's Word and pastoral care. They were led to this the more in that the majority of the clergy of the Anglican church ceased to regard those as their parishioners who frequented Methodist services. Wesley was therefore compelled to establish societies in many places. The members of these not only observed public worship, but organized themselves into small "classes," for the sake of maintaining Christian discipline among themselves, of conferring together, of making religious confessions, and giving brotherly admonitions. This was the chief peculiarity and novelty in Methodism in its relation to the individual Christian life. It depended not so much upon the clergy as upon mutual care, exhortation, correction, and consolation. Thus was provided a great means of help for the moral needs of the lower classes, and a mode of exercising general Christian fellowship by all church members. Wesley gave these societies directions for Christian living, and rules of conduct, which were to be voluntarily subscribed by every member. Every one of the classes was given a leader. Here lies the secret of Methodism holding together. It is not to be found in any outside aim or attraction. It may be true that in the use

of experience meetings at a later day, in England and in America, serious abuses existed. But neither Wesley nor his plans for his denomination deserve the blame for this.

Wesley received severe and unkind treatment at the hands of the leaders of the established church. He was not indeed cast out, but he and his doings were disowned. He was obliged then to take up a position in opposition to the Episcopalian body. In his way of doing this he showed both wisdom and piety. He avoided carefully a formal separation. He appointed hours for public worship different from the hours of the services of the Anglican pastors. He advised his people to attend the parish churches. Only when the clergy were irreligious, erroneous, and spiteful were the hours of his meetings placed at the hours of the Episcopalian worship. After a time the communion was administered by the Wesley brothers. The traveling preachers, chosen at a later period from among the laity, were indeed ordained, but not with the laying on of hands, that respect might be paid to this as a right pertaining to the bishops. This arose from no superstition as to the exclusive power of bishops to ordain lawfully and effectively. Wesley asserted often that in the days of the Apostles elders and bishops were the same. He also ordained by the laying on of hands those who were to labor in Scotland and in America, since those countries had no bishops appointed by law. Wesley regarded the Episcopal constitution of the English church a matter of political growth and expediency, and not of divine authority. While this completely explains the opposition to him on the part of a portion of the English clergy even till this day, it makes Methodism only the more adapted to become the means of a reconciliation between the established English church and the dissenters.

Wesley was untiring in his efforts to disseminate useful knowledge throughout his denomination. He especially thought of the mental culture of his traveling preachers and local exhorters, and of schools of instruction for the future teachers of the church. He himself prepared books for popular use upon universal history, church history, and natural history. In this Wesley was an apostle of the modern union of mental culture with Christian living. He circulated Christian tracts and various sheets intended to promote religious awakening. He published also the best matured of his sermons and various theological works. These, both by their depth and their penetration of thought, and by their purity and precision of style, excite our amazement. This is especially true of his writings upon original sin and upon election, his edition of the New Testament with notes, and his "Addresses to the People upon Religion and Reason," in which he makes a powerful defense of Christianity.

The entire management of his ever-growing denomination rested upon

Wesley and the
Episcopalians.

Wesley's liter-
ary work.

Wesley himself. So also did the advising, the arranging, the composing of difficulties, the disciplining of preachers, of exhorters, and of the visitors of the sick throughout the country. ^{Wesley as a ruler.} The annual conference, established in 1744, acquired a governing power only after the death of Wesley. His brother fell behind him as behind one fitted to rule. Charles Wesley, however, rendered the society a service incalculably great by his hymns. They are the really poetical outpourings of an evangelical experience of forgiveness and Christian life. They introduced a new era in the hymnology of the English church. John Wesley apportioned his days to his work in leading the church, to studying (for he was an incessant reader), to traveling, and to preaching. His traveling was in order to preach. What he accomplished with his frame, which was hardly ever ill, borders upon the incredible. Upon entering his eighty-fifth year he thanks God for this, that he is still almost as vigorous as ever. He ascribes it, under God, to the fact that he had always slept soundly, had risen for sixty years at four o'clock in the morning, and for fifty years had preached every morning at five. Seldom in all his life did he feel any pain, care, or anxiety. He preached twice each day, and often thrice or four times. It has been estimated that he traveled every year forty-five hundred English miles, mostly upon horseback. Ireland and Scotland he visited each several times, and Holland twice. He ever kept his mind open and attentive to the beauties of nature and to objects of local interest, as is shown by many spirited allusions in his diary.

Wesley never enjoyed the blessedness of home life. Here, perhaps, is the only thing, or almost the only thing, that can be said ^{Wesley as a husband.} against his life, which has been so publicly known. He married, in 1751, a widow, one Mrs. Vizelle. Although it was definitely arranged that Wesley was not to be obliged to change his mode of life on account of his marriage, his wife could not endure his frequent absences. She was disturbed by jealousy. She suffered herself to proceed to slanders of her husband, and to the forging of letters respecting him. Many times she abandoned him. He was able, however, to win her back. At last she left him, and Wesley gave her up, but without seeking a separation from her by law. In this part of Wesley's life we find one serious mistake committed by a man otherwise so illustrious.

The older brother, John, saw Charles descend to the grave earlier than himself. The venerable poet, who had been the happy father ^{Charles Wesley's death.} of a family, died in 1788, at the age of seventy-nine. John Wesley lived to see his denomination extending near and far in Great Britain and in America; the persecutions waged against him changing over a large portion of the country to respect and admiration; his association accorded civil recognition and the rights of a corporation by a decree of the court of royal chancery; and to observe public thought in his nation

in many ways revolutionized in favor of Christianity. Then the old man, serenely strong in the faith, crowned with God's favor, and full of good works, heard his summons home.

On the 17th of February, 1791, Wesley fell ill. He nevertheless ^{Wesley's last days.} preached the day following upon the words, "The king's business required haste" (1 Samuel xxi. 8); and also upon the day after. Upon February 23d. he preached for the last time, upon "Seek ye the Lord while He may be found, call ye upon Him while He is near" (Isaiah lv. 6). He grew weaker rapidly. Awakening out of sleep, he continually sang stanzas of hymns. He said over and over, "I am the chief of sinners, but Jesus died for me." There was repeated to him, at his request, the text of one of his last sermons: "For ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though He was rich, yet for your sakes He became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich" (2 Corinthians viii. 9). He responded, saying, "That is the foundation, the only foundation, than which there is none other laid." Once more he said, "The best of all is, that God is with us." Frequent prayers were offered in his presence and for him, to which he often responded with his "Amen." His last words were spoken to a friend: "Fare you well." He died without a struggle March 2, 1791, shortly before noon, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. Upon the 9th of March he was solemnly interred, in the presence of many ministers of the Word, and amid the tears of a great multitude. A tablet to his memory, with a significant inscription, may be found in the City Road Chapel in London.

When Wesley died, his denomination in Europe, America, and the West Indies numbered eighty thousand members. Fifty years later there were in Great Britain and the colonies over three hundred thousand communicants, besides half a million in the United States.

John Wesley was of but ordinary stature, and yet of noble presence. His features were very handsome even in old age. He had an open brow, an eagle nose, a clear eye, and a fresh complexion. His manners were fine, and in choice company with Christian people he enjoyed relaxation. He was fond at such times of talking, and would conclude the evening with prayer and singing. Persistent, laborious love for men's souls, steadfastness, and tranquillity of spirit were his most prominent traits of character. Even in doctrinal controversies he exhibited the greatest calmness. The opposition of subordinates to his management of affairs sometimes called forth from him expressions of displeasure, but he was easily appeased. He was kind and very liberal. His industry has been named already. In the last fifty-two years of his life, it is estimated, he preached more than forty thousand sermons.

There are probably only two men of the eighteenth century who can be likened to this great and richly favored servant of God. These two are Zinzendorf and Oberlin. Zinzendorf may be compared with Wesley

in that he founded a new Christian society, distinguished by a pure doctrine and discipline. But Zinzendorf did this upon the foundation of an old denomination. Wesley, on the other hand, raised up an entirely new body. Zinzendorf exerted influence upon the heart of a society for its revival, especially in a few foundation truths; Wesley upon whole throngs of neglected people for their moral transformation. Zinzendorf was genial, original, poetical, but also peculiar. Wesley was more human, more distinct in his theology, and more effective in his labors. John Oberlin made of a perishing people a Christian family, but it was only the population of a little valley in the Vosges Mountains. Wesley brought sinners to repentance throughout three kingdoms and over two hemispheres. Oberlin applied the Christian religion thoughtfully to the affairs of every-day life. Wesley preached God's grace as a general principle, begetting obedience, and opening a fountain of peace to mankind. Oberlin was the shepherd, father, and chief of a parish. Wesley was the bishop of such a diocese as neither the Eastern nor the Western church ever witnessed before. What is there in the circle of Christian effort — foreign missions, home missions, Christian tracts and literature, field preaching, circuit preaching, Bible readings, or aught else that may be named — which was not attempted by John Wesley, which was not grasped by his mighty mind through the aid of his Divine Leader? — K. H. S.

Contrasted with
two men of his
age.

LIFE XIV. WILLIAM WILBERFORCE.

A. D. 1759—A. D. 1833. EPISCOPALIAN, — ENGLAND.

AMONG the greatest names of modern days is that of Wilberforce. In all the relations of life he was a man approved of God. In him Christianity appears as flesh and blood. His purifying, every way vivifying, and world-subduing efforts have been made a blessing to millions of mankind.

William Wilberforce was born August 24, 1759, at Hull, in England, the only son of a wealthy merchant. The boy, left fatherless at nine years of age, proved of frail body, but of a powerful mind and affectionate heart. In the home of Christian relatives he received deep impression from the Word of God and the love of the Master. The mother, disliking the religious influence of this home, called him back to Hull, and tried by social amusements to cure of his new views the youth who was so admirably suited to shine in society. This attempted cure may not have been in itself a desirable thing; yet it was of use to Wilberforce in so far that it preserved him from falling into sectarian narrowness, and kept him within a church in which he was to do so much

afterwards for the benefit of his people and of humanity. Meantime, the circle of his earnestly Christian relatives impressed upon him a seriousness of thought by which the usual temptations of youth were largely deprived of their power. A prophecy of what his life was to be seemed to be given when Wilberforce, at fifteen years of age, sent to the publisher of a journal an essay upon the horrible slave-trade.

Early essay on
the slave-trade.

At seventeen the youth went to Cambridge University, well prepared, both mentally and physically, and especially gifted in conversation and oratory, which were to be the instruments of his later achievements. He soon repelled the bad from his society. His vivacity, his winsomeness, and his large fortune made him the centre of a large circle, which did not indeed lead him into riotous living, but, as he lamented afterwards, kept him from diligent study and carefully planned effort. A proof of his conscientiousness is that when he left the university he preferred to forego its honors rather than to subscribe carelessly the articles of the church creed, with which his convictions did not then fully agree.

Having decided to enter into public life, he presented himself at his father's home as a candidate for Parliament. At two and twenty Wilberforce carried the election, and soon took a prominent place both as an orator in the House of Commons and as a man of society. He was joined with Pitt, the great statesman and minister, in close friendship; other worthy men were attracted to him, and the public prints were full of his praise. After a dissolution of Parliament, he was elected over very wealthy and powerful opponents to represent Yorkshire, the largest county in England. Thus quickly he rose to the summit of fortune. What temptations offered themselves to the ambition of a young man such as Wilberforce! But the spirit which was to be an agent of God had been endowed by Him with a great degree of self-control. Wilberforce joined with forty members of the House of Commons in a pledge never to take from the government an appointment, a pension, or a title of nobility. Of the forty, he and one friend of his were all who kept their vow to remain through life independent. He was content to remain always William Wilberforce.

But no! He was not to be content with the name which he had. Another name had been appointed him of God. To be independent, to be free as regards man, is a great thing; but only he is free whom the Son makes free; only a servant of God will escape being man's servant. Only God's freedman will be able to lead his brothers to freedom. To this mission Wilberforce was summoned. God therefore gave an inner call and secret seal to the man praised in social and political circles. He led him from the throng of the great city to a lonely country life for self-contemplation and for self-

How he became
more conse-
crated.

improvement. Wilberforce did not turn his back upon God. He persuaded his friend Pitt, when visiting him, to go upon Sunday to the house of God. Making a journey to Italy (1784), he preferred as travelling companion a Christian, yet one who could pass as a man of society, and was not extreme in his views. In the comrade chosen God gave Wilberforce, even against his knowledge and wish, an Ananias (Acts ix. 10). By conversation with him, and by reading with him Doddridge's "Rise and Progress of Religion," Wilberforce was constrained to do like them of Berea (Acts xvii. 11). To search rightly whether these things were so, he read upon another journey the New Testament in the original. He became more thoughtful; his naturally truth-loving mind was impressed by Christian truth; his conscience told him that he, amid the pleasures of earth, was not living as a Christian, was neglecting the interests of his soul, and that it would be a fearful thing, departing from such a life, to fall into the hands of the living God. He began to pray. He became sensible of the profound sinfulness of the human heart; he lamented his ingratitude, and his unjust stewardship of the gifts of God. It was a life-and-death struggle with him. He read the Bible with growing zeal; also other Christian books. He attended church regularly; he began family worship. Careful self-examination showed him directly that there was danger not only of natural pride, but also of spiritual. His friends could not understand how a man of such a spotless manner of life could accuse himself of sinfulness. Some thought that he would withdraw wholly from society; others that social life would soon cure his seriousness; still a third set heaped their mockeries upon his "canting."

Wilberforce, however, stood faithful to Him who called him, faithful to the church, and faithful to his office of working in the world and upon the world, yet as one who is not of the world. While he unbosomed himself most freely to his Christian friends, he did not shun society. He found his chief source of knowledge in God's Word. He none the less devoured the secular information necessary for his worldly position. Devoting himself to his utmost ability to public life, he at the same time sought to promote the spiritual interests of his fellows. John Wesley was at that time awakening the lower classes of England. Wilberforce, coming from the shadow of death into the light, was to be an agent of a like work with the higher classes, among whom his life was cast. Armed with truth, he lovingly opposed in social intercourse falsehood and the profanation of holy things. He succeeded (1787) in found-
Founds a reform society.
 ing an association to oppose the spread of immorality, and in securing a royal summons to the chief landed proprietors to execute the law against the desecration of the day of rest, against drunkenness, and against immoral publications. All the bishops of England and all the members of the upper and lower houses joined his society. This blessed enterprise was a beginning of the association work which is still

found in England aiding the kingdom of God. At a later day (1803), Wilberforce exerted himself to aid the foundation of the great British Bible Society. All missionary societies found in him an influential advocate with the government. He expended his efforts for ten years, until at last consent was won to the sending of missionaries and teachers to India. A faithful friend of the poor, he contributed freely to the relief of distress. Mindful of the word of his Saviour, he took pleasure in helping in person the prisoners in the jails and the sick in the hospitals. He took time for this, in spite of the tremendous burden of duties which came upon him as the representative of the largest English county, in spite of the varied demands of his constituents, because he was a Christian. Nor was the coming generation out of his mind. He cared with liberal hand for day-schools and Sunday-schools. He was associated in this especially with the large-hearted author, Hannah More. She wrote of him, "The life of this young man is the most extraordinary among all known to me, possessed as it is of talents, tact, and piety." At the time she was writing thus, he was noting in his diary, "My heart is, above all, encompassed by evil." Partly for his own upbuilding, partly for the good of his associates in rank, he turned to efforts with the pen. For almost eight years he labored in the few leisure hours which were allowed him by his arduous position, and by his residence each year in

Wilberforce's
"Practical
View."

Bath, upon a book in which he would show to the world of the wealthy and distinguished the difference between the almost Christian and the entire Christian. It was published in 1797, under the title, "A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious Conceptions of the Higher and Middle Classes of our Land, as compared with True Christianity." It spoke of sin and of grace, of the foundations of Christian doctrine, of faith which works by love, and of a whole-hearted service of the Lord. His friends advised him against printing it. Hardly was a publisher to be found. But the book was "spirit and life." It was the fruit of the thorough experience of one who was resolved "to live believingly by the help of the Holy Spirit, to go forward zealously, thoughtfully, and humbly, only trying to honor God and to do good to his fellow-men." In a few days the first edition of the book was exhausted, in six months five editions were taken, afterward fifteen. It was translated into all the languages of European Christendom, and went to North America and to the Indies. Men in the highest classes were through it led to Christianity; scholars and clergymen owned the blessing brought to them by this book of a layman; the great statesman Burke, in his dying hour, sent his thanks to Wilberforce for its publication. This success encouraged him and a few friends to further effort for their country by the publication of a periodical, "The Christian Observer" (1801).

Everything which Wilberforce was, or was doing, came to pass amid

a social and political whirlpool. The times were beset by wars and by distresses. Amid the threatening occurrences of the period he contracted his marriage with Barbara Anna Spooner (1797), His home life. with whom he lived in most happy union. His exceedingly hospitable home was one of his means of carrying on his work. Purposing to serve his Master in this way, he lived in a great degree of publicity in his own home, as a light placed upon a candlestick, or a city set upon a hill. With the throng of his guests, this view of a Christian home was one of the best ways to prepossess them in favor of religion, and to incite them to follow his example. Strangers, as well as his own children, could learn in his house how a man could have his citizenship in heaven without foregoing human society, and how cheerful a man may be in his life without endangering his Christianity.

Wilberforce, indeed, found how boundless is the temptation presented in a life so public. He therefore daily sought his closet, and at times a life of seclusion, to commune with his conscience and his God. He thus kept down rising ambition and other evil desires, nourishing and defending his soul by the Word, the sacrament, and prayer. His diaries witness his inner conflicts and victories, without which he had proven worse than useless in the public conflicts in the Parliament. While in general men who are subject to no parties are displeasing to every party, Wilberforce seemed to almost all parties as a spokesman for God, an incorruptible friend of truth, and an acknowledged umpire. When he spoke respecting any subject or any individual, it was the voice of the public conscience. But without his daily penitent prayer and renewal of heart he had not been equal to maintaining this mighty, heroic championship of philanthropy. For a life-time he persevered in it unmoved, unwearied, and in the end victorious. Such divine strength in a divine cause is given only to him who has wrestled with God and been subdued by Him.

The contest against the shameful slave-trade presents an amazing spectacle. It is a genuine spiritual battle; in it Satan and, at his call, all the powers of hell, covetousness, greed, hardheartedness, calumny, slander, and hatred, even to murder, were warring for their prey; while the good spirits and Wilberforce contended for more than twenty years in demonstration of the Spirit and in the power of devotion and self-sacrifice, with tongue and with pen, with defeat ten times over, with rallying ten times repeated in greater strength than ever, until the victory was won. King and court, princes and ministers, friends and foes of political liberty, now the House of Commons, now the House of Lords, again both houses together, mammon at home, and the throng of slave-merchants and slave-owners abroad rose up against him. But God was with him, and he was with God; he could not but prevail.

We have named already the enthusiasm of Wilberforce when fifteen

The battle
against the
slave-trade.

years old for the cause of the slave. When twenty-eight the full-grown man, renewed in the image of his Creator, came to see in his black fellow-men the image of God, lying in shame and bondage, sighing for the glorious freedom of the sons of God. He took it as his life-work to procure for them their rights before man and God. Four years he studied all the relations and circumstances of negro slave-trading. He then, in union with other noble spirits, made the first effort on the side of the slave with the administration, which was well disposed towards him. He soon obtained a mitigation of the sufferings of the slaves sold into bondage. At once the foe was excited. Doubly prepared by effort and prayer, Wilberforce presented the great question (May 12, 1789) in the House of Commons in a masterly oration of four and a half hours. The better people all declared the slave-trade a shame to the nation, and its abolition a necessity, and yet the motion of Wilberforce was

More than seven times defeated. defeated. He pursued the foe through all his turnings and intrigues, bringing forward witnesses and evidence which required months for its procuring. His second attempt occurred April 18, 1791. Though receiving the support of the best men, it did not succeed. A society was now formed to trade with Sierra Leone, in order to supply evidence that the negroes were susceptible of moral and spiritual improvement. The voice of the nation was aroused more and more to favor the cause of Wilberforce. Relying upon this, he again presented his motion (April 2, 1792) for the putting down of the slave-trade. A gradual abolition was now sought, extending to January 1, 1796. But the measure was not confirmed. Wilberforce reaped a new harvest of abuse, slander, and persecution, which even approached an attempt at murder. Not despairing and devoid of fear, Wilberforce again introduced his motion, February 26, 1793, but again in vain. Many now grew weary, but not Wilberforce. "As one who fears God," he felt himself obliged to war upon the ruinous business. In the years following he at one time carried the House of Commons, but not the House of Lords. He fell into disfavor at court on account of his black protégés. Deeply affected, he could only say, "O Lord, thy will be done!" There came a voice to his soul, "The ruinous trade cannot outlive the eighteenth century." He pushed his motion again in 1795, but again failed. Sorrowing for his nation, he implored the House of Commons (February 19, 1796) not to despise the long-suffering of Heaven. His words had effect. He carried the first and second readings, but on the third was defeated. Deeply pained by the intrigues of the foe, he fell seriously ill. They, however, who wait upon the Lord renew their strength, mount up with wings as eagles, run and are not weary, walk and do not faint. Wilberforce had wearied had he not advanced in his soul life. But amid his public defeats he won in his closet "one victory after another." He and every one who sided with him were to know that there was a righteous God in

Zion. Growing, by his penitent faith, into a more mature and complete Christian, destined to do good and endure evil, on May 15, 1797, soon after his marriage, he presented his motion again, mindful of the slumbering wrath of God. He was again outvoted, amid the scoffs and jeers of his opponents. The question came up anew April 3, 1798, when Pitt and Fox and Canning lent it the aid of their mighty eloquence. It was again decided adversely, although only by a majority of four voices. The next spring there was a new motion, a new admonition of the House against hard-heartedness, and a new defeat. The House of Lords would never agree even to the little which the Commons decreed for the benefit of the slave. Wilberforce was overthrown and deeply shaken in his spirit, but not in his sense of duty. He was able upon May 30, 1804, to renew his old motion, supporting it by new arguments, and now triumphed by one hundred and twenty-four votes against forty-nine. Joy overwhelmed his spirit. Congratulations poured in from all sides upon one who, to the very moment of his victory, ^{At last victorious.} had been waging the greatest battle which a human being ever carried on. The well-tried victor did not, however, yet consider it the hour in which to sing songs of triumph. He wrote (1807) a new pamphlet upon the slave-trade, and distributed it among the peers of the Upper House, where the royal princes and some of the ministry were among his most stubborn opponents. The conflict came upon February 3d. The following morning, at five o'clock, the victory was won by one hundred votes against thirty-four. With fear and trembling Wilberforce betook himself to God in that moment of the final decision. Upon February 23d he displayed the glory of his eloquence and the power of his argument in the House, where a last division upon the question showed two hundred and eighty-three members for the abolition of the slave-trade against sixteen opposing it. A month later the law was finally approved by the Lords, and two weeks afterwards received the royal signature.

Thus Wilberforce's great battle for humanity gained the victory, his chief task in life attained success. Humbly, as an unworthy instrument, he gave the thanks to God. With eminent wisdom he now devoted himself to securing and making use of his splendid achievement. The African Society, his means for this, was prospered of God beyond his prayers or his knowledge. When the rulers who had conquered Napoleon visited London, they paid their respects to Wilberforce "as the most loved and respected person in all England." Wilberforce had lent large aid, with property and with voice, to the Germans who struggled to overthrow Napoleon, and was an intimate friend of Blücher. He now petitioned the czar Alexander to coöperate in embodying the abolition of the slave-trade in the treaty of peace. Thus untiringly Wilberforce did for his cause everything that was possible, both at home and abroad.

All the efforts of Wilberforce for the perfect execution of the laws

against the slave-trade were in vain. He felt himself, therefore, forced to take a step in advance, and to attempt slave emancipation. In 1823 he published a pamphlet, which was widely circulated, in favor of transforming the slaves gradually into free peasants, and of giving them at once religious instruction, permission to marry, and facilities for earning their freedom. Upon the 16th of March, 1824, Wilberforce adjured the Parliament to labor for this high object promptly and constantly. Upon the 15th of June he spoke in the Commons for the last time. He had fulfilled his mission in life in the abolition of the slave-trade, and in opening the way to slave emancipation. He had before this been warned of the approach of old age, and had given up representing the largest English county, accepting instead a seat for a small borough, thus gaining more leisure to attend to his children and to his own soul. Oppressed by age and sickness, he finally withdrew from public life. He left Parliament in 1825, the first, by general consent, of its members in oratory, in spotless patriotism, in untiring advocacy of peace, morality, and religion, in care for the poor, in unselfish benefaction, in careful arbitration, and in mediation between man and man; in a word, the rare spirit who for forty-four years of toil in Parliament had taken no rank, no pay, and had won for his reward simply this, to be known as the greatest friend of humanity in all his generation.

The warrior of sixty-six years, who had fought for the liberty of millions, and had helped so largely the moral and religious improvement of his own nation, looked with modesty, and even with a reproving conscience, back upon his public life. He had, he said, made a poor use of his gifts, but he trusted that he had served a merciful Master, one who giveth liberally and upbraideth not. In calm serenity, honored by all parties, without show or pretension, severe only upon himself and his faults, anxious in everything to serve God, the beloved old man lived a retired life, looking gladly to another world. Yet his last years were not free from heavy trials. Hateful calumnies, death among his loved ones, and the loss of wealth through misfortune bowed him down. Friends would have made up the last, but Wilberforce believed that he ought to show that a Christian could live as happily without fortune as with it. The worst trial was that he could not continue his accustomed liberality. He sold his country-seat and his library, and lived with his sons. He came out of his retirement only once more, upon the occasion of a gathering of the friends of the slave in 1833. The solution of the problem was to be complete emancipation, which he advocated, with compensation to the slave-holder. This was his last address. The baths at Bath lost their power with him. He felt that the time was come for his conflict with the last enemy. His petition was for forgiveness and grace. He was of the number of the few chosen ones who have found deep peace here on earth. Upon a glorious summer day, July 26, 1833, he was car-

Attacks slavery
itself.

Record as a
public man.

ried in a chair out into the open air to rejoice his body and soul once more in the contemplation of the works of God, who had followed him with goodness and mercy his life long. A message was brought just then that the motion of his friend Buxton for the abolition of slavery had passed through Parliament. "Thank God," cried Wilberforce, "that I have been suffered to live to see this day" ^{Dies in a time of victory.} when England is ready to sacrifice twenty millions of pounds sterling to emancipate her slaves!" After this last bright gleam, he was greatly prostrated by a fit of apoplexy. A friend said to him, "But you have your foot upon the rock." "I dare not speak so confidently," replied he, "but I hope that I have it there." After this he sighed deeply and fell asleep, July 29, 1833, aged seventy-three years and eleven months. By act of Parliament his body was interred in Westminster Abbey. The members of the Houses of Peers and Commons followed his remains, the prince of Gloucester, the lord-chancellor, and the speaker of the Commons serving as pall-bearers. Public meetings were held in York and in Hull. The county of York builded in his honor an asylum for the blind. The city of his birth erected him a monument. In the West Indies and in New York the colored people put on mourning at the news of his decease. The memory of this just man will continue a blessing to all generations. His deeds as a Christian statesman, proceeding from the spirit and power of his Master, his heroic, Christ-like philanthropy, his benefactions to humanity, will endure to the end of time. — H. V'M.

LIFE XV. ELIZABETH FRY.

A. D. 1780—A. D. 1845. FRIEND, — ENGLAND.

In a noble old house in Norwich, England, was born, May 21, 1780, Elizabeth Gurney. One of a troop of glad children, she seemed, when compared with her six sisters, little favored. She was a weak, nervous, reserved child, inclined to be stubborn, and full of the spirit of contradiction, and was by her own people regarded as stupid. Her timorousness clouded for her the joys of childhood. Even her impressions of religion became gloomy, especially by her dwelling upon such stories as Abraham's offering up Isaac. Human misery, too, which she saw every day in a poor cripple, did not fail to produce its painful effects upon the anxious childish heart. To be assured that the life of this child would tend to the glory of God and the well-being of men was possible only to the heart of the mother. Even she never dreamed that this unattractive being would be a leader in benefaction to mankind.

The loving atmosphere of her home, and the taste for natural beauty which was awakened by the thoughtful mother in her children at their

country house, had an enlivening influence upon the reserved girl. The precious jewel of a heart strong in peace and joy not even her mother could give her daughter, for it must come from God only. The parents were lacking, too, in Christian knowledge, as was common in that day, when the death shadow of unbelief covered the earth. Otherwise, the child's heart might have been brought to repose in the love of the Saviour, who bade the little children come unto Him. After her mother's death, Elizabeth, then twelve years of age, was left by her busied, unthinking father to herself and to a social circle in which she might attain to a high degree of culture, but hardly to the peace of God. Rather she was in danger of making shipwreck of her faith.

She became very accomplished, learned in many arts and sciences, a skilled horsewoman, charming in song and in the home dance. Her slender, delicate form, her luxuriant light hair, and her sweet expression made her attractive. Dazzling as a butterfly, hovering above a bed of flowers, she was yet hungry in soul. She sought God in nature. The flowers faded, the summer fled, and amid all its witness of the eternal power and godhead nature failed to answer her soul seeking light and strength for the future. She was left sighing. She sought truth and virtue. But where should she find a protector for her soul, tossed amid the perilous billows of life? She read the Bible, but where was the key to unlock its meaning? It was a dark enigma. Everything was vanity and folly; she doubted everything and despised herself.

Her life-boat came from the other side of the Atlantic, when the young Quaker preacher, William Savery, crossed from the United States to England (1798). He visited Norwich, where his sermons kindled the young girl's heart, unhappy in its doubt and longing, with the ardor of a new love. She was for the first time full of the thought, God is. She began to understand the Bible; she was filled with a spirit of calm devotion. Her father, observing the change, sent her to London, to mingle in its excitements. While delighted and instructed, she was not satisfied. She resolved the more thoroughly to put away worldly folly without forsaking either her duties or her innocent pleasures. Her gentle heart had never rejoiced in anything so much as in beneficence. She now, with redoubled zeal, devoted herself to loving efforts near and far away. Now she comes, clad in scarlet riding habit, with a little basket of cordials to the foreign widow of an army officer, and is off upon her fleet horse, leaving no name or address. Now she is comforting her servant upon a sick-bed with a hope of heaven. Now as a nurse she waits upon a neighbor's sick-bed. Once more she is found teaching and training a class of seventy poor children, whom she has gathered up in the vicinity for a Sunday-school.

One thing was lacking. It is not good for any person to be alone, certainly not for a Christian, and least of all for a Christian called with

an especial calling. Christ's spirit is a social spirit. One who has it must either found a society, or be allied to some existing society. Wherever there is a living church, the new-born spirit does well in hastening to embrace it and to be embraced by it. Away from the church, souls will grow peculiar. Healthy souls will choose even a faulty church as the lesser evil. Elizabeth Gurney, with healthy spirit, ^{Becomes a} wanting a sure support against a doubting world and a dead ^{Friend.} church, and influenced by the example of her ancestors and of the teacher who had led her to believe, and also by her family relations, entered the Society of Friends, or, as they are called sometimes, the Quakers.

Opposing all outside show, the Quakers are a plain, modest, quiet, benevolent, and active Christian people. In an endeavor to avoid turning the mind by outward forms from inner needs, which are alone important, they forego baptism with water and the bread and wine of the Supper. They seek the inner baptism of the Holy Ghost and of fire, the inner enjoyment of the bread of heaven for their spiritual refreshment. They have no clergymen. Every converted soul, man or woman, is allowed to pray or teach, when moved thereto by the Spirit. They oppose all oaths and wars. They wear a simple uniform dress, seldom uncover the head, and address every one, be he a prince or a beggar, with the fraternal "thou." This society, so well suited to oppose pomp and folly with modest humility, was especially adapted for Elizabeth Gurney's mind, called as she was by an extraordinary calling. When she had learned to move in the coat of mail afforded her by the Quaker forms, she was rid of a thousand embarrassments, cares, and hindrances, which otherwise would have tried a nature as true as hers, even if she had been a hundred times less fearful than she was, and would have made it unhappy in the midst of an unloving and unbelieving world.

After a long struggle she made up her mind fully, put off all her gay colors and ornaments, and, not to be disturbed in heart, resigned dancing, and with some reluctance singing also, yet without condemning others who were devoted to music; put on the slate-colored garments, hid her luxuriant blonde hair in a black veil, and went to meet, at first with much fear, her loved relatives, her astonished acquaintances, and strangers, all of whom she quickly won over. Elizabeth Gurney was now twenty years old, a lovable image, every way of a simple nature, glorified through grace. She became the wife of a wealthy merchant of London, Joseph Fry, who was also a member of the Society of Friends.

Elizabeth Fry, though of a small sect, may be deemed a leader of the evangelical church, as well as of the best men and women of her time, on account of her works, which were known through all Europe. For the baptism of the Spirit pervading her after-life, so full of love of God and man, may supply the lack of the outer forms of the sacraments.

She kept a most exact conscience as well as a most enlarged heart. She exalted Christ crucified by her gentle faith, free from proselyting selfishness, before all who opposed, were they churchly or non-churchly, Protestant or Catholic, Jews or pagans, converted or unconverted, bond or free.

Ere we follow her path in the world, let us see her as a wife and a mother. The tender plant must first strike root deeply in the narrow home soil before it can grow to be a tree of righteousness to the Lord's glory, before it can send out fruitful boughs over his walls to revive sinking bodies and pining souls. In her married life of forty-two years, very happy amid many trials, Elizabeth Fry bore eleven children. She had seven sons, eleven daughters and daughters-in-law, and twenty-five grandchildren. What cares, anxieties, watchings by night, and pains came with all these! More than once her slight frame gave way under the load of her duties as wife, mother, daughter, and sister, as she was forced to hasten from one sick couch to another, from one dying bed to another; but her strength was made perfect in weakness. Nor did she lose courage or force when, through the bankruptcy of a foreign house, her means were so diminished that she had to live very narrowly, giving up her country place. She maintained through every tempest the calmness of her spirit and her unwearying love, which could become poor to make others rich.

In her ever-enlarging family her great natural gifts, gracious and loving, were seen in growing power. Business skill, knowledge of human nature, quick perception, gentle but strong governing ability, were hers, enabling her to rule her family quietly. She found the source of her efficiency and calmness in God's Word and in prayer. "As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord," was made by her the corner-stone of her structure. She was first Mary, but she knew how to be Martha in kitchen, cellar, and pantry. In laying the foundation of her Christian household by the strict observance of the Sabbath, for the good of both the soul and the body, she was helped by the custom of her country. But the best Sabbath Christianity, the most holy Sabbath devotions, were not enough for her. Every morning she called all the members of her family, her guests, and servants to family worship. She did not cease, from timidity or fear of offense, until she had firmly established this habit in her household. Thus were reared the two main pillars of the Christian home, proper care of servants and right training of children; nor can the latter be attained without the former. Elizabeth Fry remembered her motherly duty as well as her priestly duty towards her servants. We find her tarrying at the dying bed of an aged servant with help for her body and her soul. We hear her, with her Catholic gardener, whom for twenty years she sent every Sunday to his mass while she went to her church, speaking to him in his sick days and well days of Christ, the

only Saviour. She formed societies for the benefit of the serving class. On her journeys to inns or to the homes of friends she remembered the servants with kind remarks, books, and prayers. Sparing no pains in caring for her servants, she could courageously bring up her children to serve in the household, or with strong and gentle hand to rule. Placing regard for those in her own home first, she could go forward without fear or shame, and lay her hand upon the wounds of the world outside. By being a complete home-mother she could grow to be a mother for the half of mankind.

By her model housekeeping, her conscientious distribution of her time, her growth in faith and in prayer without ceasing, Elizabeth Fry advanced to that usefulness which she continued for forty years, saying, "Not my will, but thine, be done." She went, taking hours even when her oldest child was seriously ill, and made her accustomed rounds in the worst portions of London, seeking out poor women who had asked her help. She had learned that without close inspection of each case she could not help the poor effectively. Often she would find, upon going to the street and number named, that she had been deceived, and yet would discover there new cases of genuine want. Her eyes grew keen for perceiving human woe, and her ears for human sighs. Passing along the street upon the arm of a friend, at one time, Elizabeth Fry suddenly left him to go to a woman who appeared to her troubled. The woman asked no help, and preferred to shun notice, but Elizabeth insisted upon her telling her secret. "Thou seemest in great distress. I pray thee tell me the reason of thy grief; perhaps I can relieve thee." There was no answer. Elizabeth, leading her to her own brother's, near by, used loving looks and words, until the unfortunate creature told her that she was making her way to the Thames. She was not in want of money, but of wise Christian advice, and this Elizabeth Fry gave her, saving her both soul and body. Upon one cold winter's day Elizabeth Fry was asked for alms by a poor woman on the street. Excited to pity by the child in her arms, suffering from whooping-cough, but stirred to suspicion by her evasive answers, Elizabeth said that she would go home with her and give her aid. The woman declined, but Elizabeth followed her with firm step into a secluded alley, where, in a dark, foul hut, she found a large number of little sick, neglected children. The next morning she sent the physician of her own children thither, who found the house empty. The neighbors told her that the poor children of the parish were given to this woman, and were kept by her miserably for the sake of getting alms, and even of shortening their lives, when by concealing their deaths she could still obtain the allowance for their support. These were Elizabeth Fry's pleasures and excitements outside her own house. When escaping from the toil and noise of London to her country home, her children, and her

Key to her public success.

Her work in the country.

flowers, she still attended to the needs of the poor and the sick. She kept a large stock of Bibles and religious reading, of cotton and woolen garments, and of medicines. She provided a hundred persons with soup in the cold of winter. Opposite her home was a dwelling with pointed gables and wide door-way, in which lived two aged sisters. She gained entrance to both their house and their heart. She carried sunshine to their perishing spirits by her gentle words from the Scriptures, and obtained their consent to the setting up of a girl's school for the parish in one of its rooms, she supplying an excellent teacher, and securing for it the support of the parish minister and of his wife. Our heroine found admission, too, to the dirty cottages of an Irish colony in the neighborhood, living in poverty and neglect, and labored to do them good. Caring for the sick; blessing the dying; adorning the poor coffin with the garland of evergreen; comforting the mourners; traversing the wretched street, with her garments well tucked up, amid the children and the pigs, up ruinous stairways and dark entries, bringing food, clothing, and the Word of God; seeking to bring the youth into school and under government, — these were the cares and pleasures of her life. She read to the people from the Bible which she carried; she gave every one the right word; she herself handled the sharp knife of the surgeon, administering vaccination to all in her neighborhood. Allowing no poor and forlorn ones to pass unhelped, she cared even for the wandering gypsies. She gave them medical prescriptions and advice, as well as warning and admonition to rescue them from their sinful and ruinous habits. The secret of taking care of poor people, she said, was taking care of poor people's souls. She had an eye to the spiritual needs and dangers of the shepherds on the plain, the coast-watch on the shore, and the sailors on the seas. She founded a hundred libraries, to give these long-forgotten and greatly abandoned classes sound instruction and advice in things human and divine. For the shelterless people of the capital she sought warm lodgings, food, and clothes. In the watering-place, where she went for the baths, she helped form societies of men and women who felt called to be fathers and mothers to the poor. Genius, fidelity, self-sacrifice, and untiring Christian love marked the words and deeds of Elizabeth Fry, as she penetrated the depths of human woe. Bright example of what a weak woman can do in earnest imitation of Him who went about doing good! Remember, too, the care and sorrow in her own home, with its eleven children, its sick and dying ones, and its multiplied toils. She had, indeed, aid from her sisters and daughters, yet she was the leader. She made the helping of the poor a pleasure to her children. By her cheeriness, by showing confidence in her children, allowing them at as early an age as possible to act as responsible bestowers of alms, by impressing them by her words and acts that wealth is to be used and distributed

Her work for
forgotten
classes.

by its owners as stewards of God, she made the helping of the poor a pleasure to her sons and daughters. She was seen in the severest winter, when herself not strong, sitting in a wagon piled high with flannel garments, going to her poor Irish people, whither her children had preceded her to the glad distribution. She thus taught her family at home and abroad, in good and evil days, that it is so much more blessed to give than to receive.

Elizabeth Fry did enough privately, without letting her left hand know the deeds of her right hand, to excite thousands to gratitude and wonder over such a rare benefactress. But Leadership in noted reforms. she was not to be simply an angel of peace to a quiet neighborhood. Her love and fame were to go over the earth. She was to give a new life to one realm of human woe. In the beginning of this century, the prisons were almost everywhere places greatly neglected. In the prisoner people hardly saw the man, much less the Christ. Elizabeth Fry entered, upon February 16, 1813, the London Newgate Prison. She found there, in two halls and two rooms measuring a hundred and ninety square yards, three hundred women, tried and not tried, with no regard to their offenses, their former circumstances, or their age, all under the oversight of one man and his son. Acquaintances went in and out; many children were in the rooms, which served for cooking, washing, and sleeping. Their beds were the floor, with boards for their pillows. Some had hardly rags enough to cover their nakedness. With money, which they got by loud begging, they obtained gin to drink, sold within the very walls of the jail. Her ears were saluted with horrible oaths; everything was covered with dirt; the stench was intolerable. The chief warden of the prison, who never went into this depraved throng without a guard, wished to keep back Elizabeth Fry and her sister-in-law, Buxton, from entering, or at least to persuade them to lay aside their watches and purses. "I thank thee," said the former, "I am not afraid; I shall not lose anything." The one hundred and sixty unfortunates looked with amazement upon a visitor such as never was seen in the apartment before. Her lofty stature, the majesty and innocence of her countenance, laid a spell upon the rude women. They were touched by hearing her soft tones, as she said, "Ye appear very unhappy. Ye want clothes, would ye like if one should come and supply what is wanted?" "Yes; but who will trouble themselves for us?" "I am come hither with a wish to be useful to ye. If ye will sustain me, I hope to assist ye." She spoke then words of love and hope. When she was going away, they thronged around her: "Ah, you will not come back again?" "Yes, I will come," was the reply.

Her return to the prison was after four years of sore trial and home sorrow, which refined her spirit, and made it accept more completely the new duty. She let herself be locked up with the women in the jail, and with her clear voice and wonderful emphasis read to them Christ's parable

of the vineyard and of the eleventh-hour laborers. Some asked who Christ was; others thought that it was too late for them. Elizabeth now ^{Her organizing ability.} set up a school for the poor little children, asking the women to choose helpers for her. This won their mother hearts. They who had hitherto done nothing save beg, steal, quarrel, curse, sing, dance, wear men's clothes, and do everything that was shameful, listened to her whose good-will they recognized.

Elizabeth Fry soon joined with herself twelve other women of the Society of Friends in an "Association for the Improvement of the Female Convicts at Newgate." With their leader at their head, they stayed days at a time with the poor women, directing, instructing, and employing them. The occupation of their hands, the Bible which was impressed upon their hearts, and the discipline which was administered according to laws approved by the women themselves, and by overseers chosen by them, effected a most wholesome change in the prison. Women on the verge of the scaffold, or of transportation to Botany Bay, gave thanks to Elizabeth Fry. The prison overseer, the city courts, the ministry, and the Parliament were led to wonder at and recognize her work. Soon all England and half of Europe were asking advice of this heroine of a faith which worked by love. Her cares for convicts led her to attend to those discharged from prison, or transported beyond the sea. She spared neither strength, property, nor time. She cared little for luxuries when others lacked the barest necessities. She used every aid at hand. Her gentle, irresistible look and voice, which subdued the savage and the depraved, opened also the hearts and hands of relatives and of strangers.

^{Leads in work abroad.}

What she had done in London she gladly attempted throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, and also throughout France, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, and Denmark, in five extended journeys, laboring everywhere, in cottage or in palace, as she found entrance. The great of the world sought her acquaintance. She paid visits to kings, and received a visit from Frederick William Fourth of Prussia. She preferred to be with the poor and imprisoned, and sought the great only when she had "something good to say to them." She succeeded in alleviating sorrow in every land in which her presence or her name was known. People everywhere did reverence to the lofty form, wearing the long, plain Quaker dress, and the smooth, high, round cap, with the glossy hair worn short in front, the full round face, the fine features, and the lively, deep-set blue eyes. They beheld there an indescribable look of repose, simplicity, strength, and dignity; a bearing which, laying aside compliments and circumlocutions, was as kind and unassuming towards convicts as towards queens; in a word, a model of glorified Christian womanhood. Along a path leading through many joys and through more sufferings, Elizabeth Fry reached the goal. She went in the night of October 13, 1845, to the joy of her Lord. — H. V'M.

THE CHURCH'S REFORMED PROGRESS

IN AMERICA, ASIA, AFRICA, AND OCEANICA.

PERIOD FIFTH. COMPRISING CENTURIES XVII.-XIX. (OR FROM THE END OF THE REFORMATION ERA TO THE PRESENT TIME). DIVISIONS OF THE PERIOD: CENTURIES XVII., XVIII., THE CHURCH'S REFORMED PROGRESS THROUGH EXTENDED INSTRUCTION IN DOCTRINE AND THROUGH THE BUILDING UP OF DENOMINATIONS; CENTURY XIX., THE CHURCH'S REFORMED PROGRESS THROUGH ENLARGED EFFORT IN MISSIONS, CHARITIES, SCHOOLS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REFORMS, AND EVANGELICAL UNIONS.

LIFE I. WILLIAM BREWSTER.

A. D. 1574—A. D. 1644. CONGREGATIONAL, — AMERICA.

It is an old popular error in America that, while the first settlers in Virginia were persons of rather high social standing and culture, the New England colonists were somewhat low and underbred people. They have been described as sincere and pious in their way, but as belonging to the humbler class in society. The gentlemen colonists found homes in Virginia, with broader and more generous aspects of nature around them, suited to their finer natures; the bleak and narrow coast of Massachusetts received a comparatively poor and uncultured immigration.

The point would scarce be worth discussing, even if it were well taken. But opposite to this, the fact is that while the Plymouth colonists had what was far more valuable, and what the Southern planters too often lacked, namely, high principle, martyr heroism, and the fear of God, they were by no means lacking in the external advantages of good birth and liberal culture. As for Miles Standish, we know that

“He was a gentleman born, could trace his pedigree plainly
Back to Hugh Standish of Duxbury Hall, in Lancashire, England,
Who was the son of Ralph, and the grandson of Thurston de Standish.”

Another of the Mayflower's crew was Stephen Hopkins, who brought over with him two “servants,” and who set the “gentlemanly” example of fighting the first duel on record in America. Isaac Johnson, of the Salem colony, was husband of “the Lady Arabella,” daughter of the Earl of Lincoln. Not to mention other cases, the subject of the

present sketch, William Brewster, the "Elder of Plymouth," was by birth and education a gentleman. The old manor-house where he spent his early days, at Scrooby, on the Lincolnshire Flat, was a stately mansion in its time, and not unfrequently received distinguished visitors. It stood near the high road from London to York; royal personages had rested there for a night on their journey, and Cardinal Wolsey, when dismissed, under the displeasure of the king, to his own diocese in the north, lingered some weeks at the manor of Scrooby. The father of William Brewster held some post under the queen's government, and lived in easy circumstances; and the son was sent at so early an age to pursue his studies at Cambridge that (1584) in his twenty-first year we find him already entered upon active life and a public career in London. He was employed by William Davidson, "the excellent and unlucky secretary" of Queen Elizabeth, and accompanied him on a mission to the Netherlands at the time the queen was tantalizing the suffering province with her ungracious and grudging assistance.

Brewster, while at the university, had entered on that experience of religion which was the element in which his whole remaining life moved; and it was probably not more the evidence of marked talent than of early piety that led the devout Davidson to select him for his confidential private secretary. The official career of both was terminated in an abrupt and, as to the queen, most disgracefully characteristic manner. Anxious to get rid of her chronic terror, the Queen of Scots, and failing to procure her taking off by secret assassination, Elizabeth at length ordered secretary Davidson to bring her the death-warrant, which had been for some time ready, and with a jesting remark on her lips affixed her signature. The council, who thought the death of Mary Stuart necessary to the safety of the realm, persuaded Davidson to send off the warrant at once, promising to stand between him and all harm.

When the object on which Elizabeth's heart had been so long set was accomplished, and her fears laid to rest by the axe of the executioner, she flew into one of her artificial paroxysms of grief: raved and wept; disavowed the act she had ordered; threw Davidson into prison and ruined him with a crushing fine of ten thousand pounds. Brewster returned to his home in the north, where he found himself in the midst of congenial associations.

Whether arising from the relation of physical conditions to the development of the religious sentiment, if it be possible that such exists, or from personal and historic influences alone, it is at all events true that there have often been associated with certain localities peculiar tendencies in religion. The Puritanical sentiment in England had gathered itself around three or four central points. It had little footing in either the extreme north or the extreme south. Outside the great city of London it had found acceptance chiefly in the midland counties.

Its strength lay in the heart of the kingdom, between the Humber and the Thames; among a people of more unmixed Anglo-Saxon race than was found in the coast shires, and speaking the English language with far greater purity than the Kentish or Devon men on the Channel, or the Cumbrian and Yorkshire boors on the border. It was in Scrooby and the neighboring towns of Lancashire that the Puritan movement found its most vigorous impulse. Here was the cradle of that infant emigration which was cast out to perish in the wild North Sea, and then gained strength to seek, of itself, a home beyond the still wilder Atlantic.

Let us understand who these Puritans were; for they are often misunderstood. They were Protestants of the intensest type; Calvinists in faith, Presbyterians in principle, but devout and loving members of the Church of England. Brownism — separation from the church of their fathers — they abhorred, both name and thing. But they desired a perfected reformation, as many of the best members of the Anglican Church had done. They wanted a reasonable liberty in the use of indifferent things in worship, a relief for tender or perhaps morbid consciences in the matter of rings and robes and crosses. Could they but have had even moderate indulgence they would have wished to draw the sincere milk of the word from no other breasts than hers. They waited upon her altars on Sundays and festivals. But they asked the small privilege — small it might seem in itself, but precious to them — of meeting by themselves, from time to time, for the study of the Word and the worship of God in their own bare Puritanical fashion.

But this was more than Archbishop Whitgift and his like-minded clergy could allow them; they were watched, informed against, dogged by pursuivants, dragged before justices, fined, and thrown into prison for the crime of presuming to be more pious than their betters.

The first rendezvous and meeting-house of these "Protestant non-conformists" was the manor-house at Scrooby, whose spacious chambers gave them for a time sufficient accommodation. But new brethren flocked in, and they outgrew the dimensions of a single house. They were forced to colonize; a portion of them formed a second congregation at the neighboring town of Gainsboro'. Persecution had gradually opened their eyes, while it thrust them further and further out towards the border line of the establishment. At length they were driven across into actual separation; they organized churches of their own; elected their own officers, plain elders and deacons of the Scriptural type; and administered the ordinances with apostolic simplicity. Against their will they renounced the national church, and from Puritans became Brownists. Of the Scrooby church, William Brewster was made ruling elder, and — another name equally sacred to the history of religious liberty — John Robinson became teacher.

The church in
Brewster's
house.

By the year 1607, the bishops had made it so warm for them that they reconciled their minds to the sad alternative of exile. England was dear, but freedom to worship God was dearer; they looked about for an asylum. Just across the German Ocean, two days' sail or less distant, struggling for existence against nature and against man, lay the little confederation of Belgic provinces. Distracted by political and religious jealousies, cursed with an intolerant state-church establishment, and still facing, half in terror, half in fury, with sword unsheathed, the relentless and deadly hatred of Spain, the seven provinces offered the best port in the storm of religious persecution that beat upon the Puritans in their native land. With great difficulty and suffering two ship-loads of them made their escape and landed at Amsterdam; not long after they removed to Leyden.

Brewster in Holland.

It was an hour of great convulsions and great struggles in Europe. The twelve years' truce between Spain and her revolted provinces had just been signed; and the Netherlands were at this moment in the still centre of the cyclone, which was rapidly moving eastward to burst with such awful fury upon Germany. Henry the Fourth of France, their cool and selfish friend, had still three years more of broad political scheming and disgraceful private pleasures, before the dagger of Francis Ravallac should reach his heart. The Thirty Years' War, the last frantic attempt of the Romish powers to smother Protestantism in blood and ashes, was ready to break out; and "all Germany stood with hand on sword, frightened at the shaking of every leaf." Maurice of Nassau, with still and obstinate determination, was nursing his own plans of ambition or revenge. The bitter Arminian controversy was convulsing the Dutch churches. In the midst of the hurly-burly, this little colony of English exiles settled down almost unnoticed in the ancient city of Leyden. The snarling polemics who were battling for sublapsarian or supralapsarian Calvinism, the ambitious princes bent on their own private ends, even the wise and far-seeing statesmen of the day, might be excused for not perceiving that this feeble plant embodied the germs of a far mightier and more eventful revolution than any with which state or church had ever yet been called to grapple. They came with naked hands; having saved scarce anything from the harpy talons of the bishops' pursuivants. But they had among them education, professional knowledge, mechanical skill, and a thrift and industry that knew how to make a little go a great way. They betook themselves to their various possibilities. Brewster's university education now served him well as a means of earning bread for his eight children. He taught school; he published a Latin grammar and other books. He set up a printing office and sent out various works, polemical and practical. Some of them came to the knowledge of the crowned pedant who was making England contemptible and ridiculous in the eyes of Europe; and orders were sent to Sir Dudley Carleton to

effect his arrest and surrender for suitable punishment. Various things concurred to make the colonists uneasy in Holland; they had been twelve years there as exiles and strangers. At length they made up their minds to seek a home in the New World, where meddling despotism and usurping church authorities could not reach them. Companies had already been formed in England for the promotion of settlements in Virginia. The James River colony was still struggling with its early disasters. The Virginia company laid claim to all the coast from the Spanish possessions in Florida to the mouth of the Hudson. Another company, formed at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, procured a charter for the district lying north of the forty-first parallel, which Captain John Smith had in 1614 baptized "New England."

At length, after much unsatisfactory negotiation with the jealous and grasping "merchant adventurers," the Mayflower put out to sea from Plymouth harbor, and, passing Land's End, began forcing her way against the strong western gales across the Atlantic. She started with one hundred passengers; and on the 21st of November, 1620 (one death and one birth having occurred on the voyage), she dropped her anchor in the sheltered hook of Provincetown harbor.

The Mayflower.

A month later the exhausted and half starved colonists landed in a body on the wild and wintry solitude of Plymouth.

It was while coasting along the low shores of Cape Cod, and in the immediate prospect of setting up as a "civil body politic" by themselves, that this little company of tempest-tost exiles, in the cabin of their shattered bark, subscribed that immortal document, the first written compact the world ever saw for the organization of a self-governed community. The fourth name signed to this agreement is that of "Mr. William Brewster."

The venerable teaching elder, or pastor, of the church had been left behind at Leyden, unable from family and personal circumstances to embark with the colonists. He gave them his parting charge and benediction, and remained to care for the remnant of the flock, and to die five years after at Leyden. The only pastor and spiritual guide of the Pilgrim church was Brewster, who, being merely a ruling elder, was incompetent in the judgment of Robinson to administer church ordinances. They had been accustomed at Leyden to attend weekly on the Lord's Supper; but they now went for years without a sacrament. A feeble and, as it turned out, unprincipled Puritan minister named Lyford — one of the kind that still looked back to the flesh-pots of a state church establishment — had joined them; but the Pilgrims distrusted him, and refused to recognize his episcopal orders. They had by this time developed into thorough separatists, and had learned that the right to minister among the people must proceed from the people themselves. Elder Brewster therefore continued to be their sole

Brewster's great work.

religious teacher, preaching to them regularly on the Lord's day. While he expressly disclaimed the authority of an ordained teacher, he watched over them in respect to life and doctrine. He healed their dissensions, and encouraged them in their sore trials. When the first dreadful winter swept off half their little company, and nearly all the rest were prostrate from disease and starvation, he was one of the handful who went from house to house nursing the sick, comforting the dying, and carrying out the dead for burial. Wise, humble, hopeful, strong in faith, never losing courage even in the darkest of the many dark days that lowered on the suffering colony, he was the great type of that heroic and unquenchable religious sentiment that inspired and sustained the whole enterprise.

"In teaching he was very stirring, and moving the affections; also very plain and distinct in what he taught; by which he became the more profitable to the hearers. He had a singular good gift in prayer, both public and private, in ripping up the heart and conscience before God, in the humble confession of sin, and begging the mercies of God in Christ for the pardon thereof. He thought it were better for ministers to pray oftener, and divide their prayers, than to be long and tedious in the same," — in which sentiment we cordially concur.

So the elder of Plymouth labored and suffered on, thinking affliction with the people of God greater riches than the treasures of Egypt. Some of his puritanically baptized children, Jonathan, Love, Fear, Patience, Wrestling, came over to cheer his old age, and stand by his death-bed. His pilgrimage had been long and weary. Of his eighty years of life, nearly half had been spent in suffering and exile for conscience' sake. His release came on the 16th of April, 1644.¹ Giving up everything for Christ, storm-tost and buffeted by sea and land, stripped of his worldly goods and hunted like a felon, he saw the community he had done so much to found safely past the period of its feeble infancy, and entering on its irresistible march across the continent; and he died in a vigorous old age, calm and peaceful, amid the tears and benedictions of his fellow-citizens.

"To a youth of ease and affluence, familiar with ambassadors and statesmen, and not unknown to courts, succeeded a mature age of obscurity, deep study, and poverty. No human creature would have heard of him had his career ended with his official life. Two centuries and a half have passed away, and the name of the outlawed Puritan of Scrooby and Leyden is still familiar to millions of the English race."² — S. H.

¹ Although in the space between the end of Life I. and the beginning of Life II. more than half a century is comprised, no person of that period seems to claim a place when three Congregational leaders are called for out of colonial times. Cotton Mather (1662-1728) was "honorable," but "attained not unto the first three." John Eliot (1604-1690) deserves to be termed Leader, for his work in the field of Indian missions, but (since only one such can have place in this volume) he must yield to David Zeisberger, the Moravian. — H. M. M.

² *John of Barneveld*, ii. 289.

LIFE II. JONATHAN EDWARDS.

A. D. 1703—A. D. 1758. CONGREGATIONAL,—AMERICA.

AMERICA is indebted to New England for many of its greatest names. A few of these names belong to the colonial period of our history. Among these few, none is more conspicuous than that of Jonathan Edwards. Of all the religious thinkers of modern times, he is one of the best known on both sides of the Atlantic. He was born in a century fruitful in men of philosophical genius, but he was the peer of each of his contemporaries. One would have scarcely expected so great a man to rise in a British colony as yet but imperfectly developed. “Emigration,” said Dr. Horace Bushnell, “tends to barbarism.” In a colony which is still young, one looks for a vigorous but crude civilization. He is not surprised to find there men of unusual powers, but he expects to see those powers applied to trade, to politics, to husbandry, to the mechanical arts, rather than to scholarly reflection. Or if a leader of thought rise in a new people, it is presumed that he will exhaust his energies in resisting downward tendencies rather than in drawing men to lofty ranges of thought and to new explorations.

Colonial disadvantages.

The life of Edwards we shall find in some sense exceptional. There was indeed far less of “barbarism” in New England, when he was born, than the aphorism just quoted would suggest. Many a wide tract of wilderness was there, but also many a town and city, where the best culture of Great Britain found a congenial home. Nevertheless, the New England student of that day was required to pursue his studies at a distance from great libraries, and without contact with the most of the great minds of the period. He was obliged also, if he would make his influence felt upon the society by which he was surrounded, to expend much of his force upon questions of local and temporary interest. Jonathan Edwards must be studied in the shadow of the outward conditions of his life, as well as in the light of his natural genius and of the grace of God.

He was born in Windsor, Connecticut, October 5, 1703. Windsor, which has never risen above the rank of a village, was, at the date named, a settlement of farmers attracted to the valley of the Connecticut by its fertile soil. The pivotal point of the community was the church, which was presided over by a man of eminent abilities, Timothy Edwards, a graduate of Harvard, who had enjoyed the singular honor of receiving the two degrees of Bachelor and of Master of Arts in the same day, in testimony of his “extraordinary proficiency in learning.” The wife of this pastor was a daughter of Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, Massachusetts, one of the most cultured and influential clergymen in the land.

Edwards's parents.

Jonathan Edwards, therefore, had no mean parentage. He was an only son, but the brother of ten sisters, some of whom became the wives of distinguished men. As may be supposed, the influences which surrounded him in his boyhood were both pure and powerful. He was remarkably precocious. He blossomed long before most of the children of his age were in the bud. He began to study Latin under the direction of his father when he was six years of age, and became a proficient in that language whilst some of his companions were droning over their lessons in the spelling-book. At the same time other branches of study, equally advanced, were eagerly pursued. He very early showed a tendency to philosophical speculation. What is the soul, and what are its relations to the body? This was a question which interested him whilst other boys were feasting their imaginations with the "Arabian Nights." When he was ten years of age, one of his acquaintances advanced the idea that the soul is material, and remains with the body until the resurrection. Young Edwards at once wrote him a letter, which though without date or punctuation, or even division into sentences, runs the theory to the *reductio ad absurdum*. At twelve years of age he composed some remarkable papers upon questions in science. Just before he was thirteen he entered Yale College, and during the next year, his favorite recreation was the study of Locke's "Essay on the Human Understanding," in the reading of which, he afterward declared, he "had more satisfaction and pleasure than the most greedy miser in gathering up handfuls of silver and gold from some new-discovered treasure." Here was no common stuff out of which to make a student. The college was then in its infancy, and presented few of the advantages which as a great university it now holds forth, but the student was produced, nevertheless. Edwards was graduated in 1720, with the first honors of his class, and with a reputation for deportment as high as for scholarship.

His religious development. His religious development, indeed, was as early and as remarkable as his mental. When he was about seven years of age, one of those powerful revivals, so many of which are recorded in the history of New England, occurred in his father's parish. He was not at that time a stranger to serious questions as to the state of his soul, or to habits of devotion. But now he was filled with anxiety, and was "abundant in religious duties." He resorted to secret prayer five times a day. He spent much time with his companions in religious conversation. He united with some of his school-mates in the erection of a booth in a very secluded part of a swamp. This they made their oratory. Besides this, he had his favorite spots in the woods, to which he was accustomed to retire for solitary prayer and thought. "My affections," he says, "seemed to be lively and easily moved, and I seemed to be in my element when I engaged in religious duties." Yet in maturer days he looked with doubt upon this early religious experience, as

neither genuine nor deep. "I am ready to think many are deceived with such affections, and such a kind of delight as I then had in religion, and mistake it for grace." This shows the severe self-examination to which he accustomed himself from the first, yet perhaps his verdict in this case was warranted, since he goes on to record, "In the progress of time, my convictions and affections wore off, and I entirely lost all those affections and delights, and left off secret prayer, at least as to any constant preference of it, and returned like a dog to his vomit, and went on in the ways of sin." It is noteworthy, as showing the thoughtful turn of his mind, that even in these tender years of childhood, he revolted against "the doctrine of God's sovereignty, in choosing whom He would to eternal life, and rejecting whom He pleased." He was still a mere boy when this difficulty vanished, as he believed under the influences of the Holy Spirit. Then the character of God assumed to him a new aspect. Even the works of God seemed to his nature-loving eyes suffused by a new glory. It was like the change we often notice in connection with a summer sunset. The clouds which just now were black and frowning are lighted with splendor, not merely bathed with radiance, but seemingly transfigured, filled with rosy light from centre to surface. "The appearance of everything was altered; there seemed to be, as it were, a calm, sweet cast, or appearance of divine glory in almost everything. God's excellency, his wisdom, his purity and love, seemed to appear in everything: in the sun, moon, and stars, in the clouds and blue sky, in the grass, flowers, trees, in the water and all nature, which used greatly to fix my mind." All this shows the vividness of his imagination, as his previous doubts showed the unfolding of his reasoning faculties. The grace of God is doubtless to be recognized in these experiences, but as the workings of grace are individual, we get glimpses of the constitution of the soul through its spiritual experiences.

After graduation, he spent two years at Yale as resident, pursuing his theological studies. He was then licensed to preach. This ^{Begins to} was several months before he was nineteen. He next spent ^{preach.} about eight months in preaching to a small Presbyterian church in New York city. It was no small compliment to the young preacher that his hearers became so fascinated by his eloquence, and by the deep sincerity of his life, that he was urgently invited to become their pastor. He declined, however, and returned to Yale to accept a tutorship, the duties of which he discharged for two years. Whilst at New York, his habits of solitary thought continued. He used often to walk alone on the banks of the Hudson, looking sometimes into and through the sky: sometimes into and through his own heart; discovering God above and sin within. In the solitary hours at home, he studied himself again. As the result of these studies we have a series of seventy resolutions for the government of heart and life; which, afterward published, have be-

come a sacred heritage of the world. The spiritual and ethical character of these resolutions is of the most exalted type. The ideal of holiness which they disclose is poetically expressed by himself in these terms : "The soul of a true Christian, as I then wrote my meditations, appeared like such a little white flower as we see in the spring of the year, low and humble on the ground, opening its bosom to receive the pleasant beams of the sun's glory ; rejoicing, as it were, in a calm rapture ; diffusing around a sweet fragrantcy ; standing peacefully and lovingly in the midst of other flowers round about, all in like manner opening their bosoms to drink in the light of the sun."

His tutorship at Yale ended, he accepted an invitation to the pastorate in Northampton, Massachusetts, and was there ordained in February, 1727, as colleague of his grandfather, Solomon Stoddard. No pastorate in New England could have been more attractive to him. Northampton was a beautiful town, whose environing meadows, conforming themselves to the windings of the Connecticut River, were fertile enough for a modern Eden. If Edwards was tempted by his love of nature to frequent wanderings on the shore of the Hudson at New York, he must have been gratified by the carpeted floors of these meadows, furnished then, as now, by the lordly elms whose grace and dignity have made them famous. Standing beneath one of these elms, he could see the river at his feet, and the wooded heights of Mount Holyoke and of its sister hills before him, holding up the sapphire dome above ; whilst in place of the "little white flower" of the Hudson he would see in the waving grass the "lily of the field," reminding him at once of the Saviour's teaching and of the Father's care. Northampton was also the home of many cultured families. It was no place in which to find illustrations of the tendency of emigration to barbarism. As the grandson of an honored and justly celebrated pastor, Edwards was received with the more interest, and his great abilities made the more profound impression because of the favor with which he was regarded.

Before his ordination, he had already found in New Haven a young lady of great personal beauty, of superior mind, of unusual accomplishments, and of devoted piety ; towards whom his heart went out so warmly that he asked her to become his wife. Her name was Sarah Pierrepont. This is a part of his characteristic description of her, written on a blank leaf in 1723 : "They say there is a young lady in New Haven, who is loved of that Great Being who made and rules the world, and that there are certain seasons in which this Great Being, in some way or other invisible, comes to her and fills her mind with exceeding sweet delight. . . . She has a strange sweetness in her mind, and singular purity in her affections ; is most just and conscientious in all her conduct ; and you could not persuade her to do anything wrong or sinful, if you would give her all the world. . . . She

Marries Sarah
Pierrepont.

loves to be alone, walking in the fields and groves, and seems to have some one invisible always conversing with her." In this sketch, his description sets forth one of soul so kindred to his own, that both color and outline seem to be taken from his own heart. He was married to her in July, 1727, and found in her all that his hopes had promised, not only as a companion, but also as an assistant. After the fashion of the day she took upon herself the oversight of everything connected with his pecuniary expenditures, leaving him wholly unembarrassed in the prosecution of his professional work. She was the mother of eleven children — three sons and eight daughters — of whose names several occupy distinguished places in New England history.

Soon after his ordination, Edwards obtained a wide celebrity as a preacher. Many of his sermons were carefully written and somewhat closely read. He sometimes preached without manuscript; yet even then he seldom made a gesture, and the tones of his voice were not commanding. But his thought and language were so powerful, and his words were sometimes so surcharged with feeling, that eloquence has seldom accomplished more than when it poured from his lips. He was especially powerful in presenting the divine law, the sovereignty of God, the sinfulness of man, and justification by faith. By the prevailing theology of his day, a "law-work" in the conscience producing deep conviction of sin, and leading the sinner to cast himself upon the sovereign mercies of God, was one of the prominent ends of preaching. In promoting this "law-work," much use was made of the doctrine of future endless punishment. This doctrine was perhaps never more powerfully brought to bear than by Edwards in a sermon celebrated in His noted sermons. homiletic annals, upon the text, "Their foot shall slide in due time" (Deuteronomy xxxii. 35). This sermon was preached at Enfield, Connecticut. Tradition says that such was its effect that men grasped the railings of the pews as if about to sink into perdition. One says, "There was such a breathing of distress and weeping that the preacher was obliged to speak to the people and desire silence that he might be heard." It was on this or on some similar occasion, that a brother minister, sitting behind Edwards in the pulpit, appalled by his eloquence, grasped the coat of the preacher and cried, "Mr. Edwards! Mr. Edwards! Is not God merciful?"

Edwards had been the colleague of his grandfather about two years, when the latter died. The new burdens thus devolved upon the young pastor proved for a time too much for his strength; but a brief period of repose restored him, and he resumed his work with his wonted energy. His ministry was characterized by several revivals. During 1734 and 1735, in fact, a wave of religious interest swept over all New England. In Northampton its results were most beneficent. Edwards promoted the prevailing interest in all safe ways. His preaching at this time, as

always, was eminently doctrinal, and is described as "of the most pungent, heart-searching, and often terrific character." The whole community wore a new aspect, presenting the appearance of a moral renovation. In many places, however, where weaker minds were in control, extravagance and fanaticism prevailed. But as in the Reformation Luther, who had fed the fires of reform, broke out of the Wartburg to check the fanatics of Zwickau, so also Edwards, "terrific" at Northampton, became conservative among the radical revivalists abroad. He opposed erratic movements with all his might. He talked, wrote, and preached against them; striving to guard against a spurious religion as earnestly as he strove to promote that which was genuine. The permanent issue of the controversy was his work on "*The Religious Affections*," which, long after his day, was widely used as a standard test of piety.

For sixteen years, that is, until 1744, the ministry of Edwards was eminently successful. During this period he gave a number of sermons and treatises to the press, and began to be known and honored even across the sea. But now a change came, which, whilst it drew a shadow over his life, made that life more useful than ever. His fidelity to the truth was so great that he could bear nothing which seemed to compromise it. He was prudent; but his courage was equal to any emergency in which a selfish prudence would suggest taking counsel of fear. He discovered that immoral practices were prevailing among some of the young people of his congregation. Before he came to Northampton his grandfather Stoddard had "witnessed a far more degenerate time among his people than ever before. The young became addicted to habits of dissipation and licentiousness; family government too generally failed," etc. Great improvement took place under the preaching of Edwards; but when he saw the signs of a relapse toward old habits, he at once raised the alarm. He preached a most impressive sermon on the subject, and then, stating the facts which had come to his knowledge, requested an investigation. His request was complied with; but the investigation implicated so many belonging to influential families, and, justly or unjustly, cast suspicion upon so many more, that the discipline proposed wholly broke down, and in its fall Edwards's influence among the young was greatly weakened. A few years afterward, when a more serious difficulty arose, he was himself broken down by the storm.

This difficulty, like the other, grew out of his fearless conscientiousness. The church at Northampton had, during his grandfather's ministry, adopted the practice known as that of the "*Halfway Covenant*." This practice was then common in New England. To understand it we must turn a leaf of history. The Puritan colonies were distinguished, from their earliest period, by a peculiar union of church and state. The theory was not, as in England, that the state should rule the church, but

rather that the state should be the supporter of the church, and carry out its principles by legislation. It was a modified theocracy. Hence every citizen was required to contribute to the support of the church. Each township inclosed a parish, and was incorporated with a view to convenience in attending public worship and to the support of the ordinances of religion. A regular tax was imposed upon each resident of a township for the support of its minister and for the other expenses of the sanctuary, which was styled a "meeting-house," in true Puritan parlance. It was, moreover, enacted by the colony of Massachusetts Bay, in 1631, that "no man shall be admitted to the freedom of the body politic but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." In other words, no one should hold civil office, or vote at the ordinary elections, unless a church member. This provision was later adopted by the Connecticut colonies, and throughout Massachusetts, Maine, and New Hampshire. The result was an expedient by which persons not considering themselves Christians, in the higher sense of that term, might be counted as members of the church, and thus be enfranchised. This expedient, adopted by a synod in Massachusetts in 1662, was styled the Halfway Covenant. It was provided that all baptized persons might publicly "own the covenant" without entering into full communion, and thus be enrolled in the church, promising to pass the other half way on their spiritual regeneration. This filled the churches, but brought into them many persons of ungodly character. The standard of piety became thereby gradually but surely depressed. Stoddard had pressed the theory to a conclusion never designed by those who framed it. In 1704 he openly avowed the opinion that those who had taken the Halfway Covenant might be admitted to *full communion*; "that unconverted persons, considered as such, had a right, in the sight of God, or by his appointment, to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; that thereby it was their *duty* to come to that ordinance, though they knew they had no true goodness or evangelical holiness." This principle, though at first opposed, was finally adopted in Northampton, and by degrees spread through various parts of New England. Edwards, when first settled at Northampton, doubted the soundness of this principle, but did not then feel prepared to oppose it. As time passed on, his doubts increased, and finally settled into the conviction that the principle was wholly wrong. It was not his habit to conceal his convictions when they were fully matured. In the spring of 1749, it became generally known in his parish that he was opposed to a practice which, by its long continuance, had become dear to his parishioners. A great excitement followed. His dismissal was loudly demanded. He held his ground. He preached and published upon the subject. A minority of the people were convinced that he was right. The cogency of his arguments affected in his favor the minds of most spiritual Chris-

tians far and wide. But the local opposition was too strong for him. He was obliged to relinquish his pastorate. He preached a farewell sermon which for solemnity, pathos, and fidelity has rarely been equaled. He retired with dignity to private life, occasionally preaching for his former people, when they had no other supply, until even that became intolerable to the majority, and they formally voted that he should not again be permitted to enter the pulpit. The minority wished to form a new church and install him as pastor, but he magnanimously declined to favor their plan. Without income, with a large family, being then forty-six years of age, and considering a resettlement as pastor improbable, he cheerfully faced the future, looking upward. His friends rallied for his support. His wants became known in Scotland, where he was already revered for his talents and piety. His friends there sent him a liberal donation. Yet this did not save him from hardship and privation. Joseph Cook, in one of his Boston lectures of 1877, thus spoke of him at this period: —

"I know where in Massachusetts I can put my hand on little irregular scraps of brown paper, stitched together as note-books, and closely covered all over with Jonathan Edwards's handwriting. Why did he use such coarse material in his studies? Why was he within sight of starvation? Because he had opposed the Halfway Covenant. Why did that man need to accept from Scotland funds with which to maintain his family? Because he opposed the Halfway Covenant. Why did his wife and daughters make fans and sell them to buy bread? Because he opposed the Halfway Covenant; because he defended with vigor, as Whitefield did, the idea that a man should not be a minister unless converted, or a church member unless converted, and so set himself against the whole trend of this huge, turbid, hungry, haughty wave of secularization that had been rising since 1631. Of course, he was abandoned by the fashionable. Of course, his life was in some sense a martyrdom. His note-books were made from the refuse of brown paper left from the fans. There is nothing Massachusetts so little likes to be fanned with as those fans Jonathan Edwards's wife and daughters made and sold for bread."

To him, looking upward, the future soon opened; but not as man would have chosen to have it open. No large church was ready to give him a pulpit and a competent salary. But in 1751 a little congregation in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, invited Edwards to become its pastor. At the same time a missionary society in London offered to appoint him missionary to the Housatonic Indians, then residing at Stockbridge and in its vicinity. The field to which he was called was literally in the wilderness. There, as man would say, this mind of gigantic powers, this heart of exalted sanctification, were to be buried. The grandest theologian of New England was to spend his days in preaching to a handful of settlers, and in expounding the gospel through an interpreter

to an Indian tribe. Edwards did not hesitate. This was to him the call of Providence. He obeyed; and the world has long acknowledged that this "exile" was, under Providence, for the flowering of his genius, and for the consummation of that work which could have been done only in the solitudes. Edwards was led into the wilderness that he might thence send out his influences round the earth and down the centuries.

He remained in Stockbridge about six years. During those years he composed his treatises upon "The Freedom of the Will," "The Christian Doctrine of Original Sin," "The End for which God created the World," "The Nature of True Virtue," and "The History of Redemption." These works were not compilations of other men's thoughts; they were original. He had but few books. The room in which he wrote was a mere closet, opening out of one of the apartments of his dwelling. At each end of the closet were a few narrow shelves for his library. Between them was a window. Beside this window was a desk, leaving room only for the chair on which the writer sat. The house still stands, and visitors still resort to this closet and wonder over what came out of it. Of his outer life in Stockbridge there is little to record. Of his pastorate and his mission labors there is nothing to be written which might not have been written had he been but an ordinary man. Possibly an ordinary man would have effected more as merely pastor and missionary during these six years.

The great work of Edwards's life had already been accomplished when, in 1757, he was elected president of the College of New Jersey at Princeton. His predecessor was his own son-in-law, Aaron Burr, who died two days before Commencement, in 1757. The trustees met on Commencement day, and made choice of Edwards as his successor. His reply to their communication was not favorable. With great modesty, and with the simplicity of a boy, he gave his reasons for believing himself unfitted for the office. He had an "unhappy constitution, attended with flaccid solids, vapid, sizy, and scarce fluids, and a low tide of spirits." He was often afflicted with a "childish weakness and contemptibleness of speech, presence, and demeanor." He was dull and stiff in conversation, and thought he could not, in his dyspeptic moods, govern a college. His friends, however, thought otherwise. He yielded to their judgment, was dismissed from his pastorate in January, 1758, and immediately removed to Princeton. Very soon after his inauguration, in consequence of the prevalence of the small-pox, he adopted the protective measure of the day, was inoculated with the disease, recovered from the first effects of the inoculation, was then attacked by a secondary fever, and died March 22d, having resided in Princeton about nine weeks. His age was fifty-four years, five months, and seventeen days.

Notwithstanding his brief term of office, he has passed into history as President Edwards, in distinction from his son Jonathan, who became

famous as a theologian, and bears the title of "Dr. Edwards" among the students of theology.

Our limits will not permit us to describe in detail the great works of President Edwards, the titles of which have been already given. The most important of these works is the treatise on the Freedom of the Will. Its occasion was the pressure brought to bear upon Calvinism in England, by such writers as Dr. Samuel Clark and Dr. Whitby, who held that Calvinism logically denies human freedom. This objection was considered so formidable in Great Britain that to meet it some of the most spiritual of the Calvinists, such as Dr. Isaac Watts and Dr. Philip Doddridge, felt themselves obliged to affirm that the will is self-determined. President Edwards regarded this position as fatal to the doctrine of divine sovereignty, since it limited God's power; and to the doctrine of grace in conversion, since it made conversion dependent on the will of man. Interpreters vary as to the precise manner in which he met the difficulty. His radical principles may be stated as these: The faculty of the will is that power of the mind which renders it capable of choosing; the choice of the will is invariably determined by "that motive which as it stands in the view of the mind is the strongest," the connection between the greatest apparent good and the act of the will being fixed. God foreknows and can predetermine all human acts; the will in choosing is free,—that is, the mind in choosing has the physical ability or natural capacity to choose otherwise; its inability to choose in a holy manner is therefore *moral* only. "The thing wanting is not a being *able*, but a being *willing*." Out of these principles is evolved the conclusion that man is perfectly free and responsible, yet God is absolutely sovereign in his control. Whatever may be said in criticism of this work for or against it, no one denies that it moulded the thinking of many generations. President Edwards was the founder of what has, ever since his day, been distinguished as New England theology. His son, Dr. Edwards, and his pupils, Bellamy and Hopkins, doubtless modified his system; but they professed to get the materials with which they wrought largely out of his quarry. The estimate of him made by the profoundest thinkers abroad is, if possible, higher than that of the thinkers of his native land. Dugald Stewart spoke of him as equal "in logical acuteness and subtlety" to any writer of his day. It will be affirmed by none of his admirers that he reached the utmost limits of human philosophy; but if to take hold of the greatest questions of philosophy with a master hand and to hold them with the grasp of a giant, to draw with him along the track of his inquiry the strongest minds of his time, and to color all theology for a century is to win a title to greatness, that title belongs to him. Of his intercourse with such men as Whitefield and Brainerd, the missionary, we have said nothing. To his influence in promoting and

directing the wonderful revivals of his day we have only alluded. Hundreds of thousands have been assisted by him in the divine life. His work on the Religious Affections is now less used as a test of piety than it was a generation since. His theory of Original Sin is generally abandoned by theologians; indeed, it was never very widely adopted. But he will long be regarded as in many respects first among the religious thinkers of America. Very few have ever put so much into a mortal life as did he; very few have ever brought so much out of a half century of mortal existence. Always feeble in body, his soul had the wing and the eye of an eagle. We can only guess what it must be now that it has more than the wing and the eye of an angel. — Z. M. H.

LIFE III. SAMUEL HOPKINS, OF NEWPORT.

A. D. 1721—A. D. 1803. CONGREGATIONAL, — AMERICA.

It may justly be regarded as a characteristic fact, illustrating the all-subduing and subsidizing power of Christianity, that wherever it is intelligently and heartily received it lays under contribution the entire nature of its disciples; not their intellect alone, nor their sensibilities alone, but the whole force and potency of their being. The great Christian doctors of past ages were not mere closet theologians, but laborious and enthusiastic preachers, bold reformers, zealous philanthropists. The eminent Christian fathers, the mediæval divines, the modern scientific theologians, have been, many of them, as distinguished for active benevolence as for the successful prosecution of sacred lore; making good in the sphere of Christianity the old adage, *Abeunt studia in mores*.

The popular idea of a Christian polemic is a man of narrow mind and perverted sensibilities, who sets the propagation of his dogma above all human interests, and is quite willing to burn men here and damn them hereafter for presuming to dispute it. But a polemic, or Christian theologian, is usually a man of profound beliefs and intense loyalty to the truth, whose enthusiasm is kindled by the conviction that the acceptance of his dogma is essential to human happiness and welfare. He may be blinded by mere love of disputation or eagerness for victory; his zeal may degenerate into dark fanaticism; he may be led to employ most unhappy and mistaken methods; his views themselves may be utterly destitute of foundation in philosophy or in Scripture; but in the great majority of cases they have been maintained under the persuasion that they were intimately linked with *glory to God in the highest, with peace on earth, and with good-will to men*. Many are the instances in which a life of self-sacrificing benevolence has been the direct outgrowth of philosophical or theological systems elaborated in the closet.

Near the close of the fourteenth century, a gentleman resident in the household of the king of the Balearic Islands, a gay and dissipated courtier, was brought under the power of religious truth, and led to enter on a life of earnest piety. Abandoning his career of pleasure, he devoted himself to the service of God and humanity. The object on which his heart became fixed was the conversion of the Mohammedans; and he set about preparing for this work in the most deliberate and judicious manner. Wiser than many modern missionaries, he did not propose to throw himself among a people to whose language and manners he was an utter stranger, trusting to some vague and unpromised divine assistance for success. He proceeded, in the first place, to make himself familiar with the Arabic language and literature. He purchased in the Majorcan slave-market a Moorish captive, and adopted him as his teacher. With him he read and studied the Koran until he had thoroughly mastered its contents. His next step was to prepare an elaborate refutation of it; and then, satisfied that the Mollahs could teach him nothing concerning their own Scriptures that he did not already know, he began to build up what he regarded as an absolutely irrefragable demonstration of the truth of Christianity. This was the famous "*Ars Generalis*," by which Raimund Lull flattered himself that he should overcome all the possible resistance of unbelief; and backing up his logic with his life, he went single-handed, again and again, to the coast of Africa, preaching the gospel to the Moors, till he was at length called to receive the crown of martyrdom as the reward of his disinterested benevolence.

Not unlike Raimund Lull in his spirit of mystical devotion and practical philanthropy was the humble yet illustrious American divine of whom we are now to speak. Samuel Hopkins was born at Hopkins's early life. Waterbury, Connecticut, September 17, 1721, of a Puritan family in which, from the first immigration, the Scriptural names of Samuel, Stephen, Mark, etc., had been perpetuated. He graduated at Yale College in 1741. Hopkins had been educated in a home of simple piety, and imbued from the cradle with the principles of religion. While in college he passed through that religious crisis common to a large portion of those who have composed the evangelical ministry of America, in which he became impressed with a sense of sinfulness, and after a somewhat protracted period of struggle and doubt was brought to the experience of a clear and solid hope in Christ. He devoted himself to the ministry, and after graduating proceeded to Northampton, where he was domesticated in the house of President Edwards, and enjoyed the instructions and friendship of that preëminent theologian. It cannot be said, however, that his education, whether academical or theological, was of a high order. He passed only respectably through college at a time when the standard of scholarship in Yale College was not high, and his reading in theology was brief and interrupted. Of any

knowledge of rhetoric and elocution he was utterly destitute. He had a great and brawny frame, a monotonous voice, a dull and ponderous manner. With these qualifications he began his ministry in a little village of thirty families, called afterwards Great Barrington, and at a salary of less than one hundred and twenty dollars a year. Here he was ordained the 28th of December, 1743.

In this humble parish Mr. Hopkins continued for a quarter of a century; studying, preaching, elaborating his theology, even publishing tracts and sermons, but making almost no impression on the community. In a quarter of a century he received less than three persons a year to the church. The state of morals in the place was bad, and became worse. He had a wife and eight children, and his salary was no better than when he began. It was agreed on all hands that it was wise for him to resign his charge; and he was dismissed by a council in January, 1769.

This step proved happily introductory to his removal to the far more important and promising field of Newport, Rhode Island, where he was installed pastor of the First Congregational Church in April, 1770. Newport was at the time a flourishing little city of about ten thousand inhabitants, composed of Jews and Gentiles, politicians and people of fashion, Quakers and slave-dealers. It had a large mercantile marine, engaged chiefly in the African trade. Out of two hundred slave-ships bringing their human cargoes to the American continent, Newport fitted out more than a quarter; the merchant princes of the city had made their fortunes by this legalized man-stealing, and there was no respectable family in the place but owned at the least one slave. Christians, church officers, and ministers of the gospel were involved in the iniquity. The reasons for the traffic found in the demand for labor, especially in the Southern colonies, in the unceasing intertribal wars in Africa attended with the massacre of prisoners, in the missionary character of the enterprise, since it brought the blacks within the influence of Christianity, etc., reconciled the people of England and America in a body to the slave-trade, notwithstanding its admitted cruelties in every stage of the process. The most eminent Christian ministers held slaves, then and long after, without one twinge of conscience, or a suspicion of its inconsistency with the law of God or the principles of the gospel. The subject of this story, while residing at Great Barrington, had himself owned a slave; and his teacher in the faith, Jonathan Edwards, left one by will as a part of his "quick" or live stock, at a valuation of one hundred dollars.

Up to the time of Mr. Hopkins's removal to Newport hardly any public or influential protest had been made in any quarter against the slave-trade, and still less against the unrighteousness of slavery itself. The Quakers had indeed long before lifted up a feeble note of remonstrance against the former; and Anthony Benezet in Philadelphia, and Granville Sharp in England, had published tracts against it as early as 1769. In

1772 the latter secured, in the famous Somerset case, the memorable decision that "the moment a slave touches the sacred soil of Britain, that moment he is free."

It is not claimed for Samuel Hopkins that he was the first to protest in the name of humanity and religion against the traffic in human flesh. All honor to those kindly drab-coated enthusiasts in England and in America who had already exerted themselves to rouse the sentiment of Christendom against the inhuman business! His just praise is that with little or no knowledge of what had been or what was being attempted by others, single-handed and alone, in the midst of a community deeply involved in slavery and the slave-trade, he put everything at hazard, and stood forth as the champion of the oppressed and the pioneer of African evangelization. A very brief sketch of his labors in this direction is all our limits will allow. Slavery in the rural districts of New England was a mild and harmless institution. Little or no distinction of caste was known. The slave wrought by the side of his master in the field, ate with him at the same board, and worshiped and communed with him in the same sanctuary. None of the cruel incidents connected with that system of labor in the Southern colonies, such as the slave-coffe, the driver, or the auction block, were ever known in New England. It was in Newport that Hopkins first witnessed the traffic in men reduced to a system. He saw the miserable remnants of the "middle passage" disgorged from the fetid hold of the slaver, and the wild-eyed barbarians distributed among their various purchasers. He knew that ships fitted out by Christian men, by members of his own congregation, were carrying thousands of such victims to the far worse bondage of the rice and cotton plantations of the South. He lost no time in unburdening his conscience in the matter. It was in April, 1770, that he was installed pastor at Newport. Before the close of the year he stood up in his pulpit and, to the amazement of his hearers, denounced in unsparing terms the business of kidnaping, buying, or holding slaves. All the circumstances taken into consideration, it was the most heroic protest against this iniquity ever uttered. He ventured the loss of all things, of friends, of living, of home; but he reaped the reward of his fidelity.

The conscience of his hearers sided with the truth; his congregation stood by him, and he went deeper into the battle for humanity. He corresponded with Granville Sharp and other friends of the slave at home and abroad. He preached again and again on the subject. In 1776, he published his "Dialogue on the Slavery of the Africans." Its entire title is, "A Dialogue concerning the Slavery of the Africans, showing it to be the Duty and Interest of the American Colonies to emancipate all the African Slaves! Dedicated to the Honorable Continental Congress."

His title to fame
as a leader.

His antislavery
books.

The boldness, force, and thoroughness of this treatise, together with

its popular method, gave it great currency and influence. Nothing containing any material advance on the argument here presented has ever been brought forward in the whole course of this controversy. Every plea in favor of the system was anticipated and refuted: the pretense of necessity and of humanity, the arguments from Scripture and expediency, were all of them thoroughly exploded.

The colonists were just entering on their struggle with the mother country for their rights and liberties as British subjects. Dr. Hopkins exposed with great severity the monstrous inconsistency of rising up in arms against British oppression, and continuing to hold thousands of our fellow-men in a far more intolerable bondage. He predicted that the frown of God must rest on such hypocrisy; and when the cause of the colonists continued to be signally prospered he was obliged to resort to the explanation that it was due to God's blessing on the incipient measures they had already taken for the abolition of the slave-trade.

Directly after the establishment of American independence, a manumission society was established in the city of New York, of which several eminent patriots were members, among them Alexander Hamilton and John Jay; they published a large edition (for the times) of this pamphlet, and presented a copy to each member of Congress. Other emancipation societies were formed in different parts of the country; and while slavery strengthened itself in the Southern States, a strong sentiment began to be formed throughout the North in favor of its early and entire abrogation.

But this was only a part of the work which Dr. Hopkins undertook in behalf of the African race. His plans reached much beyond the emancipation of the slaves in this country. If not in ^{He projects Liberia.} advance of all others, yet contemporaneously with the foremost, and unprompted by any, he conceived the idea of extinguishing the slave-trade in its source by evangelizing the African continent, — the same idea that animated the labors of the heroic Livingstone in recent times. He began by securing the freedom of two native Africans of hopeful piety and promise, contributing for this object liberally from his own scanty means. He provided also for their education. As early as 1773 he succeeded in organizing a missionary and colonization society for the establishment of Christianity in Africa. His scheme was to achieve the freedom of as many blacks, especially native Africans, as possible, and to plant them at some point on the slave coast, with competent white men as their guides and helpers, until they should be sufficiently advanced to take their affairs entirely into their own hands; in short, it was precisely the germ from which the American Colonization Society was subsequently developed.

No great reform, any more than any great invention, is wrought out at a blow. There is that general, unconscious sympathy of mind with

mind, even across broad tracts of sea or land; there is that common and simultaneous advance of thought among enlightened nations that leads many persons to be occupied, unknown to each other, at the same time with the same problems. When at length brought into communication each adds something to the other; difficulties are got rid of; conditions necessary to success are supplied; the mass of material out of which the perfect contrivance must be wrought is gradually accumulated. Then there is lacking only the providential crisis and the organizing mind to select and combine the proper elements, and the plan is perfected. So it was that while Hopkins in Rhode Island was busy elaborating his scheme for introducing Christian civilization into Africa, Granville Sharp in England and Thornton in Virginia were working at the same problem.

The English philanthropist, aided by larger pecuniary resources and greater commercial facilities, was first in the field. The colony of Sierra Leone was established in 1787. Dr. Hopkins organized his society in 1773, collected funds, and had his first native missionaries in a course of training; but the country was poor and distracted with the convulsion of the Revolutionary War. Of the two candidates for the African mission who were sent to Princeton to be educated under Dr. Witherspoon, one, Bristol Yamma, died; the other, John Quamine, entering on board a privateer, both from motives of patriotism and in the hope of securing means to purchase the freedom of his wife, was slain in the first battle.

Dr. Hopkins further proved his faith by his works. In 1793 he published in two volumes his system of theology. For the copyright of this work, which had cost him ten years of labor, he received the sum of nine hundred dollars; he gave eight hundred of this on the instant in aid of the African mission, with other considerable sums at other times. But it was not till he had been nearly twenty years in his grave that his benevolent scheme for the evangelization of Africa was successfully carried out. On the 4th of January, 1826, a colony of Christian blacks, — all from Rhode Island, — led by two native Africans, Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia, who, under Dr. Hopkins's influence, had gained liberty and education, sailed for the Liberian colony.

The immediate impulse to the modern missionary work is also unquestionably due to him. The father of Samuel J. Mills, the first missionary sent by an American society to foreign shores, was the friend and correspondent of the Newport reformer. Young Mills's attention was first of all directed to a mission among the Africans; and his earliest public employment after entering the ministry was an agency for the American Colonization Society.

I close this sketch of Dr. Hopkins as a philanthropist with a single anecdote, which, though often published, will bear repetition. Being once on a visit at the house of his distinguished theological friend, Dr.

Leader in American foreign missions.

Bellamy, who then owned a slave, Hopkins pressed upon him the objections against that relation. Bellamy defended the system with the usual arguments. Hopkins refuted them, and then called on him to free his slave at once. Bellamy replied that the slave was a most faithful and judicious servant; that in the management of the farm he could be trusted with everything, and was so happy in his servitude that he would refuse his freedom were it offered him. "Will you consent to his liberation," inquired Hopkins, "if he really desires it?" "Undoubtedly," replied Bellamy, "I will." The slave was then at work in the field. "Call him," said Hopkins, "and let us try." The man came at the summons. "Have you a good master?" said Hopkins, addressing him. What could the man answer but "yes"? "Are you happy in your present condition?" How could the slave deny that he was? "Would you be more happy if you were free?" "Oh, yes, massa, me be much more happy." "You have your wish," said Bellamy; "from this moment you are free."

This consistent and enthusiastic zeal for humanity in the subject of the present sketch may be traced in him, as in other good men, to the influence of his religious character. Loving God, he could not fail to love his brother also; and he recognized a brother in every suffering fellow-being. But it may also be traced to the principles of his theology; and although we have, in this brief monograph, placed his philanthropy first in order, it is as the author of a theological system that he is far best known to the world. Multitudes who have not heard, unless, perhaps, in some page of fiction, that Dr. Hopkins was ever brought into contact with slavery have heard that he was the author of a theological system which taught that "men ought to be willing to be damned for the glory of God."

It is necessary, therefore, to expound in a few words the principles of his theology. He was a Calvinist, and, as he believed, ^{Hopkinsian the-} one of the few consistent and unflinching disciples of that ^{ology.} school. He held that all sin consists in selfishness, and all virtue in disinterested benevolence. Disinterested benevolence teaches us to love the whole more than a part, to love the aggregate of being more than an individual, even though that individual be ourself; and since God in his infinitude exceeds the whole mass of created being, whatever may tend to the glory of God is to be sought, no matter what results it may involve to rational or irrational creatures. The happiness of the greatest sum is to be desired by every virtuous being; and since the sum of happiness in God is greater than in all that is not God, if it were for God's happiness or glory that the entire human race should perish in hell forever, this ought to be joyfully acquiesced in by every loyal subject of God's government.

The happiness of any individual is, according to this doctrine, a matter

relatively of very little consequence. A race, a nation, a state, even a family, may have claims greatly transcending those of any one person; and for a single man to set his own happiness against the happiness of a greater mass of being would be of the essence of selfishness. Self-sacrifice, therefore, for the good of others is essentially virtuous. It was under the impulse of this principle that Dr. Hopkins stood forth at Newport alone, in the presence of a slave-holding and slave-trading community, and ventured the loss of every worldly interest to plead the cause of the friendless and oppressed. He was merely making his own welfare subordinate to that of a greater sum of being.

In no conscious inconsistency with this principle, Dr. Hopkins held another which might well have tended to chill his philanthropy by reconciling him to the existence of any and every form of evil. He held that this is the best possible among all supposable worlds, and has been ordained as such by the benevolence of God. Sin, though in itself an evil, is, relative to the entire system of the universe, good, — better than virtue would be in its place. God chose it and ordained it, because He saw that by means of sin He could produce a higher degree of happiness to being in general. The existence, therefore, of sin, with all that it involves of suffering here and of retribution hereafter, is on the whole well pleasing to God. There is then no absolute evil in the universe. Evil, as taught by Mr. Emerson, is "only good in the making;" an epigrammatic dictum which precisely expresses the spirit of Hopkins's theology on this point; or as earlier set forth by Alexander Pope,

"All discord 's harmony not understood, all partial evil universal good."

This tender-hearted, benevolent man had schooled his intellect to the conclusion that the infinite torment of untold millions in hell was to be rejoiced in, as a necessary means to the happiness of "being in general." Dr. Hopkins taught the doctrine of the absolute, unconditional decrees of God in its most rigid form, and carried it out to its last results with remorseless logic. The sins of all men, with all their circumstances, are expressly decreed by God as better and more pleasing to Him than virtue in their place; and yet men are absolutely free in sinning, and will be eternally punished for the very sins God so decreed. Dr. Hopkins was a rigid Calvinist, but regarded himself, together with Edwards, Belamy, and a few others, as a reformer and improver of the Calvinistic theology. Holding the doctrine of total depravity, he denied the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity. Teaching the election and salvation of only a select portion of the human race, he denied the dogma of a limited atonement. Maintaining that the unregenerate ought to use the means of grace in order to their conversion, he yet held that their using these means while unconverted is an aggravation of their guilt, and peculiarly hateful to God. He taught that every child of Adam is born

loaded with the guilt of damning sin, and yet that all sin consists in voluntary rebellion against God. Those modifications of the Calvinistic system which were introduced by Edwards, and elaborated by the Newport divine, are known by the name of "Hopkinsianism."

Dr. Hopkins died at Newport December 20, 1803, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. He was an indefatigable student, writer, and preacher to the last. Samuel Hopkins deserves to be held in lasting memory as a profound thinker, a great theological writer, a generous and self-sacrificing friend of mankind.—S. H.

LIFE IV. FRANCIS MAKEMIE.

A. D. ?—A. D. 1708. PRESBYTERIAN, — AMERICA.

To be the right man in the right place was the happy lot of Francis Makemie. He was needed by the Presbyterian families who had been settling in the American colonies during forty years. They were widely scattered through the provinces from Boston Bay to the Savannah River. They had their well-read Bibles, and their oft-sung psalms; their elders holding fast to the Westminster Confession of Faith; their healthful children, whose souls were girded with the catechism, and their morning and evening worship at home. But they were long without a ministry and a church.

In 1636, the Eagle Wing sailed from a harbor near Belfast, having on board about one hundred and forty Presbyterians. Their leaders were a band of Scots who had preached a few years in Ireland, been persecuted, and some of them deposed by a bishop for non-conformity. Two of them were the famous Robert Blair and John Livingstone, so eminent in the great revivals of their day. These pilgrims had built the little ship, thinking of Him who said to the Hebrews, "I bare you on eagles' wings." They now looked to New England for a refuge and field of labor. But the mid-sea storms drove them back. In Latin verses a bishop derided the return of "the Puritanical Argos without the golden fleece." These ministers recovered courage, privately taught in Irish neighborhoods, or openly preached in Scottish pulpits, and thus helped to rear a church which would send many of her sons hither as the founders of Presbyterianism in America. One of these was young Makemie, evidently a "Scotch-Irishman," born (we know not when) at Rathmelton in Donegal. A devout school-master led him to a personal belief in Christ. While a student at a university in Scotland, he must have listened often for the news from the battle-fields of faith. In 1669 he must have felt an interest in the organization of the presbyteries in Ireland. But there was no peace yet granted anywhere in Western Eu-

rope to men who thought as he did. It was the critical age of Presbyterianism. Its spirit of liberty was offensive to tyrants. Under the later Stuarts and Louis the Fourteenth were Covenanters and Huguenots who scarcely found a door of escape. Ship-loads of them were landed in America, where they were sold into servitude for a few years to pay for their passage. A few noblemen sent over freer bands. They built their cabins in the forests. There were small communities, but no strong colony of Presbyterians in this country. About 1680 one little flock, near Norfolk, Virginia, had its pastor, who was soon in his grave. A few ministers came and went, or died in lonely settlements. The efficient organizer had not yet come.

In 1680 the Irish presbytery of Laggan heard a renewed voice from America. It received a letter from Judge William Stevens, a member of Lord Baltimore's council, entreating that ministers be sent to Maryland and Virginia. The next year it licensed Francis Makemie, and probably ordained him soon afterwards as an evangelist for the distant

Reaches America, 1684.

colonies. He preached for a time in Barbadoes. About 1684 he began his labors on the continent. In the south-east corner of Maryland there were three or four "meeting-houses," and in the one at Snow Hill he organized a church. The brogue of his kindred was there. An elder and merchant, Adam Spence, had probably signed the Solemn League and Covenant in Scotland, and a descendant of his, reciting the traditions of a hundred and thirty years, thus writes of Makemie: "One generation has uttered his praises in the ears of its successor, and you may even yet hear their echo. Parents made his surname the Christian name of their children, until in the neighborhood of Snow Hill it has become a common one." This hill was his base of missionary operations.

Maryland was remarkably tolerant so long as Lord Baltimore governed it. Makemie was free to go wherever he might find the dispersed Presbyterians and organize churches. For six years he seems to have had no fixed home. He resided chiefly on horseback, in the cabins where he lodged, and in rude pulpits. Among his hearers at Rehoboth must have been Judge Stevens, whose letter had brought him into the far West. Meanwhile he had ventured down the peninsula into Virginia, whose laws and rulers were far from tolerant. Lord Berkeley was usually severe upon all dissenters from the established church of England. He admitted the pressing need of a clergy, sound, earnest, and pure, but he did not favor public schools, nor the press. Makemie found "a poor, desolate people," and comforted them. Beverly wrote thus: "Tis observed that those counties where the Presbyterians are produce very mean tobacco, and for that reason can't get an orthodox [Episcopal] minister to stay amongst them." Better tobacco elsewhere brought larger salaries. But there was a soil for spiritual harvests, and the unselfish Makemie sowed and reaped.

There were restraints upon his liberty of preaching. Relief came from two sources. One was his marriage with Naomi Anderson, who brought him a share in her father's wealth and extensive lands. He seems to have resided thenceforth at Accomac, Virginia. He had other dwellings, and had store-houses in which he preached. Of salaries to him we hear nothing. He was now a prosperous ship-merchant supporting himself as a missionary. He prepared and published a catechism, which led to a controversy with the erratic George Keith. His other source of relief was the Toleration Act (1689) of King William Third, the eminent champion of religious liberty. But it was ignored in Virginia for ten years. If Makemie caused its recognition, his noble service deserves high praise. The tradition is that he was arraigned for preaching, and that his powerful defense before the governor prompted the legislature to enter the act as a law of the province. He obtained his license as a dissenter, and two of his dwelling-houses were registered as the places of "his constant and ordinary preaching."

Labors for religious liberty.

He was gathering more flocks than he could feed. Failing to secure help from Boston he went to England in 1704, and there published "*A Plain and Loving Persuasion to the Inhabitants of Virginia and Maryland,*" in behalf of a higher civilization. It was full of good sense. He notes as "an unaccountable humour and singular to most rationals, that in those provinces no attempt was made to build up towns." He urges that towns would benefit lands and trade, give employment to the poor, and be of great advantage to religion, education, and the general welfare: they would not promote drunkenness, for "if there were towns, there would be stocks, and sots would be placed in them." A London society granted him funds to support two missionaries, but Ireland furnished the men. In 1705 John Hampton and George Macnish began their work in Maryland.

Philadelphia had become a new centre of Presbyterianism. In 1698 Jedediah Andrews, a native of Massachusetts, had there collected the elements of a church. He went on preaching tours in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. He and Makemie were kindred spirits. They knew how to advance the cause they loved. They saw the need of further organization in a presbytery. They wisely chose the place. In 1705 Talbot, an Episcopal clergyman, wrote, "There is a new meeting-house built for Andrews, and almost finished, which I am afraid will draw away great part of the church, if there be not the greatest care taken of it." We infer that the first presbytery in America met in that house. The first leaf of the records is lost, but the second page shows that the presbytery was sitting in October, 1706, with Makemie as moderator. In it were eight ministers, and the elders of a larger number of churches.

In 1707 Makemie and Hampton were in the city of New York, where

Lord Cornbury had no respect for the Act of Toleration. He forbade the use of the Dutch church to Makemie, whose friends secured him a private house. There he preached "in as public a manner as possible, with open doors." Hampton was granted a church by the people of Newtown, on Long Island. They were arrested. In the presence of Lord Cornbury, Makemie argued that the Toleration Act extended to all the colonies, and that the license taken in Virginia was good in New York. The answer was, "You are strolling preachers; you shall not spread your pernicious doctrines here." "As to our doctrines," said Makemie, with admirable dignity, "we have our confession of faith, which is known to the Christian world; and I challenge all the clergy of York to show us any false or pernicious doctrines therein. We are able to prove that its doctrinal articles agree with those of the Church of England." But all argument was in vain. The accused were sent to jail. After a long trial they were acquitted by a jury, four of whom were Huguenots. But Makemie was not released until he paid the costs, amounting to eighty-three pounds! This injustice was soon denounced by the legislature. Makemie preached in the French church, and narrowly escaped arrest in New Jersey. At Boston he published the sermon which had caused his imprisonment. One of the texts was, "We ought to obey God rather than men." The Latin motto meant that "Prayers and tears are the weapons of the church." Cornbury described him as a man of all trades. "He is a preacher, a doctor of physic, a merchant, an attorney, a counsellor-at-law, and, which is worst of all, a disturber of governments." The truth is, Makemie had genius and versatility of talent. In his valuable library there were many works on law, and by his study of them he contributed no little to religious freedom.

He died in 1708 at his own home. After the death of his two daughters he was without a descendant on earth. Much of his property went to churches which he had nurtured, and to the relief of the poor. The cause for which he had zealously labored was not widely extended in Virginia until the spirit of toleration grew stronger, new emigrants settled in the valleys, and the work of Samuel Blair (1740), and that "prince of preachers," Samuel Davies, was blessed with a wondrous revival. We cannot record any marked successes in the Carolinas, which he visited. But in that peninsula where he was most at home, we still find "Makemie's churches." They are his eulogy. If he had traveled up the Chesapeake Bay and the Susquehanna River to Harrisburg, thence to New York, and thence along the coast back to his house, he would have measured the triangle in which Presbyterianism was then flourishing. Within those limits the pioneer was soon followed by the educator and the theologian, for whom he had prepared the way with his zeal, diligence, wisdom, piety, and generous spirit.

In prison in New York city.

Makemie's title to fame.

Without sectarianism he loved his church. Dr. Sprague says, "His grand distinction is, that he was undoubtedly the first regular and thorough Presbyterian minister in this country; and he may justly be regarded as the father of the (American) Presbyterian Church."—W. M. B.

LIFE V. JONATHAN DICKINSON.

A. D. 1688—A. D. 1747. PRESBYTERIAN, — AMERICA.

THE year in which Makemie ceased from his labors there came into New Jersey a young man who fairly represents the New England element, the positive theology, the vigorous intellect, the independent thought, and the educational forces in the early Presbyterianism of America. He was Jonathan Dickinson, born in 1688, in Hatfield, Massachusetts, and reared in the traditions of his Puritan ancestors. At the age of eighteen he received the diploma of Yale College. He studied theology, and in 1708 went to Elizabeth, New Jersey, with a license to preach. There he married Joanna Melyen, and reared a large family. There he taught young men, sometimes practiced medicine, and ceased not to labor as a preacher and pastor until he died in the sixtieth year of his age.

He began his ministry as a Congregationalist, ordained in Connecticut, and favorable to the doctrine and polity of the Westminster Confession. He had charge of six churches in and near Elizabeth. They seem to have been independent in government. Nearly all the early churches of northern New Jersey and Long Island, except the Dutch, were colonies from New England. Dickinson was soon well known among them and their pastors. Most of them went with him into the Presbyterian Church. Thus were Scots, Irish, and Puritans harmoniously joined in brotherhood.

Ten years of growth had so enlarged the original presbytery that it was divided into four, and in 1716 a higher organization was effected under the name of the Synod of Philadelphia. "It was the opening germ of one of the goodliest growths of Christendom. Its branches, high and strong, reach now from ocean to ocean, scattering more and more the seeds of piety, learning, freedom, and social order." In 1717 Dickinson united with the presbytery of Philadelphia. He was subsequently included in the presbytery of New York, and no man did more to unify its various elements. In the synod he was a leader, highly esteemed for his manliness, spirituality, powerful mind, uncommon wisdom, and calm judgment. He was firm in his beliefs and convictions, yet forbearing amid differences of opinion. His pen was sometimes in controversy, his heart was always full of charity, and he seemed the

model of a Christian gentleman. In him were combined strong thought, warm devotion, and strict integrity. If the wicked trembled in his presence, it was because they respected his apostolic character and bearing. His varied talents met the needs of his place and time. His successes refuted the notion that a man of versatile powers and many employments cannot be efficient. He maintained honorably and quite contemporaneously the several characters of a profound theologian, a mighty preacher, a diligent pastor, an active and wise churchman, the warm advocate of missions and revivals, an eminent educator, and an earnest peace-maker.

The synod had its controversies. It saw the need of a constitution to preserve the unity of the church, of which it was the highest court. For this purpose the members generally were willing to adopt the Westminster standards, except the articles which related to the civil power. But the question rose, whether the synod should require a personal adoption of the Confession of Faith. Many were unwilling to subscribe to the very words of every doctrinal article. Dickinson led the opposition, but went to an extreme. He yielded to none in his thorough Calvinism; he zealously advocated the doctrines of the confession; yet he opposed all creeds drawn up by uninspired men, lest they should become a substitute for the Word of God. He thought that a general acknowledgment of a doctrinal system was a sufficient bond of union; that the church had her true defense against laxity and error in other means; that she should carefully examine candidates for the ministry in Scripture truth and piety, revive the ancient discipline, and diligently set forth the pure gospel; and that subscription would cause disunion. On this path he had few followers then, and he has none now, in the church that he loved. But his conciliatory spirit was manifest five months later, in 1729, when he served on the committee which reported the Adopting Act. It was harmoniously passed. It disclaimed all "authority of imposing our faith upon other men's consciences." It required every candidate and every minister to declare "his agreement in opinion with all the essential and necessary articles of said confession." It provided for the honest scruples and the mistakes which did not pertain to articles "essential and necessary in doctrine, worship, or government." Thus the constitution was adopted, and Dickinson cordially adhered to it.

He was not the man to cherish lax views upon any important subject. He had no sympathy with "the latitude-men" of England and Ireland, who held positions in the Presbyterian Church and drew their salaries, while they rejected her essential principles and met in coffee-houses to talk flippantly against all tests of personal faith and piety. The same mental disorder, in the guise of moderatism, was entering the church of Scotland. It took the vitality from Christian faith, regeneration and holy living. Personal religion melted away under its breath. The

epidemic threatened America. Dickinson was one of the most earnest men in resisting it. While pleading for the "Reasonableness of Christianity," in a timely volume, and for the right use of human reason in the study of divine revelation, he was strongly averse to rationalism. He would not divorce liberality from truth, for in holy truth genuine charity has her greatest power and highest joy.

In his scientific mind he carried a definite system of theology and church polity. He believed them to be thoroughly Scriptural. He defended them in published sermons, pamphlets, ^{Dickinson's} "Five Points," and small volumes, whose terse style and compact arguments adapted them to popular use. The best of them were republished in Edinburgh, Scotland, where Dr. John Erskine said that the British Isles had produced no writers on divinity, in the eighteenth century, equal to Dickinson and Jonathan Edwards. The little book, often reprinted, with the title of "Dickinson on the Five Points of Calvinism," is but one of several treatises on the subjects involved in that system of theology.

The ministers of that time did not forget the heathen at home. Since the days of John Eliot the gospel had won triumphs among the red men of the forests. In New England there were more than thirty Indian churches. Why not labor for the conversion and civilization of the Indians between the Hudson and the Delaware rivers? The tribes were friendly. Dickinson was one of three Presbyterian ministers who wrote in their behalf to the society in Scotland for propagating the gospel in foreign lands. The reply authorized them to employ missionaries. But where find the men? David Brainerd had been a shining light among his fellow-students at Yale College, during the great revival of 1741, and had lamented the coldness of certain teachers. For saying privately of a tutor, "He has no more grace than this chair," he was required to do more than freely admit the fault and promise to refrain from improper censures. He must make public confession of a private remark. This he refused to do, and he was expelled. The pleas of the Hartford ministers could not secure his restoration, but they directed his studies in theology and were active in his licensure to preach the gospel. In November, 1742, he was engaged for the work among the Indians. During his remaining five years of earthly life he labored among them as an apostle, often seeking rest and health in the house of Dickinson. His toils, travels, endurances, successes, and journal of spiritual experiences form one of the brightest chapters in missionary enterprise. His biography by Jonathan Edwards, to whose daughter he was betrothed, was read in the British Isles, and it contributed greatly to the Christ-like spirit which ushered in the grand era of Protestant missions throughout the world.

Three schools added powerfully to the extension and vigor of early Presbyterianism in this country. In his academy at New London, Ches-

ter County, Pennsylvania, the accomplished scholar, Dr. Francis Alison, won high distinction as an educator. In the wilds of Neshaminy, about twenty miles north of Philadelphia, William Tennent built "that eagle's nest, the Log College." Out of it went those two famous Samuels, Blair and Finley, to establish other schools; and those ardent preachers, the younger

"Tennents, four worthies of immortal fame,
Brothers in office, birth, and heart, and name."

At Elizabeth was Dickinson, instructing young men in the classics, natural sciences, and theology. The expulsion of David Brainerd from Yale caused a general indignation, which was favorable to his enterprise. The Rev. Aaron Burr and other Presbyterian ministers felt convinced that they must have a college for their own denomination. In 1746 a charter was obtained for "Nassau Hall," the original of the College of New Jersey. It was Dickinson's school, endowed with new privileges. He was its first president. He lived but one year longer to impress his character upon it. Then it wandered, like Israel's ark, until it rested permanently at Princeton. To be the founder of such an institution, with its national glory, is an enduring honor.

The great revival which moved the whole realm of Protestantism was an unspeakable blessing to the American colonies. It brought out the vitality of religion. It gave fresh life to all churches. To them it added thousands of converts. It gave evangelical Christianity the force of a common law. It prepared the people for the Christian independence in which they afterwards asserted and won their free nationality. But with the good results there were some evils. A strife arose concerning means and methods. Whitefield and the Tennents employed a few measures which history has not justified. The eminence of Jonathan Edwards in promoting the revival gave him a public right to protest against undue excitements. He sent forth his book on the "Religious Affections" to correct those emotional fervors which came not from the Spirit of God. Thus a controversy ran through the whole land. It was not limited to any one body of Christians. Certain ministers preached against the revival; others replied with burning censures upon Meroz and all who came not up, in their way, to the work of the Lord. Thus fell the hot rebukes of Gilbert Tennent in his famous Nottingham sermon.

Dickinson kept his soul in patience and moderation. He agreed with Edwards, and also gave welcome to Whitefield, for both were "laborers together with God." It pained him to see two parties in the synod, divided upon questions which calmer times would settle. They differed mainly in regard to revival measures, the classical education and examination of candidates for the gospel ministry, the right of one minister to

preach uninvited in the parish of another, and the constitutional authority of the synod. The new side, or the New Brunswick men, among whom were the Tennents, asserted too extremely their freedom. The old side, in which were Andrews and Alison, was charged with an anti-revival spirit. The New York presbytery took conciliatory ground; in it Dickinson stood as a peace-maker. But di-^{A leader of union.}vision seemed inevitable. In 1741 the new side withdrew from the synod. Dickinson still labored earnestly to restore harmony. He and his presbytery remained in the synod of Philadelphia until 1745, when they withdrew in a fraternal spirit, joined the new side, and with them formed the synod of New York on the basis of the Adopting Act. They were certainly true Presbyterians. The extreme leaders of the new side virtually admitted some of their previous mistakes. Their zeal became purified, their charity expanded, their extreme views modified, and they were as earnest as Dickinson for a thorough education of ministers. When the venerable founder of the Log College was in his grave (William Tennent died in 1746), they brought its spiritual coals to glow afresh on the new hearthstone of Nassau Hall.

During the seventeen years of separation the old synod declined from twenty-six ministers to twenty-two; the new synod increased from about twenty to seventy ministers. But the proper spirit was not rivalry: it was reunion. For this Dickinson was earnest so long as he lived. No one had more friends in both bodies. No one did more to loosen the bonds of past controversies, and fix the minds of men upon the vital principles of Presbyterianism. Each side discovered the merits of the other to be far greater than its mistakes. Gilbert Tennent preached no more censorious and fiery Nottingham sermons. Robert Cross no longer was regarded as unfriendly to revivals. The two men had parted as battling cavaliers in the disunion: they came to be neighbors when Tennent was a pastor in the city of brotherly love. "Its civilization captured and tamed the lion." When the old synod sent Dr. Alison and others to herd the scattered flocks in Virginia and North Carolina, they were urged to promote peace and unity, to avoid all party spirit, "and to treat every minister of the gospel from the presbytery of New York, of the like principles and peaceful temper, in a brotherly manner; as we desire to promote true religion, and not party designs." Thus time, grace, good sense, and work in new fields were effecting wonders. Controversies about measures must die; it is the greater truth that lives.

Both synods were moving towards the path of reunion which Dickinson was earnest to make straight, when he was called to the eternal home (upon the 7th of October, 1747). Nearly half of the ministers of 1741 were in heaven; others were near its gate. In 1755 the old side proposed that the two bodies should unite "as though they had never been concerned with one another before, nor had any differences; which

is the truth as to a great part of both synods." And thus they did unite in 1758, in Gilbert Tennent's church, and with him as moderator, joining their two names in one, and combining their forces to advance the kingdom of Christ. One of the last acts of these fathers in this joyful session was the appointment of a day when all the churches of the reunited synod should pray for God's blessing on the armies which were to decide whether their land was to be an English or a French domain. It was decided the next year by the British conquest of the Canadas. Men have thought that a divine Providence then assigned to Protestantism and to Christian liberty the best part of the New World. Men now think that if it shall be thus retained, there must be more union in heart and effort among all the Christians who value freedom, law, literature, the public schools, and the Protestant churches. — W. M. B.

LIFE VI. JOHN WITHERSPOON.

A. D. 1722—A. D. 1794. PRESBYTERIAN, — AMERICA.

THIS star was shining in a distant sky when first seen by an American. That prince of preachers, Samuel Davies, was appealing to the British churches in behalf of the college at Princeton, New Jersey. He was seeking golden sovereigns and not a president. In 1754, when resting at a Scottish town, he made this entry in his journal: "The nobility and gentry, who are lay-elders, are generally high-flyers; and have encroached upon the rights of the people, especially as to the choice of their own ministers. . . . There is a piece published under the title of the Ecclesiastical Characteristics, ascribed to one Mr. Weatherspoon, a young minister. It is a burlesque upon the high-flyers under the name of *moderate men*; and I think the humour is nothing inferior to Dean Swift."

In 1759, Davies, whose eleven years of brilliant successes began the flourishing era of Presbyterianism in Virginia, removed to Princeton as the fourth president of the college. He lived to preside over it but six months. The chair was ably filled by Dr. Samuel Finley until his death in 1766, when the trustees looked to Old Scotia for a successor.

John Witherspoon was born in 1722, at Yester, about fourteen miles east of Edinburgh. His father was an accurate scholar and influential pastor. His mother traced her lineage, through an unbroken succession of ministers, to John Knox. She had much of his spirit, firmness of opinion, and love of fatherland. She takes rank with the devoted mothers of Timothy, Augustine, Anselm, and the Wesleys. It was largely through her faithfulness that her son John, probably the youngest child, became a steadfast Christian in his youth. In the public school of Haddington, he evinced a powerful grasp of mind.

Descended from
John Knox.

At the age of fourteen he entered the University of Edinburgh, and in his twenty-first year he was licensed to preach the gospel. There he was the associate of William Robertson, the later historian and leader of moderatism; also of John Erskine, the later theologian who heard speeches in the general assembly of 1796 against foreign missions, and rose indignantly, saying, "Moderator, rax [reach] me that Bible," and then proved that the gospel was intended to be sent to all nations.

With an independence of thought and action he declined to be the assistant of his honored father, and away in the west of Scotland he settled in the large parish of Beith. He married Elizabeth Montgomery, of Ayrshire. In a time of great excitement he went to Falkirk to see the battle there, in 1746, when the young pretender, Charles Stuart, won a victory over the royal army, and hoped to gain the British throne, which his grandfather, James Second, had lost by an unpatriotic devotion to Rome. The young pastor was captured by the rebels and held in prison for two weeks. He must have remembered what his ancestors, such as John Welsh and his brave wife (the daughter of Knox), had endured from the Stuarts. When released he duly appreciated the civil and religious liberties established by William Third, maintained by his royal successors, and still guaranteed by the utter defeat of the rebels.

But he saw another danger to religious liberty. In its rankness it was growing into an extreme liberality of doctrine. It was reducing personal faith to mere opinion. Too many pastors, and even professors of divinity, were not pronounced in their views; they glossed their laxity with the name of moderation. They were moderate in their theology, their preaching, their piety, and their efforts to check the skepticism of David Hume. Pleas for orthodoxy were ridiculed. To meet all this Witherspoon published anonymously, in 1753, the "Ecclesiastical Characteristics, or the Arcana of Church Polity." It made a great sensation. It was universally popular. In ten years it reached a fifth edition. Men were as eager to find out the name of this Pascal of the north, as more admiring Scots of the next century were to identify the author of Waverley.

While suspicion was still clutching at him he was invited in 1757 to a church in Paisley. But the presbytery objected to his settlement, although his recent essay on justification gave him high rank as a practical theologian. The people brought their complaint to the synod. He supported them. Without denying or admitting the authorship of the scathing and irrepressible book, he employed his fine humor in showing that the writer of it was doing good service to truth and moral honesty, and his masterly speech forced his opposers either to confess their laxity, or avow their soundness in doctrine. They yielded, placed the call in his hands, and installed him at Paisley. The next year he was chosen moderator of the synod. In due time he put forth his "Serious Apology"

for the offensive book, avowing the authorship and still defending it. Assailing the evils of his age, he raised another commotion. When the "Tragedy of Douglas," written by Rev. John Home, was filling the Edinburgh theatre, he sent forth his exposure of the "Nature and Effects of the Stage." One result was that the clerical tragedian retired from the ministry and devoted himself to literature.

In his fidelity to the pastoral office Witherspoon laid bare a reported evil in his own parish. Certain young men of the socially higher ranks, thinking that infidelity was the newest fashion, imitated the London clubs. On the night preceding an administration of the Lord's Supper in the church, they met and turned their festivity into a profane travesty of that sacred ordinance. A rumor of it soon spread through the town. The people talked with abhorrence of "the mock sacrament." Perhaps the reports made to Witherspoon were too highly colored. Laudably zealous for good order, moral decency, and the honor of the Redeemer, and sufficiently prudent to wait a fortnight, he preached a sermon on "Sinners sitting in the Seat of the Scornful." The pointed allusions were clearly understood. His discourse went out from the printer's hand in an Address to the Public, and with the names of the young men accused. They prosecuted him and won the case, subjecting him to a fine and to expenses which greatly embarrassed him until he was relieved by generous friends. Aiming to act rightly he had incautiously stepped into a costly school wherein he was taught a lesson against rashness.

There were in him practical abilities, scholarship, fortitude, and increasing greatness of soul which all thoughtful and magnanimous minds recognized. The University of Aberdeen in 1764 conferred on him the degree of doctor of divinity. Among his publications of that year was his celebrated Treatise on Regeneration. It broadened his reputation. He soon had calls from a church in Dundee, and two foreign churches in Dublin and in Rotterdam. He declined them all.

Scarcely were his parishioners assured of retaining him, when a voice across the ocean reached his ear. The College of New Jersey had elected him to fill the chair made vacant by the death of Dr. Finley. The patriotic Richard Stockton, Esq., of Princeton, who was then in London, visited him and thus wrote in March, 1767: "It is a matter absolutely certain, that if I had not gone in person to Scotland, Dr. Witherspoon would not have had a serious thought of accepting the office, because neither he, nor any of his friends with whom he would have consulted, had any tolerable idea of the place to which he was invited, had no adequate notions of the importance of the College of New Jersey, and, more than all, would have been entirely discouraged of thinking of an acceptance, by an artful, plausible, yet wickedly contrived letter sent from Philadelphia to a gentleman of Edinburgh. . . . I certainly have succeeded in removing al.

Chosen by
Princeton.

the objections which have originated in his own mind. Those of Mrs. Witherspoon I could not remove, because she would not give me an opportunity of conversing with her, although I went from Edinburgh to Paisley, fifty miles, on purpose." Still further he wrote quite amusingly of his earnest diplomacy: "I have taken most effectual measures to make her refusal very troublesome to her. I have engaged all the eminent clergymen in Edinburgh and Glasgow to attack her in her intrenchments, and they are determined to take her by storm, if nothing else will do. This has a favorable aspect, and is, at the same time, surprising, because they were, upon my first coming, so unwilling to part with her husband, but the light in which I have set the affairs of the college has made them perfect proselytes."

Nevertheless the good woman held her fortress against this array of clerical forces. She did not yet surrender. The doctor's admirable affection overcame his usually indomitable will. The college trustees despaired of conquest. They chose the Rev. Samuel Blair as president. But while he was considering the acceptance of such an honorable position, he learned that Mrs. Witherspoon had quite repented of her triumph, and attained the heroism to leave her native land for a distant home. Perhaps her heart had been attached to the graves of five children; perhaps she now looked forward to the welfare of the remaining three sons and two daughters. She was just the woman America needed. With a magnanimity that touched the doctor's heart, Mr. Blair cleared the way for the reelection of Witherspoon, who accepted the office. Twenty-four years of pastoral faithfulness entitled him to publish his farewell sermon on "Ministerial Fidelity in Declaring the whole Counsel of God."

Thus he "relinquished home, relatives, friends, and the advantages and comforts of advanced cultured surroundings, to come over to this new land, where Presbyterianism was yet in its infancy, and institutions of learning were struggling for support. He came to accept the presidency of Princeton College and to promote the cause of learning and religion here. Such was his purpose alone, but unconsciously to him, the Almighty intended to enlarge the sphere of his usefulness, and make him a founder of the republic."

On an evening in May, 1768, all Princeton was in a fervor of delight. Nassau Hall was brilliantly illuminated. The residents were not more happy than were the people who rode in from the surrounding farms and villages. If a stranger got out of the stage-coach to look about & wonder, it was enough to say that Dr. Witherspoon had arrived.¹ The whole province shared in the joy. Already had he begun his work, for in London he had collected some funds and three hundred choice books for the college. At his inauguration, in the next August, he delivered

¹ In 1868, Dr. James McCosh, as genuine a Scot, was honored with a similar welcome to the same presidency.

an address in Latin on the "Union of Piety and Science." To promote that union was his steady effort during the twenty-six years of his presidency. He looked upon every student as having, not only an intellect, but an immortal soul. He trained young men, not only to advance truth, but to serve their country and live for God. He was an educator of all the human powers.

Ever willing to render praise for all the wise measures of his predecessors, he was earnest for progress. He made no violent changes in the college. He sought improvement rather than innovation. He quietly introduced such measures as would more fully qualify his pupils for active life. The American colleges seem to be indebted largely to him for the method of teaching by lectures. With such a wide range of subjects, he could hardly be a specialist in his very profitable lectures on rhetoric, taste and criticism, moral philosophy, history, and divinity. Advantages were offered for the study of the Hebrew and French languages, in which he was an adept. When he assumed, in addition to his other duties, the chair of theology, his salary was increased to four hundred pounds. He visited New England, and the churches, particularly those of Boston, contributed about one thousand pounds to the college. Other funds were donated by the southern colonies.

To these various engagements were added the duties of a pastorate. The Presbyterian church of Princeton was under his care for about twenty-six years. It was blessed with a remarkable revival of religion, in which many students were converted and prepared by divine grace for the coming "times that tried men's souls." It is worthy of notice that great spiritual revivals preceded the great political Revolution.

The mighty movement of that period did not spring from one creed alone, nor one form of church polity. No writer can justly claim for any religious denomination a monopoly of patriotism. Let all lovers of freedom be duly honored. The historian, George Bancroft, affirms that the first voice publicly raised for the complete independence of the colonies came from the Presbyterians. As soon as they heard of the Puritan blood shed at Lexington, they were willing to make their resistance a revolt. The month of May, 1775, was remarkable for their assemblies and utterances. Those who met in the counties of Westmoreland, Pennsylvania, and Mecklenburg, North Carolina, committed themselves fearlessly to the cause of liberty. That same month the synod — then the highest court of their church — sent forth a pastoral letter drawn up by a committee, of which Drs. Witherspoon and Rodgers were leading members. It was wisely adapted to "this important crisis." It brought the practical truths of the gospel to remembrance. It urged loyalty to the king, but the union of the colonies; mutual esteem and charity among all religious denominations; vigilance in social government and morals; a careful maintenance of the rights of

conscience; humanity and mercy, especially among all who should be called into the field of war. "That man will fight most bravely who never fights till it is necessary, and who ceases to fight as soon as the necessity is over." Thus the synod stood abreast of the Continental Congress in the advance to a higher freedom. At that date even Washington "abhorred the idea of independence." But the greatest men grew rapidly in those days.

During the long struggle Witherspoon said, "When I first came into this country, nothing was farther from my expectation than the contest that has now taken place between Great Britain and the colonies." In his view revolution was a last resort, but not then a repulsive crime. He was of a blood that loved freedom. His heart beat warm for humanity. Against the "divine right of kings" he placed the diviner rights of honest people and of enlightened conscience. In an age when republics were limited to Switzerland and the Netherlands, he dared to be a republican. He valued all the relations of a common language and blood, a common religion and life, between the old country and the new. But these only made the British injustice more glaring and the oppression more intolerable. With his strong convictions of right, "he soon comprehended the nature of the dispute and its blessings, and not only ardently espoused the cause of the colonies, but early believed and urged that they should unite for defense and declare for independence. Naturally he found himself an advocate of the rights of the colonies, and the people of his adopted State, seeing in him the qualities necessary for the times, called him for a leader."

He was not a politician in any other sense than that of a high-toned, honest, unselfish, Christian statesman. The first time that he ever carried a political subject into the pulpit was May 17, 1776, the day appointed for a public fast by the Continental Congress. He then preached a sermon which helped to make the history of a critical period. It was upon the "Dominion of Providence over the Passions of Men." All patriots saw marvelous wisdom in it, for therein he affirmed that the cause in which America was then in arms was the cause of justice, of liberty, and of human nature, and earnestly exhorted the people to union, firmness and patience, industry and economy. Among the gems that sparkle in it are these: "He is the best friend of American liberty who is most sincere and active in promoting true and undefiled religion. An avowed enemy to God I do not scruple to call an enemy to his country. I do not wish you to oppose any man's religion, but everybody's wickedness. The cause is sacred, and its champions should be holy."

In this country the sermon was received from the press with marked approval and great effect. Its author was known to be "as high a son of liberty as any in America." It was republished in Glasgow, and carefully guarded with notes by editors who wished to expose the preacher

as a traitor, rebel, and "a chief promoter of the American revolt." They wrote that "the scheme of independence, it is said, was first planned by him, and success to the independent States of America, we are told, was a favorite toast at the doctor's table when entertaining a number of delegates before it was resolved on by the Congress." They were glad to publish rumors that might disgrace him in Scotland; we are glad that the rumors grew from the simple fact of his being one of the most advanced patriots. Heroes like him took their place at the front, as if responding to the call of the hour:—

"God give us men! A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands:
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor; men who will not lie."

In a few days he was elected a delegate to the Congress of New Jersey, at Burlington. In it he sat but ten days, yet this was His work in Congress. time enough for him to take a zealous part in the expulsion of the royal governor as an enemy to the country, in ending the rule of King George Third over that province, and in the formation of a new government. It was not a time to discuss the right, but to achieve the fact, of a revolution. If he did not assist in framing the original constitution of that State, "he was a master spirit in giving it an impetus, and in securing the independence of the colony."

This provincial body sent Dr. Witherspoon, Richard Stockton, and three other delegates to the Continental Congress, then in session at Philadelphia. They took their seats during the warm debate on the question of American independence. They found that many members doubted whether any delegates were empowered to vote for such an extreme measure. But these five Jerseymen had been fully authorized to assume this moral courage. They were already accomplished revolutionists. On July 2d, Witherspoon insisted that the country was not only ripe for independence, but was in danger of decay for the want of it. In one of his eloquent speeches he said, "For my own part, of property I have some, of reputation more; that reputation is staked, that property is pledged, on the issue of this contest. And although these gray hairs must soon descend into the sepulchre, I would infinitely rather that they should descend thither by the hand of the executioner than desert at this crisis the sacred cause of my country."

Among the signatures to the Declaration of Independence is the name of one minister of the gospel. It is that of John Witherspoon, the only clergyman in the general Congress. The weight of his opinions, expressed by voice and pen, was acknowledged in every session during four years. Near the close of 1779 he resigned his seat, lest its reten-

tion should involve him in debts which he could never cancel, but chiefly because the college at Princeton was in desolation.

The students very generally had enlisted in the war. The college had been captured and held by British troops as a barrack. Washington had regained it, and made it the temporary home and hospital of patriotic soldiers. The library and philosophical apparatus, which Dr. Witherspoon had been so diligent in collecting, were sadly injured. "The church where he preached was also rifled of its pews for firewood, and his farm was plundered of its stock. It cost something to be a patriot in those days, and he paid for it dearly. During the dispersion of the college the trustees met once in May, 1777, at Cooper's Ferry, opposite Philadelphia, and authorized Dr. Witherspoon, if the enemy removed out of the State, to call the students together at Princeton, and proceed with their education in the best manner he could, considering the state of public affairs, and, if more students could be collected than he could instruct himself, to obtain such assistance as might be necessary. As soon as circumstances allowed, but gradually, the college buildings were cleansed and repaired, and by his efforts, with the assistance of Professors Stanhope Smith and Houston, the institution struggled along with a feeble existence."

In 1781 he was reëlected to Congress, for his constituents felt that his wisdom and energy were needed in the hall of national councils. His dress showed that he was there as a "minister of God," in both a sacred and a civil sense. The calls for the public observance of days of fasting and prayer were usually, if not always, written by him. Many of the most important papers on national affairs and measures came from his hand. Neither his courage in the strife nor his confidence in God ever faltered in the darkest day. He was six years in Congress. When he returned, in 1782, to his more professional duties in college and church, the sky was brightening with victory and the promise of advantageous peace. The next year the United States were recognized by Great Britain as an independent nation. His visit to his native isle, on a commission to solicit donations for the college, was not favored by a people who were still sore over defeat and loss. Some of them could not forget the Scotch edition of his sermon on the Dominion of Providence, and they could not yet believe its doctrine of national liberty. It is not known that he was invited to preach, except at Paisley. On the voyage one eye was so injured that it became sightless. He toiled on, leading the college to a national reputation, reuniting the ties between the Presbyterian churches of Great Britain and America, and adding to his publications. After his death his works were collected in six or more volumes, and published at Philadelphia and Edinburgh. Not then was he stigmatized by the notes of an editor. There were admirers abroad to read an American book.

Dr. Witherspoon was conspicuous in the circle of eminent men who elevated the Synod into the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and adjusted its constitution to the state of affairs in the republic. The federal constitution was adopted almost contemporaneously with it. He opened the first assembly, in May, 1789, with a sermon, and was glad to see Dr. John Rodgers as the first moderator. He was the chairman of a committee to draft an address to President Washington. In it were these golden sentences, worthy of a thousand repetitions: "Public virtue is the most certain means of public felicity, and religion the surest basis of virtue. We therefore esteem it a peculiar happiness to behold in our chief magistrate a steady, uniform, and avowed friend of the Christian religion. . . . We shall consider ourselves as doing an acceptable service to God, in our profession, when we contribute to render men sober, honest, and industrious citizens, and the obedient subjects of a lawful government. In these pious labors we hope to imitate the most worthy of our brethren of other Christian denominations, and to be imitated by them." The reply of Washington showed his high appreciation of these sentiments, and of the prayers offered for the country and for himself.

When the next autumn leaves were falling, the excellent Mrs. Witherspoon passed into the better world. The doctor was left quite alone. One son of great promise had given his life to the cause of liberty; the other two had homes in the South. One daughter was the wife of Prof. Stanhope Smith, who would be the next college president; the other married Dr. David Ramsay, the historian. In 1791 Dr. Witherspoon wedded Mrs. Dill, who was more than forty years his junior. Soon after this event he was riding through Vermont in search of lands which had sadly reduced his finances; his horse fell, and the remaining sound eye was so injured that he became totally blind. Yet with a secretary he did a vast amount of work. He still preached every third Sabbath until his days were almost ended. His descent to the grave was that of a patriarch who was leaving a tribe of spiritual sons to heed his noble example, and who had sublime views of the heavenly land. His spirit crossed the border in November, 1794, and he was beyond the reach of sin and blindness.

Men who knew and loved Dr. Witherspoon as a teacher, associate, or counselor thought him worthy of full description. What the brush of the elder Peale did for his manly features the pen of Ashbel Green attempted for his character. He was of medium height, rather corpulent, with a presence almost as majestic as that of Washington. He assumed nothing; his noble bearing was natural. He did not think about it, and yet he never forgot it. He tried no arts of Chesterfield. The plain man in dress was seen to manage his Tusculum farm with dignity. His fondness for agriculture was quite equal to his failure in it. He jocosely

Opens the first
American gen-
eral assembly.

said that scientific farmers could generally assign good reasons for their want of success. In his garden he won richer triumphs.

Until he was blind he usually traveled in the saddle. The students admired his dignified horsemanship. He said that in Scotland it was very indecorous to put a horse on the gallop. He never did it there, and only once in America: it was when the British army was marching on Philadelphia, and Congress adjourned to Lancaster, riding thither post-haste to escape seizure by the enemy's cavalry. Like Washington, he regarded punctuality as a cardinal virtue. On the man who failed to keep an engagement at the hour he rarely wasted any more time or confidence.

When he was roused by injustice, his indignation was that of gentle natures, honest and tremendous, but not many suns went down upon his wrath. His temper may have been naturally high, and flaming at times against wrong, but it came to be subdued by reason, grace, and vigilance. His keen satire usually fell only on those who deserved it, and then to scourge arrogance or vice. His wit, fine humor, and aptness in telling a good story were kept for his more intimate friends in the social circle, and for those who enjoyed his hospitality. They did not appear in his sermons.

Prayer was an element in his daily life. He sought to walk with God and to commend the gospel by a solid example. Scholar as he was, he was "more a man of genius than of learning." He read choice books and digested them. He was a deep thinker, a close investigator of important subjects, a treasurer of valuable knowledge. He paid the drafts upon his information at sight, and had no mental panics. He wrote his discourses, and delivered them from memory with such grace that he seemed to speak extemporaneously. He cared little for the merely external forms of oratory; he manifested the heart and reality of it. When it was known that he was to preach, he had large and attentive audiences. His object was to set forth the word of God, to make plain the way of eternal life, that the hearers might be saved and glorified together with Christ.

It was peculiarly fitting that his name should be prominent in the literature and honors of the centennial year, and that the Church, whose spirit he so ably represented in his civil career, and citizens, whose rights he advocated, should erect to him a monument. His statue of bronze, colossal in size, was reared in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. There he appears in the picturesque costume of that olden time,—the ample coat and vest, the neat cambric neckerchief, the short clothes and low shoes, and the Geneva gown in exceedingly graceful folds hanging from the shoulder. There the magnificent statue, for years we cannot number, will attract the gaze and evoke the admiration of the millions who will pass along the beautiful Lansdowne drive. — W. M. B.

LIFE VII. HENRY MELCHIOR MUILENBERG.

A. D. 1711—A. D. 1787. LUTHERAN, — AMERICA.

In common with other Protestants, the first Lutherans who emigrated to this country came to escape persecution at home. In the central and southern portions of Germany, the influence of the Reformation failed to rise superior to the Roman Catholic power; so that whatever cities or districts within that territory had received Protestant doctrines became the objects of Catholic vengeance. Many and severe were the hardships and sufferings which their inhabitants had to endure for conscience' sake. Their towns and provinces were depopulated, their property was confiscated or laid waste. England, Holland, and the northern states of Germany offered homes to the fugitives; and the New World, which was just opening, became an asylum for these unfortunate people.

The first Lutherans who settled in this country were from Holland. They came in 1626, and settled in New York. While this territory remained under the control of Holland, they were compelled to worship in private, being forbidden by the laws of the mother country to hold public services. When, in 1664, it became a province of England, permission was obtained from James, duke of York, for the conducting of worship in public. They were also granted the privilege of sending to Germany for a pastor who should minister to them in religion.

In the year 1644, the first Lutherans from Germany arrived. Various detachments came during the remainder of this century, to which large numbers were added in the first half of the next. They were generally from the Palatinate and other states in which intolerance did not allow any mode of worship contrary to the established religion. These early emigrants, who were fully consecrated to a holy and pious life, could not be driven into submission against their convictions.

In 1733, the Salzburgers, a body of Lutherans called after Salzburg, their native country, came to Georgia, settling about twenty miles above Savannah. Thirty thousand of these people had been driven from their homes by persecution. Georgia had just been chartered as a colony, and it had been stipulated that it should become the asylum of "distressed Salzburgers and other Protestants." The "trustees" of the colony and "The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge," one of the noble institutions of England, took a deep interest in the wandering Salzburgers. They invited them to find homes in the New World, and furnished them with passage money; and upon the arrival of the emigrants they gave to each one a certain amount of land, with the privileges of English citizenship. These people were under the spiritual

guidance of several devoted pastors, and they became noted for their piety, faithfulness, and prosperity.

Numerous detachments of Lutherans came, in like manner, to nearly every colony from Maine to Georgia. Pennsylvania, how-
Lutherans in
Pennsylvania.
 ever, was the province which attracted the largest number. Its climate was genial; so was the welcome extended by William Penn. He threw wide open the doors of his colony, and invited all men "who believed in God and lived peaceably with their neighbors, to come and find a home."

Many years intervened between the arrival of the first Lutheran emigrants and that of the first Lutheran ministers, except in the Swedish settlement in New Jersey. The Holland Lutherans were in this country nearly fifty years before they had among them any one authorized to exercise the functions of the ministerial office. Jacob Fabricius, who arrived and began his labors in 1669, was their first pastor. Previous to his coming, they had depended altogether on lay supervision and instruction.

The time between the arrival of Lutherans in Pennsylvania and the coming of Muhlenberg, the first minister, was almost a hundred years. As his training and his coming grew out of one of the most important movements that ever affected the Protestant church in Germany, it will be profitable to revert to it.

Spener and Francke produced in their country a genuine revival of piety.¹ They saw the dead formalism into which the church of the seventeenth century had fallen, and labored to arouse her from her lethargy. They urged the necessity of regeneration, and of true piety in both the ministry and the laity. They insisted on the better observance of the Sabbath day and the duty of all Christians to labor for the kingdom of God.

Spener based his theology on the Bible as confirmed and explained by personal experience, while the orthodox party based its theology on the Bible as explained by the symbolical books. Orthodoxy regarded the observance of the Word and of the sacraments as the basis of the church, while Pietism, as the views of Spener were called, declared the church to exist in its true believers.

The methods of church work which Spener and Francke practiced were revolutionary. The former instituted classes for instructing the young; he established prayer-meetings and conventicles for the study of the Scriptures. The latter became a professor in the University of Halle, where he began to lecture to his students in theology on the different books of the Bible, instead of the various forms of philosophy, that he might prepare them to make practical expositions of divine truth. Both preached against worldly dissipation and amusements, against dancing,

¹ See pp. 400-420.

against the theatre, and against card-playing. Under their preaching and influence missions were established. The University of Halle sent missionaries to every part of the world. Out of such a spirit was the American Lutheran Church born, for its founder, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, was a disciple of Francke, and was trained under his influence.

Muhlenberg was born in 1711. His parents were poor. The father died when his son was but twelve years of age. The boy Muhlenberg guided for work. early studied the German and Latin languages, and was diligently instructed in the doctrines of the Christian religion. After the death of his father, he was compelled to engage in manual labor until he reached his twenty-first year. He now applied himself to the study of Latin, Greek, French, and Hebrew. He attended the University of Göttingen at twenty-four. Though confirmed at twelve, his real religious experience did not commence until this period. When awakened and converted he at once gave himself up to the solemn duties of a Christian life. In connection with some fellow-students he gathered together the poor, neglected children about the streets, and taught them the elementary branches of learning and religion. This was regarded as an irregularity by some of the clergy and school-masters, and the young men were brought to trial. Being ably defended they were acquitted.

In 1738, Muhlenberg was sent to Halle, where he "had committed to him the instruction of the primary classes, whence he was regularly transferred, until he had passed through all the departments successively, and was finally placed in charge of the classes in theology, Hebrew, and Greek." At the University of Halle he became fully imbued with the spirit and devotion of the Pietists.

In 1741, Dr. Francke was requested by the Germans in Pennsylvania to send them a minister. The mission was proposed to Muhlenberg, who, after due consideration, accepted it. At the close of the year 1741, he resigned his position at home, and by the 13th of June, 1742, he was

Reaches America. on his way to the Western World. He sailed to Charleston, South Carolina, for the purpose of examining the condition of the Lutheran church in Georgia, for he had been made the overseer of all the German Lutheran settlements in this country, and it was part of his mission to report year by year the welfare and progress of the church to the University of Halle. He spent a month with the Salz-burgers, and then set out in a sloop for Philadelphia, where he arrived in the latter part of November, 1742.

His coming was most opportune. There were none to minister to the religious wants of the people, except several self-constituted pastors, who were men without education and without piety. Though the first Germans in America were men of earnest devotion, they could not, without religious advisers, retain their piety, or transmit it to their children. They consequently declined rapidly in spirituality. When Muhlenberg came

he found their religious condition most deplorable. There were no churches and no school-houses, save one building in New Hanover, and that too poor for occupancy. He at once undertook to build churches and school-houses for the religious and secular instruction of both old and young. Very few of the young could read, and teachers of suitable character and qualifications could not be procured. So Muhlenberg became both pastor and teacher. "Necessity," he says, "has compelled me to become a teacher of children. One week I keep school in Philadelphia, the next in Providence, and the third in New Hanover; and I think God's grace is visiting us. It was, however, high time that I should come. If affairs had remained a few years longer in the same state in which I found them, our poor Lutherans would have been scattered, or turned over to heathenism." Describing the religious condition of the country, he says, "Atheists, deists, and naturalists are to be met with everywhere. I think that there is not a sect in the Christian world that has not followers here. You meet with persons from almost every nation in the world. God and his Word are openly blasphemed. Here are thousands who by birth, education, and confirmation ought to belong to our church, but they are scattered to the four winds of heaven. The spiritual state of our people is so wretched as to cause us to shed tears in abundance. The young people are grown up without instruction and without knowledge of religion, and are turning to heathenism." This sad condition did not appal the heart of our noble missionary, or make him sigh for the more desirable field he had left, but he set about energetically to supplant this moral desolation with spiritual life and activity.

His picture of
America.

He was elected pastor of three churches, one at Philadelphia, one at New Hanover, and one at New Providence. These were almost forty miles distant from each other. For two and a half years pastor Muhlenberg was alone in his work in Pennsylvania, but in 1745 other ministers arrived from Halle, who came at the earnest request of the missionary and the people. New congregations were at once organized, the circle was enlarged, and efforts were made to reach every German community. Muhlenberg was the leading spirit in every movement; his eye was on every church; his counsel was sought in every difficulty. The congregation at New York having become divided, he was sent for to bring about a reconciliation. He made them a visit, proposed a solution of their troubles, and succeeded in restoring peace and harmony.

The work of bringing the scattered Germans under religious training was so well carried on that at the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century, eight years after the arrival of the first missionary, there were eight ministers laboring in Pennsylvania, having twenty-three organized churches under their charge.

Muhlenberg never consulted his own ease in his work. As soon as he

was relieved at one point he sought another. He traveled far and wide, responding to the call of duty among the churches from New York to Georgia. He preached in churches, in private houses, in the open air, and carried the gospel from house to house in pastoral visitation. He adapted himself to the wants and tastes of the people. He was able to preach in either the German, Dutch, or English language, sometimes using all three the same day. Had his wise policy been pursued by his immediate successors, so much of the work performed by him and his co-laborers would not have been lost to the church of which they were members; but those coming after them, confining their ministrations to the German language, were not able to hold those who were growing up under the influence and training of the English language and customs.

Every means by which piety could be cultivated was practiced by pastor Muhlenberg. Immediately on his arrival in this country he organized prayer-meetings for the edification of the church; these he could seldom attend. They were held often, three times each week, some pious laymen presiding. Prayers were offered, the Bible and books of religious value were read. So marked were these meetings that wicked men sometimes made it an object to disturb them by casting stones against the door, and by reviling the worshipers as pietists and hypocrites. He was a promoter of revivals of religion. He and Dr. Helmuth speak of "protracted meetings" with great satisfaction. The interest which the people took in their preaching during such efforts was manifested by the "audible weeping of the congregation, and the advice sought in private concerning the salvation of their souls."

Muhlenberg had no stated forms by which worship should be invariably conducted. When he used a liturgical service it was short and simple, but he believed that a minister should be bound to no system. In all his services his object was to lead men to Christ, so he adopted any method that would bring about the desired end. His preaching was plain and simple; he used both the formal discourse and the more practical method of question and answer. Sometimes, immediately after the sermon, the congregation was questioned on the leading points presented in it; they were requested to find the proof texts, which led them to bring their Bibles to church. The afternoon hour was frequently employed in question and answer, the subject being either the morning sermon or some other portion of the Bible, or the catechism. He expressed his notion of preaching as follows: "In our discourses we ought to make no ostentatious display of learning, but study simplicity. We should neither strike into the air, nor employ low and vulgar expressions; not introduce too much matter into a sermon, but discuss the subject fully, and apply it to the heart. Our sermons should not be dry, but practical. Religion should be presented not as a burden, but as a pleasure. Let us

sow with tears, let us aim at the edification of each individual soul, and give heed to ourselves and to our doctrines."

Muhlenberg, with his co-workers, was never satisfied until he had brought those under his instruction into full Christian experience. He everywhere insisted on rigid discipline. His strict views concerning the sanctity of the Sabbath in many places brought him into trouble with those who looked upon it as a day for general recreation and amusement. Of the general results of their labors he and his associates in the ministry declare that with the middle-aged, who had grown up without instruction, they were unsuccessful, but that from the young they derived great encouragement.

A serious difficulty had arisen among the pastors who labored amid the Lutherans of Georgia. Muhlenberg made a journey to that province in 1774, for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation. He met pastors and people, and exhorted them to mutual forbearance and forgiveness. He finally obtained an agreement that they would bury all former contentions and offenses. On his return from this meeting he wrote the following words: "I was so tortured and worried in body and spirit that I had to lie down. O Lord, how much has not the enemy of man already won, if he can effect a breach between ministers and colleagues in a church! What hateful mischief he does to the sheep when he has disarmed the shepherds! How despised is the holy office and its dignity in the sight of Hamites and Canaanites, when they have seen the nakedness of the fathers, and scoff at it!"

In 1748 was held the first conference of Lutheran ministers in Pennsylvania. Six were present, with a corresponding number of laymen. As the leading spirit, Muhlenberg was made president. At this meeting, John V. Kurtz was set apart to the gospel ministry, being the first Lutheran minister ordained in this country.

Presides over
the first conference.

Conferences or synodical meetings continued to be held with more or less regularity by the fathers of the Lutheran Church. These meetings were turned to great profit. Muhlenberg speaks of one in this language: "After the close of public worship all the ministers convened at my house, and held a Biblical colloquy on the essential characteristics of genuine repentance, faith, and godliness, in which they endeavored to benefit each other, according to the grace given them, by communicating the results of their own experience and self-examination, so that it was a cheering and a delightful season. The residue of the evening was spent in singing spiritual hymns and psalms, and in conversation about the spiritual condition of our churches; and so short did the time appear that it was three o'clock in the morning before we retired to rest. Oh, how delightful it is when ministers, standing aloof from all political and party contests, seek to please their Lord and Master Jesus Christ, and

have at heart the welfare of their churches and the souls intrusted to their care, and are willing rather to suffer reproach with the people of God than choose the treasures of Egypt!"

During the Revolutionary War, the Germans generally were strong supporters of the colonies. Though thousands of them had taken the oath of allegiance to England, they still felt that for their own sake and for that of their children they must sustain the colonial cause. Consequently many of them were among the proscribed. Muhlenberg was included in that number. He retired from Philadelphia during its occupancy by the British troops. Some of his friends crossed the lines into the city, and when they returned he said, "They report that the name of Muhlenberg is made very suspicious among the Hessian and English officers in Philadelphia, who threaten bitterly with prison, torture, and death, if they can catch the old fellow." One of his sons, a Lutheran minister, left the pulpit for the camp, and after the organization of the government he was elected speaker of the first three houses of Congress.

In 1782 Dr. Muhlenberg was compelled to retire from the active ministry. He died in 1787, in the full triumph of an inspiring faith. His life was one of pure devotion to the cause of Christianity. He was practical and direct in all his teachings; he taught a religion that touched not only the head, but also the heart. He fraternized with all Christians, no matter what name they bore, for with them he recognized but one Lord, one faith, one baptism. His mind was born to command and inspire; while his piety and exemplary character made him in his advanced years an object of veneration to all with whom he came in contact. Those who came immediately after him did not adopt his method and spirit, which however have been taken up and pursued by later leaders of the Lutheran Church in the United States. — B. F. P.

LIFE VIII. MICHAEL SCHLATTER.

A. D. 1716—A. D. 1790. REFORMED (GERMAN),—AMERICA.

ALL know the story of the Pilgrims and Puritans of New England: how that in order to carry out in peace their conscientious views in respect to church order they crossed the ocean and founded here new commonwealths, that have been so favored by Providence as to grow far beyond their original expectations. The story of the first settlement of the Germans in large numbers in the colony of William Penn is not less interesting than the well-known story of the Pilgrims. They left their beautiful homes in consequence of religious persecutions, and many of them found a welcome refuge first in England before coming to America.

They were more severely persecuted than were the non-conformists of England. Not only were they not allowed to worship in peace, according to their reformed faith, but active, violent, and persevering efforts were made to compel them again to become Romanists. In 1686 the great Augsburg league was formed by the emperor and many princes, which undertook to defend the borders of the empire, in pursuance of which the western frontier of Germany was sorely oppressed. In 1689 the Palatinate was given over to pillage and plunder by the French. The commander, Melac, laid a great portion of the city of Heidelberg in ashes. Cities and villages shared a similar fate. Many of the inhabitants perished in the cold, and many others who tried to rescue their goods were slain. In consequence of a long-continued series of persecutions, there now followed such an exodus as is without a parallel in the history of Europe, excepting the ancient migration of the Germanic peoples, and the Saxon invasion of England in the fifth century. We are told "that the traveler who to-day visits the Palatinate will often hear the farmer call his dog 'Melac,' 'Melac,' in detestation of the memory of the inhuman butcher who nearly two hundred years ago made the castellated Rhine run red with innocent blood."

Nothing in history is more beautiful than the warm sympathy and love that existed in the post-Reformation age between the different branches of the reformed churches in the different parts of Europe. When the Palatines were driven out of their homes, thousands of them fled to England, where they were kindly received, protected, and aided, as John de Laski and his brethren from Friesland had been previously. When Knox and thousands of the best men of Scotland and England were compelled for a time to flee to the Continent, they found a safe refuge and a Christian reception in Frankfort (Germany) and in Geneva (Switzerland). When, in the days of the infamous Alba, more than two hundred thousand families fled in terror from Holland, they were received with open arms by the neighboring German provinces (now included in Westphalia) and in the distant Palatinate. When the Huguenots were driven in such great numbers from France, they found brethren of the same reformed faith ready to help them in Germany and England. And it was the powerful voice of Cromwell speaking from England that stayed for a time the persecutions of the Waldenses.

The original emigration from Germany, which forms the root of the two denominations in America known as the Reformed and the Lutherans, came from that province in Germany then known as the Palatinate. It is the most fertile and most beautiful part of Germany, lying on its frontiers over against France, through which contending armies have for ages passed and repassed. It has long since ceased to be a separate kingdom. A portion of it (Rhenish Bavaria) belongs now to Bavaria; another portion, with the ancient

The home of the
German Re-
formed.

capital, Heidelberg, forms the southern part of Baden; and a third portion has recently been annexed to Prussia.

Soon after the territory of Pennsylvania was granted to William Penn by the king of England (on the 4th of March, 1681), the Germans commenced to settle in this new colony. As early as 1730 a report made to the synod of South Holland states, "Not long after the first settlement many of the oppressed inhabitants of Germany, and particularly out of the Palatinate, and the districts of Nassau, Waldeck, Witgenstein, and Wetterau, emigrated to Pennsylvania, with their wives and children. . . . At this time the Reformed, holding to the old Reformed Confession, constitute more than one half of the whole number, being about fifteen thousand." From this time on German emigration increased, so that in a single year more than thirty thousand left the Palatinate alone, to seek a Patmos in the New World. They settled at first near Philadelphia, but later mainly in the fertile valleys of Eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland; thence along these same valleys into Virginia, North and South Carolina. Those Palatines who had first gone to England at the invitation of Queen Anne, numbering about seven thousand, presented a petition whose opening words will best describe their condition: "We, of the distressed Palatinate, whose utter ruin was occasioned by the merciless cruelty of a bloody enemy, the French, whose prevailing powers some years ago, rushing like a torrent into our country, overwhelmed us at once, and who, not being content with money and with food necessary for their occasions, not only dispossessed us of all support, but inhumanly burnt our homes to the ground, — we, being deprived of both shelter and food, were turned into the open fields, and driven with our families to seek what shelter we could find, being obliged to make the frozen earth our lodging, and the clouds our covering." These settled first in Schoharie, New York, where they were ill treated by the authorities, so that about the year 1712, under the leadership of

The German Reformed in America.

Conrad Weiser, they constructed rafts, floated down the Susquehanna to the mouth of the Swatara, and took up their abodes near the waters of the Tulpehocken, in Berks County, Pennsylvania.

These Germans formed in many instances the outposts of civilization, and served to protect not a few English communities from the incursions of the Indians. But the people were mostly poor. They were not able to bring ministers of the gospel with them, but they brought over their Bibles, catechisms, hymn books, and devotional works. In many settlements they had pious and excellent schoolmasters. In most cases they formed congregations, built churches, and by their side at once planted school-houses, each with a dwelling and land for the occupancy of the schoolmaster. These often, when there was no minister, conducted a religious service by the reading of sermons and prayers, and the people sought and found spiritual edification in these services, and in singing the grand

old hymns and chorals of the fatherland. As early as 1726 a log church was built in Skippack, Pennsylvania. A few ministers came from Germany, and extended their labors with considerable success over the various German settlements. The man who was to organize these congregations into a compact whole, and thus to lay a stable foundation for future growth, was the Rev. Michael Schlatter, the story of whose life and labors we are now to tell.

Michael Schlatter was born in Switzerland (the cradle of the Reformed Church), in St. Gall, then a large city, lying in a beautiful valley on the bank of the Steinach, on July 14, ^{Schlatter's early life.} 1716. His parents were pious members of the Reformed faith, and he was early consecrated to God in the covenant of baptism. He grew up under the ministrations of a devoted pastor, Rev. Christopher Stähelin. He made a public profession of religion at the age of fourteen, received a superior education at the university, made a tour through Holland and Northwestern Germany, and as a candidate for the ministry spent some years in Holland, where he was also ordained. Returning to Switzerland, he became a vicar in 1745, assistant pastor in St. Gall for a time; and then on January 9, 1746, he again went to Amsterdam, in order to offer his services to the synods of Holland for supplying the destitute German churches in Pennsylvania, whose cry for help had been for some years heard, especially in Holland. "In 1731, while the Holland synod was in session in Dortrecht, eight hundred exiled Palatines passed through the place to take ships at Rotterdam for America. They were visited by the whole synod in a body, and were furnished by them with provisions and medicines. After exhortation, prayer, and singing, they were dismissed, with the assurance that they might rely upon the church of Holland for support in their new homes." There is extant a letter from Rev. Jedidiah Andrews (Presbyterian), of Philadelphia, to Rev. Thomas Prince, of Boston, dated 1730, in which he says, "There is besides in this province a vast number of Palatines, and they come in still every year. Those that have come in of late years are mostly Presbyterians, or, as they call themselves, Reformed, from the Palatinate, about three fifths being of that sort of people. They did use to come to me for the baptism of their children, and many have joined with us in the other sacrament." In another letter he says, "There is lately come over a Palatine candidate of the ministry, who has applied to us at the synod for ordination. The matter is left to three ministers. He is an extraordinary person for sense and learning. We gave him a question to discuss about justification, and he has answered it in a whole sheet of paper in a very notable manner. His name is John Peter Millen: he speaks Latin as well as we do our vernacular tongues, and so does another, Mr. Weiss."

Mr. Schlatter's services were accepted; on the 23d of May, 1746, his

instructions were made out, and on the 1st of June he sailed for the New World. His work was to include the following: (1) to visit Reformed settlements, to organize congregations, to preach to them, to baptize their children, and to prepare proper church records; (2) to ascertain what each congregation would pledge itself for toward the support of a minister, and to unite weak congregations under one pastorate; (3) to enlist the coöperation of the ministers already in America, and to form a synod; (4) to visit the ministers annually; and (5) after this work had been accomplished to preach as the other ministers.

After a voyage of two months he landed at Boston, and by the 6th of September arrived overland at Philadelphia, where he was most affectionately welcomed by the elders of the Reformed church. He found Philadelphia to be a city of ten thousand inhabitants (being next largest in size to Boston). It had, at this time, the following churches: (1) the English (or Episcopal) church; (2) the Swedish church; (3) the German Evangelical (or Lutheran) church; (4) the Old Presbyterian church; (5) the German Reformed church. Besides these, there were two Quaker meeting-houses, one Baptist, one Roman Catholic, and one Moravian church. At once he commenced his work, and in the brief space of ten days accomplished what would have required most men almost as many weeks. With intense activity he prosecuted his missionary journeys among the new settlements in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia, preaching, administering the sacraments, encouraging ministers and people, organizing congregations and forming them into suitable fields of labor. He found four regular German Reformed ministers laboring in Pennsylvania (Boehm, Weiss, Reiger, and Dorstius), and upon his invitation they, for the first time, met together in Philadelphia, on the 12th of October, 1746, to prepare the way for a formal organization of the synod. This took place the next year, September 29, 1747, in Philadelphia, at which time thirty-one ministers and elders were present. Rev. J. B. Reiger opened the synod by a sermon based on Psalm cxxxiii., a very appropriate text for such an occasion.

Besides acting as superintendent, Schlatter labored as pastor in the churches in Philadelphia and Germantown. A few incidents from this early period of his labors will interest the reader. On the 6th of December, 1747, the new church in Philadelphia was used for religious service, although it had as yet neither windows nor pulpit. The reason was that the number of hearers had so far increased that the old church could contain only one half of those who attended. A crowd of people worshipping in the dead of winter in a building without windows manifests stern earnestness in the worship of Almighty God. In August, 1748, Schlatter was greatly encouraged by the arrival of three ministers sent out by the Holland synod. In October he was deeply saddened to hear

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from his home that one of them had there accidentally lost his life by the discharge of a gun in his own hands. After laboring for nearly two years, Schlatter says in one of his reports, "I cannot refrain from referring briefly to the fact that these three congregations [in New Jersey], from gratitude for the services I have rendered them, handed me a pecuniary reward; and this is the first money which, since my arrival in America up to this time, I have received from any congregation for my labor and pains. Also in my own congregations, up to the present time, I have drawn no salary. I must state, however, that different congregations have offered me some money, but I declined receiving it, in order to convince them that I did not seek theirs, but them; while in the mean time God has provided for me in a way that calls for devout praise, and has also enabled me to be content with little."

After laboring thus, with most intense activity, for five years, Schlatter, at the request of the synod, made a visit to Europe, in 1751, ^{In Europe for America's sake.} a mission from which flowed vast results for good to the churches in America. He had arranged sixteen fields of labor (or charges), including forty-six congregations; but of these only six, composed of fourteen congregations, were supplied with ministers. Making a final visitation to the churches, attending the sessions of the synod, and partaking of the Lord's Supper once more with his people on Christmas day, Schlatter embarked on the 5th of February, 1751, at New Castle, and on the 12th of April landed in Holland. He at once attended the meeting of the Classis of Amsterdam, and in conjunction with a committee of the same drew up and printed an "Appeal" in behalf of the American churches. This was soon after translated and printed in German, and also in English. The synod of North Holland appointed him to visit Switzerland and Germany, to secure ministers for the American field. He spent four months in this work. This Appeal bore good fruit in each of these countries. The immediate result of his labors was that he was enabled to sail from Holland, on his return way, March, 1752, with six newly-ordained, learned, and pious ministers, together with substantial aid in money and seven hundred German Bibles, five hundred of which were in folio, which were presented to him by members of the churches of Amsterdam. After a protracted voyage of four months he arrived again in the midst of his brethren in Pennsylvania. We will here introduce some interesting extracts from this Appeal of Schlatter.

In the introduction, the committee of classis say, "This man, worthy, learned, and gifted of God with many talents, after he became acquainted with one and another of the members of our classis . . . was recommended to the deputies of both synods. . . . These saw in him so many evidences of firm and correct judgment, peculiar fitness, and glowing zeal to serve the church of God also in those distant regions, that they regarded it good and proper, not only to send him into this field as

a regular shepherd and teacher, but also, with the full consent of both synods, to invest him with one of the most important commissions."

"As regards the condition of the churches in Pennsylvania, we have received so much light from the extensive diary in which Mr. Schlatter has given an account not only of his frequent journeys to many congregations, near and remote, but also of his acts and labors in them, that we were in the highest degree surprised at the unwearied and almost incredible labors which this faithful servant of God — whom in this respect we may call an apostolical man — has devoted to the churches in Pennsylvania, and rejoiced in view of the divine support which he has experienced in them."

Schlatter himself says, "During the winter months [of 1747], when I for the most part remained at home, I received many soul-stirring letters, from large and small congregations in remote regions. Besides this, delegates came to my house daily, among whom were some who had come two hundred, yea, three hundred miles. Among others, there were two men who came from Virginia, three hundred miles from here, bearing a most urgent and moving letter from the destitute congregations in those parts. . . . The recollection of this scene even now again affects me in the tenderest manner, and it seems to me that a heart of stone would have been moved to sympathy in witnessing the many tears, and in reading and hearing the touching petitions, with which they so humbly presented their case. Oh, that the church in the blessed Netherlands, where the chief Shepherd, by the hand of a host of faithful undershepherds, makes his people feed in green pastures, could have before them a full picture of the true condition of so many congregations in a widely-extended country!" "My intercession is not for a handful of people, for one or another poor family, for a little flock that has fled from popery, but for more than thirty thousand of the Reformed household of faith, living in the land of their pilgrimage, — in a land that is large and wide-spread, yea, fully twice as large as the United Netherlands."

"I reject with disgust all ill-odored self-praise, and I cannot glory save in my infirmities; but if it may serve to the awakening of others who may be able to come to our aid, I will, in all lowliness, and to the praise of that God who supported me and gave me the will and the power to labor, say that from the year 1747 till the beginning of the year 1751 I have traveled in this part of America, in the service of the lost sheep, to collect them together, to bring them into order and edify them, a distance of more than eight thousand miles, — not reckoning my passage across the ocean; and this, for the most part, on my own horse, by day and by night, without respect to heat or cold, which is often alike severe in this country, — yea, without avoiding danger, as not counting my life dear unto myself. . . . Amid all this traveling about, I preached six hundred and thirty-five times, and through all these la-

bors God has spared my health and strength, and has not suffered my desire and zeal to serve the churches to be extinguished, but rather to be increased."

An address to the Swiss cantons by Rev. H. B. Hudmaker, minister at the Hague, and one of the deputies of the synod, says: "Mr. Schlatter, who in the past years was sent thither from hence, has laid before our synod the fact that there are thirty thousand Reformed scattered far and wide through that region; that they have hardly six ministers, and need at least six more, besides an annual addition to the salary of all; and that there is most of all a great need of school-masters and support for them. . . . Our synods resolved to lend them assistance, but, burdened as we are with the care of more than one hundred oppressed churches in Europe, we felt that we were not in a condition to bear this burden ourselves, and found it necessary not only to apply to our civil authorities, but also to call in the aid of foreign civil and ecclesiastical help, especially from those who externally stand in a nearer relation to the Pennsylvania brethren than we ourselves. . . . We hope that you also will cheerfully lend your aid by a general collection in money, which you will send to us for them, that thus our hands may be made strong and effective by your state and church contributions, so that we may firmly erect and sustain the standard of the gospel in those regions. To this end we have also invited the brethren in England to make common cause with us, and not without the hope of a happy result. *So that . . . there may be found in that land a pleasant place of refuge for the oppressed Reformed who fly thither from Europe. . . . And may the mutual coöperation of the Reformed Swiss, Germans, Hollanders, and English, in the establishment of the American church, and the fraternal correspondence occasioned thereby, be a testimony that we are one, and, at the same time, prove a blessed means and incentive to a still more in ward brotherly union.*"

H. M. Muhlenberg (Lutheran) wrote to Halle: "Yea, when this representation of Mr. Schlatter, first published in Dutch, had been translated into English by an English preacher in Holland, it made such an impression upon the English nation that even his majesty, the king of Great Britain, and the royal family were graciously moved to contribute a large sum, who were followed by rich assistance, also, from the principal lords and dignitaries. These gifts, which, it is said, amounted to twenty thousand pounds sterling, were, by order of his majesty, placed in the hands of certain trustees, constituting 'A Society for Propagating the Knowledge of God among the Germans,' from the interest of which free schools are here to be established and sustained under the inspection of Mr. Schlatter."

From 1752 to 1755 Schlatter continued his labors as pastor and as superintendent of the work of missions among the German churches of

the Reformed faith. Immediately after this he was appointed agent and superintendent of the London Society for the Establishment of Schools in Pennsylvania. He accepted the office, because the position would require him to travel through the country, and, as the synod affirmed, he could still maintain a certain supervision over the scattered congregations, and labor for the advancement of the church. He continued in this work from 1755 to 1757. In the latter year the French war broke out, and, as a portion of the royal army was composed of Germans, he accepted the post of chaplain in the fourth battery, which was operating in Nova Scotia. As such he was present at the siege of Halifax, and the seven weeks' siege of Louisburg. After 1755 his residence was on Chestnut Hill, ten miles from Philadelphia, where he had a small farm which he named "Sweetland." Here, after the war, he dwelt in comparative quiet and retirement, respected by the whole community and the public men of the state, preaching frequently at Barren Hill and other places. A quaint anecdote, illustrating his patriarchal character, comes down to us from this period: "It was customary in those days for the female worshipers at Barren Hill to wear short gowns and neat aprons. On occasions when he preached there, as he proceeded up the aisle toward the pulpit, — which he always did in a very hurried manner, — he would suddenly stop, and without saying a word would seize hold of one of these clean aprons to wipe the dust from his glasses, which he usually carried in his hands when not in use."

Dr. Harbaugh speaks of one trait in his character as follows: "Prominent amid every other trait in Mr. Schlatter's character is his extraordinary industry and perseverance. He was a man of astonishing energy of character. In a review of his life, nothing strikes us so forcibly as this. It seems as if no obstacles in the path of duty could make him hesitate. No difficulties discouraged him; no trials disheartened him; no failures could break down his courage, or take away his elasticity. Whatever he believed ought to be done he was willing to undertake. A true Swiss, he was not to be subdued; nor would he cease pursuing his path, though difficulties rose before him, like hills on hills, and Alps on Alps, in the land of his birth."

He retained his mental and bodily vigor in a remarkable degree in his old age. His death took place in the month of November, 1790, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, at his home on Chestnut Hill. His remains were taken to Philadelphia, and now lie buried in the beautiful Franklin Square of that city. — J. H. G.

LIFE IX. *PHILIP WILLIAM OTTERBEIN.*

A. D. 1726—A. D. 1813. UNITED BRETHREN, — AMERICA.

THE history of past ages, and especially that which relates to the church of God, most clearly indicates that when God wants a man for a certain purpose He will raise him up. The very circumstances with which such a man may be surrounded will be so controlled by an ever-present and ever-working Providence that each and all will assist in preparing him for his work. The history of Luther, Calvin, Wesley, and their coadjutors will verify this. So will the life of William Otterbein, founder of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ, who, when God wanted a man to awake the Germans in America, was made his honored instrument in accomplishing that work.

In studying Otterbein and his times, it will be well to note here and there the clear manifestations of the hand of God. When we study the lives of men, we are prone to seek clear conceptions of their characters. This is as it should be. We do not err in that we find too much in the men whom we study, but in that we see in their lives too little of the hand of Him who is everywhere at work. Whatever, therefore, may be said of the learning, eloquence, zeal, and success of Otterbein as a reformer, he deserves no credit save in that he submitted himself to the will of God. It was God in him that gave him whatever success he had. He alone is able to raise up men for his work. "Foreseeing what will be needed at a particular juncture, He selects and prepares the means He designs to use. His plans and purposes for the most part are hidden from the world; even they whom He intends to use are not aware of the part they are to perform."

Philip William Otterbein was born in Dillenberg, in the duchy of Nassau, in Germany, on the 4th day of June, 1726. His father, John Daniel Otterbein, was rector of a Latin school in Herborn, and subsequently pastor of a congregation in Fronhausen and Wissenbach. He was a minister in the Reformed Church, and was noted for his learning, piety, and zeal. His son, Philip William, was educated for the ministry, and solemnly ordained at Herborn in 1749. He was well instructed in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, philosophy, and divinity. Soon after his consecration to the office of the ministry he commenced his pastoral work in Dillenberg. He was then about twenty-four years of age. It certainly speaks well for him that he was so soon chosen as pastor in his native town.

Although Otterbein was well instructed in theology, he had not at this time experienced a change of heart. But withal he was a man of conscience, and earnestly desired to enter into the possession of all there was

in the gospel for him to enjoy. With him there was nothing of such importance as the Word of God. What he believed to be the truth he would expound and enforce with great earnestness. His sermons were remarkable for their plainness, spirit, and evangelical power; and God owned the truth, for the truth's sake. And whilst nothing could be said against the character of Otterbein, nor against the truths he taught, yet some of his friends advised him to use greater caution in his exhortations and reproofs. But, even as Daniel, when he knew that the writing was sealed, went to his chamber and prayed as aforetime, so Otterbein went to his pulpit and preached as aforetime. Owing to this plain and earnest manner of preaching the truth, both the clergy and the magistrates were turned against him, and the authorities were privately solicited to arrest his preaching. When his pious mother learned that there was such opposition to his preaching she said to him, "Ah, William, I expected this, and give you joy. This place is too narrow for you, my son; they will not receive you here; you will find your work elsewhere." She did not think that she was uttering a prophecy which would be fulfilled in the manner it was. She seemed only to realize that her son was eminently fitted for the work of the ministry, and her faith in God was to the effect that a way would be opened for him.

While Otterbein was undergoing this severe ordeal in his native town

His call to America. word came to him from what was then called the New World, that the people were perishing for want of the bread of life. This turned his attention to America. Here we see the hand of God. If he would have adopted the policy the clergy and magistrates desired, he would have found a lucrative and easy field at home. But God wanted a man to come to America to break the bread of life to the famishing Germans, and the very opposition that was raised against him in his native town was made the means of thrusting him out over the wide sea. to become one of the standard-bearers of the cross of Christ in a foreign land.

In the year 1751, Michael Schlatter returned from America, after having spent several years as an exploring missionary. He represented the wants of the people as being very great; in council with the synods of North and South Holland, he made a call for six young ministers to go to America as missionaries. Otterbein immediately responded to the call, and was accepted. He at once set about making the necessary arrangements for his departure. His separation from his mother was a severe trial to both. She had given her son to the Lord, yet when the hour drew near for him to depart it was a greater trial than she had anticipated. She retired to her closet, and there importuned God for courage and strength to bear up under the ordeal. Returning from her devotions, she took her son by the hand, and said, "Go, my son; the Lord bless thee. and much grace direct thy steps. On earth I may not see thy

face again, but go." "With what strange and beautiful courage and grace can a mother's love bind its sacrifice upon the altar!" "*On earth I may not see thy face again, but go.*" It was even so: on earth she saw his face no more. Upon the evening of July 27, 1752, he landed in New York.

In August, 1752, Otterbein entered upon his labors at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He gave himself wholly to the pastoral work, for he believed that it could engage all his powers. He was a man of order, and, finding almost everything out of order, he resolved to bring order out of confusion. It is but just to state that at this time (1752), both in Germany and in America, the doctrine of the new birth was well-nigh covered up with forms and ceremonies. But few of the clergy knew anything about it experimentally. Otterbein himself, though regularly ordained, had never been a subject of this change.

There was a remarkable coincidence in John Wesley's experience and that of Otterbein. In his journal Wesley says, "I went to America to convert the Indians, but oh, who shall convert ^{Awakened in spirit.} me!" Otterbein came to America to convert the Germans, and was not himself converted. He had studied the Word of God, and obtained a pretty clear idea of the nature of conversion. Its power he was led to feel in the following manner: On a certain Sabbath he preached one of his pointed sermons on the necessity of a new heart and life. At the close of the sermon one of his congregation, who had been touched by the power of truth, came to him in tears, and asked what he must do to be saved. The question was brought to Otterbein as it had never been before. Paul could tell the jailer in a few words what to do, but here was a learned, eloquent minister who could not tell a poor penitent soul what he must do to be saved. He looked upon the man, and with deep emotion said, "My friend, advice is scarce with me to-day." This incident brought him to a crisis. He had for a long time felt the necessity of a new heart, but had not sought it with full faith. He had often preached it to others, and now another preached it to him. He immediately repaired to his study, and there remained in earnest prayer until God in mercy gave him a new heart. If his preaching up to this time had been plain and logical, it was none the less so now, and, besides, was accompanied with an unction which neither he nor his people had felt before. Having now entered into a new life, he was eminently fitted for a leader. He was calm, dignified, humble, and devout.

Otterbein remained six years in Lancaster, during which time he experienced no small degree of trouble. His people were disorderly, not willing to endure the restraints which the gospel imposed. The majority of them knew nothing about a change of heart. They relied upon forms and ceremonies. This grieved the pastor, for he most earnestly desired to lead them into a higher and better life. Those acquainted

with the history of the churches in America a hundred and twenty-five years ago, especially among the Germans, will understand how difficult it must have been to lead them away from the mere forms of religion into a life of faith, purity, and love. Still his work at Lancaster was by no means a failure. His name by tradition is to this day in honorable mention by many in that city. The author of the "Fathers of the Reformed Church" thus speaks of Otterbein: "Under his [Otterbein's] ministry the old small wooden church which stood in the back part of the grave-yard was superseded by a massive stone church on the street, which was built in 1753, and was not taken down till 1852, having stood almost a century. Internally the congregation greatly prospered. Evidences of his order and zeal look out upon us from the records in many ways, and enterprises started in his time have extended their results in the permanent features of the congregation down to this day."

Like many earnest and faithful servants of God, he could not accomplish what he desired, because he preached and insisted upon a change of heart. Many of his brethren in the ministry, as well as in the laity, were turned against him. But he was not to be diverted from his purpose. Jesus Christ and Him crucified was his all-absorbing theme. He had launched his vessel, and would not put into port until the Master bade him. Near the end of the year 1758 he resigned his charge with a view of entering a field where he hoped to find a people more willing to receive the Word of Life.

From Lancaster he went to Tulpehocken, where he took charge temporarily of two congregations. Here he found less opposition and more freedom. His purpose was not only to fill the pulpit on the Sabbath, but to win souls to Christ. To accomplish this he went from house to house, like a true pastor. It was a new measure, and the people were surprised to see a man so in earnest. Here for the first time he introduced evening meetings, at which he would read portions of Scripture, sing, pray, and exhort the people. This was another new measure, and the people were not a little astonished at it. For one to be so concerned about the souls of others was new and strange. At this time there was not a Methodist society in America. Those who were church members, especially among the Germans, were mere nominal Christians. Otterbein understood the situation, and, like Isaiah, would not rest nor hold his peace until the people were aroused. "What does this mean?" said some; "the minister and men and women kneel and pray and weep, and call upon God, for Jesus' sake, to have mercy upon them. Who ever heard of such procedure?" These prayer-meetings afforded important aid to the blessed work of reformation.

While Otterbein was scattering the precious seed in and around Tulpehocken, another link was being formed, which, under the hand of God, was to be welded into the chain which was being wrought out. It was

not by accident or chance; God did it in his own way. It is wonderful how God will sometimes bring together elements which in their nature are altogether dissimilar. Otterbein was well educated and regularly ordained to the office of a minister, and if it had been left to men to select a co-laborer no doubt the choice would have been from among men of high culture in a literary sense. But God's ways are not man's ways, nor his thoughts their thoughts.

Martin Boehm was the son of a farmer, and a farmer himself. He was a minister elect in the Mennonite society, of which his parents were members. Whilst it is doubtless true that the Mennonites in former times were among the most enlightened and spiritual people in Europe, it is also true that in America, at the time of which we are now writing, they were devoted to forms, having lost their spiritual power.

Soon after Boehm was elected preacher he made an effort to preach, but failed, and so for a number of times. This distressed him very much. To be a preacher, and yet have nothing to preach, was, to his sensitive nature, very humiliating. To teach others the way of salvation, and not know the way himself, finally drove him to earnest prayer. "I felt constrained," he said, "to pray for myself, and while praying my mind became alarmed. I felt and saw myself a poor sinner. I was lost. My agony became great. I was plowing in the field, and kneeled down at each end of the furrow to pray. The word *Lost! Lost!* [*Verlohren! Verlohren!*] went every round with me. Midway in the field, I could go no farther. I sank down behind the plow, crying, 'Lord, save me! I am lost!' Then came to me the thought or voice, 'I am come to seek and to save that which is lost.' In a moment I was filled with unspeakable joy, and I was saved."

Here now were two men brought into the light and liberty of the sons of God, who up to this time had not seen each other. They were members of churches widely different from each other. But religion is a unit,—one thing. All are baptized by one Spirit into one body. Two precious revivals were now going on: one under the labors of Otterbein at Tulpehocken, and the other under the labors of Boehm among the Mennonites.

A meeting (called in the German language a *grosse versammlung*) was appointed to be held in Isaac Long's barn, near Lancaster, Pennsylvania. It was to be a general meeting for all who desired to attend. It is not known by whom this meeting was appointed, most probably by Boehm. The time came, and with it the members of the various churches: German Reformed, Mennonites, Tinkers, and Lutherans; possibly other denominations were represented. Some came for one thing and some for another, but nearly all were drawn together out of curiosity. They were anxious to see what would grow of such a meeting, for it was new and strange. Here these

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two evangelical ministers met for the first time. Boehm was a small man, and was dressed in the plain style of a Mennonite preacher. Otterbein was a large man, and dressed in the ordinary clerical style of his church. There was a striking contrast in the *personnel* of the two men.

Boehm, in his plain and neat attire, preached the opening sermon. All eyes were turned upon him as he stood expounding the Word of God. No one listened with greater interest than did Otterbein. As the heart of the preacher warmed with his subject, it kindled and fed a flame in the heart of the other. At the close of the sermon, and before Boehm had time to resume his seat, Otterbein arose and, folding him in his arms, exclaimed with a loud voice, "We are brethren!" This was a strange and unexpected turn of affairs,—the scholarly Otterbein holding in his arms the plain and unassuming Boehm, and this, too, upon their first meeting. It was not the result of education, nor of any natural affinity; it was simply a proof of the unity of religion,—baptized by one Spirit into one body. Boehm lived for many years, and was the honored instrument of winning many precious souls to Christ. After their first meeting, these two evangelical preachers often met, and were fast friends until death separated them.

In 1760, Otterbein accepted a call from the Reformed church at Frederick, Maryland. Here, as at Tulpehocken, he entered upon his labors with all the zeal and ardor of a man who felt the worth of perishing souls. The salvation of souls was to his mind paramount to everything else. During his stay at Frederick he extended his labors into the regions round about, holding services in barns, private houses, and often in the open air. Scores of precious souls were awakened and brought to Christ through his labors at and around Frederick..

Dr. Zacharias, pastor of the Reformed church in Frederick, in a centenary sermon makes the following remarks concerning Otterbein: "During Mr. Otterbein's labors here the church in which we now worship was built; also the parsonage which has been the successive residence of your pastors ever since. . . . A few letters are still preserved in our archives, written by Mr. Otterbein, while at York, to members of this charge. From these letters, brief as they are, you may easily gather the spirit of the man. Though laboring in another field, he remembered with affectionate kindness and concern the people whom he had recently left. He mourned over them, and endeavored to profit them by imparting to them his godly council, and offering up in their behalf his earnest prayers."

This testimony, coming from such a man as Dr. Zacharias more than eighty years after Otterbein had served them as pastor, shows the very high esteem in which he was held among the people. But no wonder, for "he was a good man, full of the Holy Ghost and faith."

An educated German gives this testimony concerning the appearance

and preaching of Otterbein: "Nearly half a century has passed since I became acquainted with Otterbein, and never will I forget the impression made upon my mind when I first saw and heard him. It was on Good Friday, in the forenoon, when by the persuasion of a friend I entered the church where he officiated. A venerable, portly old man, above six feet in height, erect in posture, apparently about seventy-five years of age, stood before me. He had a remarkably high and prominent forehead. Gray hair fell smoothly down both sides of his head, on his temples; and his eyes were large, blue, and piercing, and sparkled with the fire of love which warmed the heart. In his appearance and manners there was nothing repulsive, but all was attractive, and calculated to command the most profound attention and reverence. He opened his lips in prayer to Jehovah. Oh, what a voice, what a prayer! Every word thrilled my heart. I had heard many prayers, but never one before like this. The words of his text were these: 'Thus it is written, and thus it behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name, among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.' As he proceeded in the elucidation of the text and its application, it seemed that every word was exactly adapted to my case, and intended for me. Every sentence smote me. On the following Sabbath I again went to his church, when he took special notice of the young stranger, and gave me an invitation to visit him on the following day. I complied with the friendly request with some reluctance, it is true, but was received with such unaffected tenderness and love, and addressed with so much solicitude for my salvation, that my heart was won."

In 1765 Otterbein closed his labors at Frederick, and accepted a call to York, Pennsylvania. Here he labored for nine years with his usual zeal and success. During all these years at Pursues his work in the Reformed body. Tulpehocken, Frederick, and York, he was continually being joined by additional laborers, most of whom had been awakened and brought into the true light through his and Boehm's instrumentality. But it was no part of Otterbein's purpose to organize a new church. He only sought to win souls to Christ, and impress upon the consciences of the people, and especially the formal professors of religion, "that a vital union with Christ was essential to a religious life." But God intended him for a leader, and so controlled the circumstances that without his own choice he was soon placed at the head of a new denomination.

From York Otterbein removed to Baltimore. This was in the year 1774. He was in the forty-eighth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his ministry. "Nearly twenty years had passed since he had entered fully into the light and liberty of the sons of God; and during all that period he had labored incessantly, in public and private, to promote in the churches a revival of Bible religion." If he had been in-

fluenced by the love of ease or money, he would doubtless have remained in charge of some of the more wealthy and popular congregations. But he had a higher and nobler aim. He was after souls for the Master; and many a poor wanderer was led by him into the fold of Christ.

About this time it was that he formed the acquaintance of Francis Asbury, and they remained firm friends up to the time of Otterbein's death. When Asbury was to be ordained to the office of bishop (1784) such was his confidence in Otterbein that he requested that he should assist in his ordination. Otterbein, many severe conflicts past, finally organized Organizes a new denomination. at Baltimore "The United Brethren in Christ," a church in doctrine and discipline distinct from and independent of all other denominations. This, as already intimated, was not his own choice; there was a combination of circumstances, over which he seemed not to have any control, that forced him into this measure. This organization was perfected September 25. 1800. The new communion, in its formal existence, began, therefore, almost contemporaneously with the new century. Otterbein was chosen to lead the new body in the office of bishop, Boehm being associated with him.

"The great meetings which had been so happily inaugurated at Isaac Long's had been attended from year to year by the richest blessings. They had become an institution of no small value. Thither went up the people of God from all quarters and churches, as the tribes of Israel flowed together at the feast of tabernacles." Otterbein was nearly always present at these meetings. Many there were who bitterly opposed this work, but still it went on. When one had tasted the precious word of truth, he would say, "Oh, this precious gospel must be preached to my neighbors!"

Otterbein continued in Baltimore for nearly forty years. Here, as at Tulpehocken, Frederick, and York, his work was attended with tokens of the divine sanction. Scores and hundreds of souls were brought to Christ. "The little wooden church in which his congregation first worshiped gave place to a larger structure, and that in turn to the spacious edifice which now stands on Conway Street."

At length, after spending sixty-two years in the ministry, the end was reached, and on the 17th of November, 1813, he fell asleep in Jesus. The last vocal prayer offered up at his bedside was by an evangelical Lutheran minister, the Rev. Dr. Kurtz, a personal friend of Otterbein. The last words of Otterbein were these: "Jesus, Jesus, I die, but Thou livest, and soon I shall live with Thee." Turning to his friends who had come to see how their pastor and leader would meet death, he continued, "The conflict is over and past. I begin to feel an unspeakable fullness of love and peace divine. Lay my head upon my pillow, and be still."

"He taught us how to live, and oh, too high
A price of knowledge, taught us how to die!"

The remains of Otterbein were buried in the church-yard on Howard's Hill, in the city of Baltimore. The grave is adorned with two plain marble slabs, the upper one resting on four pillars of marble, with the following inscription:—

HIER RUHEN
DIE GEBEINE DES VERSTORBENEN
WILLIAM OTTERBEIN.
GEBOREN 4 JUNI, 1726;
GESTORBEN 17 NOVEMBER, 1813.
SEINES ALTERS,
87 JAHRE, 6 MONATE, 13 TAGE.

“Selig sind die Todten die in dem Herrn sterben; sie ruhen von ihrer Arbeit; denn ihre Werke folgen ihnen nach.”

HERE REST
THE REMAINS OF
WILLIAM OTTERBEIN.
BORN JUNE 4, 1726;
DEPARTED THIS LIFE NOVEMBER 17, 1813
AGED
87 YEARS, 6 MONTHS, 13 DAYS.

“Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord; for they rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.”

Four months after the death of Mr. Otterbein, the Methodist conference met in the city of Baltimore. On the last day of the conference Bishop Asbury, who was a warm personal friend of Mr. Otterbein, preached a sermon in Otterbein's pulpit. Referring to the occasion in his journal, Asbury said, “By request, I discoursed on the character of the angel of the church of Philadelphia, in allusion to William Otterbein,—the holy, the great Otterbein,—whose funeral discourse it was intended to be. Solemnity marked the silent meeting in the German church, where were assembled the members of our conference and many of the clergy of the city. Forty years have I known the retiring modesty of this man of God towering majestic above his fellows in learning, wisdom, and grace, yet seeking to be known only to God and the people of God.”

Otterbein was not a partisan. “A man of a more catholic spirit never lived,”—pure in character, simple and easy in his manners, benevolent in heart, and humble in spirit. Though persecuted through the most of his ministerial life, he did not murmur nor complain. When denounced as an “enthusiast,” “false prophet,” and “fanatic,” he would weep over his enemies. “But it was as a preacher and as an evangelist that he most excelled.” When he was eighty years old, Bishop Newcomer heard him preach, and thus speaks of it:—“Oh, what feelings penetrate my soul whenever this old servant of Christ declares the counsel of God! In depth of erudition and in perspicuity of thought he is unique and matchless.” Two generations have passed since that sainted father in Israel fell asleep in Jesus, but his works still follow him.—J. W.

LIFE X. JAMES MANNING.

A. D. 1738—A. D. 1791. BAPTIST, — AMERICA.

JAMES MANNING has been selected to represent the Baptists of the colonial period in American history; not that he represents them altogether, but rather that, rising from among them, he led them into the new era which followed. He closed the first volume of their history and opened a new page. The son of the earlier time, he was the father of a new generation of better training and ampler fortune. His active and public life covers the period between 1762 and 1791, during which the colonies became a nation, and many new paths opened to American life and religion. He thus belonged to both periods, and to the transition from the one to the other.

There is another name, of earlier date, related, indeed, to the very beginnings of colonial history, and illustrating the same town of Providence and colony of Rhode Island where Manning spent his years, which might for some purposes take the first and representative place. The history of the Baptists in America begins with Roger Williams. He had not always been of them, and was not long with them. He came from England a Puritan and a Separatist. At Plymouth and Salem he had been an accepted minister of the Word, but his advanced opinions gave offense, and provoked the authorities to banish him from the colony of Massachusetts Bay. He passed beyond its borders, and planted a colony and a state on the shores of Narragansett. Most of his companions, like himself, were dissenters from the ecclesiastical order in Massachusetts Bay, and had taken refuge with him for sake of a larger liberty of opinion. He says, "Having, in a sense of God's merciful providence unto me in my distress, called the place *Providence*, I desired it might be for a shelter for persons distressed of conscience."¹ Here he received lay baptism at the hands of one of his associates, and with eleven other persons joined in the formation of a Baptist church, the first in America, with but one other like it, as far as we know, in England. This was in the year 1638-1639. In a short time he separated himself from all churches, becoming a "seeker."

Williams, not only as the progenitor of a long and numerous line of Baptists in America, but on account of his early and courageous advocacy of entire freedom in religion, and his establishment of a colony and a state, the first in the civilized world to incorporate these principles into its law and practice, is an illustrious figure in our early history. The Baptists have always counted him among their honorable names, and have set him forward as their representative. And yet he gave them no con-

¹ Deed of R. Williams to his associates in 1638, *Rhode Island Colonial Records*, i. 22.

scious impulse, and would have disclaimed all praise of leadership. In fact, prior to 1740, the Baptists had had small growth, and only such as comes of itself, without the championship of leaders, or the strength and productiveness of association. In that year George Whitefield landed at Newport, in Rhode Island, and became for thirty years one of the principal agencies in a mighty spiritual movement, one of whose issues was a more rapid multiplication of the churches of the Baptists. In 1734, at the time of the great awakening under Jonathan Edwards, there were but fifteen Baptist churches in New England;¹ and in 1740, when Whitefield began to lift up here his trumpet, there were only thirty-seven, with less than three thousand members, in all North America. Fifty years later, in 1790, when Manning was just closing his life, there were eight hundred and seventy-two churches, with nearly sixty-five thousand members,² they having multiplied twenty-fold.

Baptist progress
in the days of
Manning.

The early Baptists were inconsiderable in numbers, their ministry had little learning, and they suffered the manifold disabilities of a dissenting minority. But before the Revolution, indeed, on the heels of the Great Awakening, their more rapid growth began. An acute and learned writer in the "North American Review"³ (1876), in reviewing religion in America for the first century of the republic, ascribes this growth to "two distinct causes:" One was, that they insisted on a personal experience of religion as the absolute condition of admission to the church of Christ, the characteristic doctrine of the Great Awakening. But besides this, there was another and perhaps more potent reason: "A distinctive characteristic of the Baptists was the energy with which they extolled the gifts of the Spirit, and advocated an unlearned ministry. On this latter point, as we have already seen, the Congregationalists took high ground. Even Edwards, the most powerful promoter of the revival, would not allow that a man should enter the pulpit 'who had had no education at college.' Against what seemed to them an unrighteous prejudice in favor of 'the original tongues,' both Separatists and Baptists strenuously maintained 'that every brother that is qualified by God has a right to preach according to the measure of faith.' 'Lowly preaching' became their favorite watch-word, and it marked the beginning of a popular tendency destined to make itself deeply felt in the religious institutions of New England. The Baptists not only gained a controlling influence with a devout but humble class, who had little appetite for the elaborate discussions of the Congregational divines, but they were powerfully helped by the prejudice which exists, in every community, against the exclusiveness of superior culture. The rapid growth of the Baptists was, in large part, a democratic protest, and it is

¹ Hovey, *Life of Backus*, 261.

² Cramp, *Baptist History*, 527.

³ *North American Review*, January, 1876, art. i., by Prof. J. L. Diman.

a noticeable fact that even during the war their numbers steadily augmented." Whatever truth there may be in this view, it is also true that at the same time with the expansion of this denomination of Christians, there appeared among them a movement towards a higher education, in which James Manning was a leader.

Manning a
leader in educa-
tion.

He was born in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, October 22, 1738, and graduated at the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, September 29, 1762. At the time of his graduation there were but six colleges in the country. Of these, two were in New England under the control of the Congregationalists, one in New Jersey under the Presbyterians, and three under the Episcopalians in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. It was natural, with a rising desire for better education among a growing Christian communion, that they should desire a college of their own. This desire came to the surface most strongly among the Baptists of Pennsylvania, who had organized an association of churches, which was the only one in the country for nearly sixty years. The Philadelphia Association had taken action and started a movement towards a college, looking to Rhode Island as the colony where, from the religious persuasion of a large number of the people, and the liberal spirit of its government from the beginning, they would be most likely to find an open field and friendly encouragement. Manning went there in July, 1763, undoubtedly under the impulse of this action, and by his efforts the project of "a seminary of polite literature subject to the government of the Baptists" was set on foot, and a liberal charter obtained from the General Assembly. It was called Rhode Island College, receiving its present name of Brown University in honor of its greatest benefactor forty years later, in 1804. Manning had been previously ordained to the ministry, and in the spring of 1764 he removed to Warren, a town not far from Providence, where he combined the offices of pastor of the church and president of the college for a number of years. The church had been formed as a result of his preaching, and he had been appointed president of the college, having first undertaken a school which proved to be the beginning of the college. The transfer of the college to Providence, a step which proved of the greatest advantage to the infant institution, was a great trial to him. "So affectionately desirous," says Professor Goddard, "was Dr. Manning of the people of his care, many of whom had, through his instrumentality, experienced the transforming efficacy of the religion of Christ, that he could not find it in his heart to leave them. To avoid a separation so painful to his sensibilities, he even proposed to resign the elevated position to which he had just been appointed. To this proposition his influential friends would not listen, and they persuaded him to abandon all thought of resigning the presidentship. While we are compelled to think that his decision was a wise one, we honor the feelings which well-nigh betrayed

his judgment. Under similar circumstances, how few men would have faltered; how few would have sought to renounce the pathway to literary and social distinction for the unambitious career of a village pastor!"

But in Providence a larger opportunity was prepared for him, and he found ample scope for his gifts as a preacher as well as an educator. For three quarters of a century the church ^{Manning's work in Providence.} founded by Roger Williams had been the only one of any persuasion. When Manning removed to Providence, in May, 1770, it was more than one hundred and thirty years old, and yet in a population of four thousand people it had but one hundred and eighteen members. For all this time it had been going on, receiving neither from within nor from without any vigorous impulse. Its ministers had been natives, bred on the spot, and were generally in advanced years, at work for their daily bread, and without special training. Like the early Baptists and Quakers in England, they discarded singing and music in worship.¹ Moreover, very early, and almost from the start, the church had adopted the rite of imposition of hands in connection with baptism, and insisted upon it as prerequisite to the communion of the Lord's Supper. It had been extremely rigorous as to this rite, and refused prayer or communion with those who did not conform to the practice. This singular tenacity for an essential rite was the sign of a contracted spirit, and very likely the reason for a contracted influence. Whatever more liberal views may have existed were suppressed. But the advent of President Manning emancipated the more liberal tendencies, and started the church on the higher career which it has followed for more than a century. His coming was like a fresh breeze. The old torpor began to stir. The old strictness relaxed. Religion was powerfully revived. The college came bringing fresh impulses and new demands. It joined itself to the church in many ways. A meeting-house was erected "for the public worship of Almighty God, and also for holding Commencement in," so spacious and elegant that it still stands, five years more than a century old, the most notable structure for religious purposes in a city with a hundred thousand people, though built in a village with no more than four thousand inhabitants. Manning found congenial spirits, men of enlarged views, who could appreciate a minister of more liberal training, and whose hands were ready for works of improvement. His very first Sunday brought to a crisis the differences of opinion in regard to the imposition of hands as requisite to communion. The minister and a section of the church holding the narrower and stringent view withdrew, and he was at once invited to take pastoral charge. Thus his love for the active ministry of the Word was gratified, while he was called to the front as leader in an enterprise of education most important to that growing

¹ W. Tallack, *George Fox and the Early Baptists*; R. Barclay, *The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*.

branch of the Christian church to which he belonged. He became at once the minister of the oldest church of the Baptists in America, and president of their first college, and no position could be more commanding.

And he had admirable fitness for the position. He was of impressive presence, of large and handsome person, of elegant and genial manners. His learning, if not extensive, was sufficient, and his eloquence in all public address very effective. He was the first clergyman of liberal education who had ministered to the congregation. To all his gifts was added the dignity of his office. And above all was an ardor of piety and an excellence of character which allayed prejudice and won respect. Though he was but thirty-two years old, his talents and his attainments gave him prominence at a time when there were few educated clergymen in his denomination, and few persons equal to leadership in an educational enterprise, while his youth lent a charm and a power quite inspiring in such a community.

In the winter of 1774, while the people were engaged in the erection of the large meeting-house modeled after St. Martin's-in-the-Fields in London, a power greater than Manning's was felt among them. He writes to a friend in England, "In the beginning of the winter of 1774, it pleased the Lord in a most remarkable manner to revive his work in the town of Providence, and more especially among the people of my charge. Such a time I never before saw. Numbers were pricked to the heart. Our public assemblies by night and by day were crowded, and the auditors seemed to hear as for the life of their souls. It was frequently an hour before I could get from the pulpit to the door, on account of the numbers thronging to have an opportunity of stating the condition of their minds. Never before did I experience such happy hours in the pulpit. Day and night my dear people resorted to my house to open to me the state of their souls, insomuch that it was with difficulty I could at any time attend to secular business; and I think I may say with truth that I had as little inclination as leisure for it, further than absolute duty required. And what added peculiarly to my happiness was that the Lord visited the college as remarkably as the congregation. Frequently, when I went to the recitation room, I would find nearly all the students assembled and joining in prayer and praise to God. Instead of my lectures on logic and philosophy they would request me to speak to them of the things concerning the kingdom of God. . . . In the space of about six months I baptized more than one hundred persons. . . . Thus the glorious work continued, and rather increased, until the fatal 19th of April, when the affair at Lexington happened, which, like an electric shock, filled every mind with horror and compassion."¹

The war of the Revolution, precipitated by "the affair at Lexington,"

¹ Guild, *Manning and Brown University*, 246.

through all its hard years of public distress, arrested the springing life of church and college. Fortunately, the meeting-house had been finished and dedicated between the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill, and the church had a home, though its members were scattered and its life languished. The college was closed, and its building was used for a barrack or a hospital for soldiers. There were no students and no Commencements. No degrees were conferred till 1786. It was in that year that Dr. Manning was elected a delegate to Congress. He had few inclinations for political life, but he ardently sympathized with his struggling country, and his position and character drew to him the spontaneous confidence and suffrage of his fellow-citizens. The proceedings of the Congress were not public, and what part Dr. Manning took in its deliberations we do not know. That he filled his place with the dignity of a gentleman, the uprightness of a Christian, and the fidelity of a patriot is clear from the whole tenor of his life.

Manning a patriot in political life.

His life was now near a sudden and premature close. He seems almost to have expected it, although he was only in his fifty-fourth year, and bearing upon his person the signs of undecayed vigor and health. In April, 1791, he notified the corporation of the college of his desire to be relieved from his office when a successor should be appointed. On the last Sabbath of the same month he also preached a sermon of farewell to the church. On the 24th of July following, while engaged in prayer in his home on Sunday morning, he was taken with apoplexy, and with no revival of consciousness soon passed to his eternal rest, as "universally lamented," says the historian of the Baptists, Isaac Backus, "as any man that I have known."

For nearly thirty years he had been in Rhode Island, devoting his life to the highest interests. He had given a new impulse to an ancient church, which became one of the first as it was the oldest of the communion to which it belonged. In the birth and beginnings of a college which for two generations was the only one belonging to American Baptists, he had the principal part. His learning, his powers, his character, his fidelity in all trusts, his sympathy with the depressed and feeble churches of his own religious persuasion, his leadership in their aspirations after liberal education, gave him great honor in his own day, and a position of singular eminence, if not of primacy, in the generation of Baptists which closed the colonial and began the national period of our history. In the long time between Williams and Manning there arose among them no name more illustrious, and no person who more fitly and more nobly represents them. One imagines that if Williams had remained among them and of them, with his genius, his university training, his enthusiasm, so strong in the courage of his opinions, so magnetic in his influence over others, devoting the fifty years

of his life in America to the propagation of their sentiments and the increase of their churches, the future would have been different, and Manning might have entered on quite another inheritance, and found his work in a good measure anticipated. But Providence is wiser and stronger than any man, or any number of men, and takes its own hours and ways, and waits till it is ready, and times and locates, arrests and hurries, precedes and follows, according to a wisdom and a will of its own. These men both served its purpose, and made a way for others, a way for the conception of Christianity which they had embraced to advance to a wider dominion and a history in missions, in education, quite beyond their dreams.—S. L. C.

LIFE XII. FRANCIS ASBURY.

A. D. 1745—A. D. 1816. METHODIST EPISCOPAL,—AMERICA.

FRANCIS ASBURY, the pioneer bishop of America, was born in the parish of Handsworth, Staffordshire, England, August 20, 1745. He was of humble extraction, his father being a gardener by occupation. Both the elder Asbury and his wife were members of the Established Church, and they were careful—the mother especially—to indoctrinate their son in the fundamental truths of the gospel. There were but two children in the family, Francis, and a sister, who however died in infancy. But though he thus came in for a double share of tenderness on the part of his mother, he does not seem to have become in any sense a spoiled child because an only one. Perhaps this is to be attributed to the truly religious atmosphere of his home, which was sanctified by daily reading of the Scriptures and prayer. As soon as he was old enough he was sent to school, his father affording him every opportunity within his means, to acquire a good common English education, but his success as a student was not what could have been desired. The teacher “was a great churl,” and beat the lad so unmercifully that he conceived a dislike not only for him, but for his books as well, and at length became quite discouraged. The religious tendency of the boy’s mind became quite apparent at this time. After suffering from some fresh cruelty inflicted by the master, oppressed with the shame and sorrow consequent upon the punishment, he used to retire, as soon as he could, to some unfrequented place, and there pour out his heart to God in prayer. He became quite pensive and retiring, a trait of character for which he was, in some measure, distinguished through life.

His sufferings as a school-boy.

Finding that he did not make the advancement in his studies which he desired, his father removed him from school, and set him to work

under the direction of a person who appeared to understand him better than the teacher had done, and who treated him kindly. The change of treatment had a beneficial effect upon the boy, which soon became apparent; for, while he did not neglect his work, he also soon commenced to apply himself to reading during his hours of leisure, and rose rapidly in the estimation of those with whom he was associated. No better proof is required of the carefulness with which his parents had instructed him in religion, or of his own docile disposition and religious bent of mind, than the fact that, no matter how provoked, he never uttered "an oath," and always scrupulously adhered to the truth. A moral, upright boy, young Asbury's religious principles may be said to have been firmly established by the time he was fourteen years of age.

About this time he became very much interested in the conversations of a pious man who occasionally visited at his father's house; but, as in the case of the Wesleys, he seems to have been more indebted to his mother than to any one else for the religious impressions made upon his susceptible mind. Having become anxious for his personal salvation, he now entered more fully on a life of constant prayer and serious reflection.

The fame of John Wesley and the Methodists had reached this humble Staffordshire home, but as the new people were everywhere spoken against, young Asbury was somewhat doubtful as to the propriety of going near them. Upon consulting his mother, however, he found that she entertained a favorable opinion of them. Indeed, she recommended her son to attend their meetings and judge for himself, as to whether the influence they exerted was for good or ill. An opportunity soon presented itself. The Methodists were to have a meeting some miles distant from his father's house, and thither he went in company with a friend. Arrived at the place of worship, everything he saw excited his surprise. From beginning to end the entire service was altogether different from any to which the lad had hitherto been accustomed. The preaching place, instead of being a church or chapel, was a private residence, the people knelt at time of prayer, and in response to the earnest petitions of the preacher, many of them said "Amen;" the congregation sang without a choir, and the peculiar melody of the tunes, and the adaptation of the words of the hymns to the tunes, not merely surprised, but delighted him, and, to cap the climax, the preacher "prayed without the use of a prayer-book," and preached without "a sermon-book." But though all this appeared very strange to the young listener, he nevertheless considered it a very good way, particularly as the preacher not only spoke readily but clearly as well, pointing out the plan of salvation, the necessity of faith in Christ, and the "confidence and assurance" of the children of God. The inquiring mind of young Asbury at once grasped this idea of the confidence and assurance of God's children, and

he determined not to rest till he obtained it. Upon his return home with this purpose in view, he went with a young friend, of like Enters upon a religious life. frame of mind with himself, into his father's barn to pray for the desired blessing, and in answer to the petition, he says, "I believe the Lord pardoned my sins and justified my soul." He was then about sixteen years of age. About a year after his conversion he began to exercise his gifts as a local preacher, and when between twenty-one and twenty-two years of age, he commenced his regular ministerial career under the direction of Wesley.

From the beginning it was evident to a person of Wesley's discernment that Asbury had within him the elements of true greatness. Though no collegian, not even an educated man, as the term is understood, his pulpit efforts were from the outset highly appreciated by the people. Crowds attended his preaching, and competent judges were surprised at his ready utterance and his power in moving his audiences. He was therefore gladly received on the various circuits to which Wesley appointed him; and so characteristic of the man, and of the times too, was the zeal with which he entered on his ministry, that for some years he would not distract his mind from what he believed to be his legitimate work, or leave his flock long enough to attend the sessions of the conference. If his seniors devised and planned the work, he was content to carry out those plans though he had no hand in the planning.

He was unassuming in manner, and quite prepossessing in his personal appearance. Though always sedate, as was the manner of the early Methodist preachers, he was nevertheless cheerful. In dress he was neat, without any appearance of foppishness. In demeanor he was courteous, and always ready to evince his sympathy for those who were cast down in feelings, or who were afflicted or oppressed; and so far as can be ascertained, he appears to have been impartial in the administration of discipline. Such being the characteristics of the man, it is not surprising that

Chosen by Wesley for America. Wesley should have considered him competent to fill the position which he shortly after assigned to him in America. Accounts of the religious destitution of the American colonies had reached Asbury in his English home and fired him with a zealous desire to go to their relief, so that when Wesley approached him upon the subject, he was as willing to go upon the mission as Wesley was to send him.

In 1771 Wesley, in compliance with the earnest solicitations of the American societies for more missionaries, laid their case before his conference, and asked for volunteers; and in response to this call, Francis Asbury and Richard Wright offered themselves. They were accepted, and the supervision of the entire work in America was entrusted by Mr. Wesley to Mr. Asbury. Then they immediately commenced to make preparation for their voyage.

And now commences a new epoch in the life of Francis Asbury. He goes to America as Mr. Wesley's representative there, and is to enter upon a new and altogether untried field of operations. In many respects the old methods and plans of working, so well adapted to the people of the Old World, will be utterly impracticable in the New. Hereafter, in most cases his plans must be determined by the exigencies of the case in hand; he will have no precedent by which to be guided. In short, it may be said his actual career is but now begun.

But short time was spent in leave-taking; a few of his more intimate friends were visited, an affectionate and final earthly farewell was taken of his parents, and then he set out for Bristol, where he remained from the latter end of August till the 4th of September, when he and his associate, Mr. Wright, set sail. Such unwavering faith had Asbury in God's providential care for him, and in the genuineness of his call to the work, that though so insufficiently supplied with means that by the time he reached Bristol he had not one penny in his purse, he nevertheless felt assured that funds for his journey would be provided in due time. Nor was he disappointed, for some friends in the city supplied him with the necessary clothing, and ten pounds. "Thus," says he, "I found by experience that He will provide for those who trust in Him."

During his protracted voyage, however, lasting nearly two months, Mr. Asbury found that what was sufficient clothing for comfort in Bristol was very insufficient for one exposed to the cold blasts of the boisterous Atlantic; but in mid-ocean no oversight on this point could be remedied, and he endured the discomforts of his position with a spirit befitting one who had resolved to "endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ." The captain treated both him and Wright courteously, permitting them to preach on board when they desired to do so, which they accordingly did several times. The responsibility resting upon him in view of the mission he had undertaken to an unknown people occasioned him considerable anxiety, but he wrote, "I have great cause to believe that I am not running before I am sent."

On the 27th of October the missionaries landed at Philadelphia, where Asbury preached, and after spending a few days in the city and vicinity, where they were treated very kindly, they proceeded to New York, visiting Staten Island, *en route*. In New York, too, they were cordially received, and Asbury at once set to work to gather accurate information concerning the strength and requirements of the societies, in order that he might send a correct report to Wesley. At this time (1771) the Methodist societies on the entire continent of America numbered only about six hundred members, with ten preachers. Of churches there were very few, and those far apart. Their principal preaching places were court-houses and occasionally private houses, barns, or

the woods, according as they had friends or influence. How widely different this from the status to which Methodism had attained long before Asbury's death, and largely through his instrumentality.

But though Asbury had been so very cordially received by his brethren on his arrival, his path was nevertheless very far from being strewn with roses. His view of administering discipline and of a general plan of working was in some slight particulars different from theirs, and occasionally his judgment on these matters was questioned; but while courteous to his brethren, he was also firm where he was sure he was right, as will be seen in the following extracts from his journal: "I am fixed to the Methodist plan, and do what I do faithfully as to God. . . . At present I am dissatisfied. I judge we are to be shut up in the cities this winter. My brethren seem unwilling to leave the cities, but I think I shall show them the way. I am in trouble, and more trouble is at hand, for I am determined to make a stand against all partiality." That he did make such a stand, and that he was successful in preventing many irregularities from creeping into the church at this period, is much to his credit and to the credit of those associated with him, even though they sometimes differed from him in judgment. His preaching was quite as acceptable to his American hearers as it had been to his English hearers, and he was quite as zealous in the discharge of his ministerial duties upon this side of the ocean as he had been upon the other, and even more laborious. To make up for lost time he became a diligent student; and that his studies might not interfere with the performance of other duties, and also because it was one of the good old "Methodist plans," to which he was fixed, he became an early riser. When well he was seldom found in bed after five o'clock in the morning, and he often rose at four. The hours between rising and breakfast were given to prayer, meditation, and reading, and in order to utilize each instant he often continued his reading on horseback, while going from one appointment to another. Being still a young man, comparatively speaking, with his mind in full vigor, he in this way acquired a large amount of very valuable information, which he wisely funded for future use. By carefully economizing every leisure moment in this way he was able to carry on an extensive correspondence, and post his journal from time to time.

But a new era in the history of the nation was at hand, and the events connected therewith very materially affected Asbury, and influenced his after life.

It had been a work of time to get all the societies into the exact methodical working order which both he and Wesley desired, and scarcely was this object attained when the Revolutionary War began to loom upon the horizon. At its commencement a few of the leading preachers determined to return to Eng-

Hardships during the Revolutionary War.

land at once, but while Asbury was still an honest Englishman, he was also too true-hearted a missionary to leave his flock in such perilous times. The Methodist societies were dearer to him than even Old England, or his much-loved kindred; and beside this, his own utterances show that he was in sympathy with the colonists in their struggle; so he determined to remain and await the issue. But neither zeal nor heroism saved him from reproach, misapprehension, and annoyance. In some of the States he was forbidden to preach at all, in others his motives for remaining were aspersed, and for a year he had to take refuge with Judge White in Delaware, by whose hospitable family he was treated with every mark of respect. Nor did he alone suffer obloquy. Freeborn Garretson and others of his heroic associates, being native-born, hoped that they might be allowed to continue their labors, and attempted to do so, but they were persecuted and imprisoned. While Asbury was secreted at Judge White's, what he considered his legitimate work, that for which he lived, was of necessity almost entirely given up; though when he dared he would venture out to pray with and preach to the families in the vicinity of the judge's mansion.

At last the terrible storm of war was over, and Asbury was free once more to go where he would about his Master's business, and indefatigably as ever he traveled north and south, east and west, far as the settlements extended, striving to gather in again the flocks which had been scattered so widely during those long years of bitter strife between the two countries. Most ably and faithfully did he discharge the duties of the position which had been assigned to him by Wesley.

The Revolutionary War swept away every vestige of church and state connection in the colonies now become an independent nation, and also left the Methodist societies in an undesirable condition in regard to general organization. In consequence of this, Wesley, who now felt himself untrammelled, so far, at least, as America was concerned, by his connection with the state church in England, proceeded to make provision for the organization of the societies into a regular independent church. To this end, therefore, he ordained Messrs. Whatcoat and Vasey elders, and Dr. Coke general superintendent, giving him letters of episcopal authority, and commissioning him and his associates named above to proceed to America and ordain Asbury to the office of bishop, and also to ordain deacons and elders, — in short, to organize the church so that the people might receive the sacraments from their own pastors.

As soon as possible after Dr. Coke's arrival a general conference of the American preachers was called, which convened at Baltimore December 25, 1784, when Wesley's scheme was heartily concurred in and Asbury was unanimously elected by his American brethren themselves, as well as appointed by Wesley one of the bishops of the newly organized church, which was entitled the "Methodist Episcopal Church."

Asbury becomes
bishop.

Dr. Coke, who had been ordained by Wesley, and who had also been elected bishop at the same time with Asbury, now proceeded to ordain him to the office and work of a bishop, and who that has carefully traced Asbury's subsequent career will say that his was not truly an apostolic episcopate, in the proper sense of the New Testament term? Had he traveled weary miles undeterred by summer's heat or winter's cold, by hunger or by fear of danger, had he crossed wild mountains and forded unbridged rivers, wooed sleep unsheltered in the wilderness or on the naked floors of rude frontier cabins, and in every way labored diligently for the advancement of his Master's kingdom, before his ordination; after it he was in travels and in sacrifices and in labors yet more abundant. Formerly his oversight and jurisdiction had been somewhat circumscribed, and his labors, even then Herculean, were sometimes followed by a brief season of rest; but now his responsibility for the oversight of all the societies upon the continent was unshared by any one during the absence of Dr. Coke, and hereafter there would be no season of rest as long as the physical frame would bear the strain.

January 3, 1785, he says, "Rode fifty miles through frost and snow to Fairfax, Virginia, and got in about seven o'clock." Two days after: "We had an exceedingly cold ride to Prince William, little less than forty miles, and were nearly two hours after night in getting to Brother Hale's." Again next day: "We passed Fauquier Court-House and came to the north branch of the Rappahannock, which we found about waist-high and frozen from side to side. We pushed the ice out of the track, which a wagon, well for us, had made, and got over safe." Nor were such toils and dangers rare incidents in his experience. On one occasion he made a tour of three hundred miles on horseback in nine days, and rode forty miles of the route without food for man or beast. He was in peril from robbers, and sometimes from false brethren. His abhorrence of slavery and his manly protests against the "sum of all villainies" brought down upon him the enmity of those in favor of the peculiar institution. It is little wonder that nature would from time to time assert herself, and let even a bishop know that her laws were not to be broken with impunity, that after all he must care a little for the health of his own body, as well as for the health of the church. In consequence of his constant overwork and exposure, he was frequently prostrated by severe attacks of illness, but as soon as he was able to sit upon his horse he was up again and off. His one object—if we may be allowed to count three in one, as he united them—appeared to be the salvation of the people, the glory of God, and the extension of the church.

Asbury was possessed of uncommon shrewdness, and could generally read the characters of those he met at first sight, but not being infallible he sometimes found himself mistaken, to his cost. He was a rigid dis-

ciplinarian of a military cast, and occasionally made enemies of those who ought to have been his friends.

Being a bachelor himself, he had not as much sympathy for the married preachers, or those desiring to be married, as he ought, perhaps, to have had, for they certainly endured very great hardships. His remarks on the marriage of some of his preachers were occasionally quite amusing. A case or two in point will suffice as illustration. "I went," says he, "to see brother Hartley under his confinement, who is in jail for preaching, and found him determined to marry. He thought it his duty before God. I could only advise a delay till he was released from imprisonment." Later on, "Brother Hartley is now married and begins to care for his wife. . . . I find the care of a wife begins to humble my young friend, and makes him very teachable. I have thought he always carried great sail, but he will have ballast now." Several years after, writing of another, he says, "Jonathan Jackson is married. O thou pattern of celibacy, art thou caught? Who can resist? Our married man was forty years of age." Again, six years later than the date of the last extract, "At the chapel I found preachers in abundance, and a larger congregation than I had expected. . . . Here are eight young men lately married; these will call for four hundred dollars per annum additional, — so we go." After all, his excessive admiration of celibacy resulted from an ardent desire for the extension of the work.

As the years came and went, after his elevation to the episcopacy, there was no abatement of his labors. Little wonder then that he was impatient of laxity in others. But at last Asbury's abundant labors. these years of unremitting toil and care, accompanied by the frequent attacks of illness consequent upon them, told so seriously upon the physical energies of the now aged bishop, that it was deemed imprudent for him to pursue his journeyings alone; accordingly he was allowed a traveling companion, whose business it was to care for him and preach when the bishop was unable to do so himself.

In due time, as the work extended, first, Bishop Whatcoat, and at his death, Bishop MacKendree, were elected as his associates, and ordained to the same office. But no subdivision of labor, no amount of care or attention, could prevent the infirmities of old age coming on apace. By the beginning of the year 1815, Bishop Asbury was so worn down with years and ill health, that it was with great difficulty he could walk from his carriage to the pulpit, yet notwithstanding his extreme debility he continued to preach, and to plan for the well-being and extension of the church. At Cincinnati he and Bishop MacKendree had "a long and earnest talk," relative to the prospects of the work in the West, and his shrewdness and remarkable foresight, even in advanced age, are proved by the following extract, very nearly among the last in his voluminous journal. He says, "I told him [MacKendree] my opinion was that the

western part of the empire would be the glory of America for the poor and pious; that it ought to be marked out for five conferences, to wit: Ohio, Kentucky, Holston, Mississippi, and Missouri, in doing which, as well as I was able, I traced out lines and boundaries."

He attended the Ohio conference held in September, 1815, and also the conference held in Tennessee the following October. Concerning the business of this last conference he makes this note: "My eyes fail, I will resign the stations to Bishop MacKendree — I will take away my feet. It is my fifty-fifth year of ministry, and forty-fifth year of labor in America. My mind enjoys great peace and consolation. My health is better, which may in part be because of my being less deeply interested in the business of the conference." Yet weakened as he was by disease and the infirmities of age, he still cherished the hope of being permitted to meet once more with his brethren in the general conference which was to assemble in May, 1816, in Baltimore, the city where a little more than thirty years before he had been ordained to his responsible office, the duties of which he had so well and faithfully performed. It was not to be. What little strength he had had began to fail him rapidly now, but his indomitable will still kept him up. Journeying from place to place, as he was able, he, with his traveling companion, J. W. Bond, at length in March, 1816, came to Richmond, Virginia, where on the 24th of that month he preached his last sermon. By this time he was so weak that Mr. Bond and other friends entreated him not to tax his little remaining strength by attempting to preach, but to no purpose; he said he must deliver his message to the people of that church once more. So, finding further entreaty useless, they carried him from the carriage — he could now neither walk nor stand — to the pulpit, where, seated on a table previously arranged for him, he addressed his deeply moved congregation. His message delivered, he was carried back to the house of his friend, where he rested over Monday. Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday he continued his journey until he reached Spottsylvania, where in the house of his old friend, George Arnold, he calmly and peacefully passed away on Sabbath, March 31, 1816. How truly it might be said of him that he ceased at once to work and live. Some little idea may be gained of his travels and labors from the following brief summary contained in the preface of the "*Life and Career of Francis Asbury*," by the late Bishop Janes.

"In his annual or semi-annual journeys he visited Massachusetts twenty-three times after 1791, the date of his first visit, and during the forty-five years of his ministry in America he visited the State of New York fifty-six times, New Jersey sixty-two, Pennsylvania seventy-eight, Delaware thirty-three, Maryland eighty, North Carolina sixty-three, South Carolina forty-six, Virginia eighty-four, Tennessee and Georgia twenty times each, and other States and Territories with corresponding frequency.

. . . In his unparalleled itinerant career he preached about sixteen thousand five hundred sermons, or at least one a day, and traveled about two hundred and seventy thousand miles, or six thousand a year, presiding in no less than two hundred and twenty-four annual conferences, and ordaining more than four thousand preachers." The numbers in society at his death were two hundred and fourteen thousand two hundred and thirty-five, with six hundred and ninety-five preachers, which, compared with the membership when Mr. Asbury came to America, forty-five years before, under the direction of Mr. Wesley, namely, six hundred members with ten preachers, shows accurately what God had wrought through the instrumentality of that truly apostolic bishop. — T. W.

LIFE XIII. WILLIAM MACKENDREE.

A. D. 1757—A. D. 1835. METHODIST EPISCOPAL, — AMERICA.

FEW events in the history of the church in modern times have excited more interest than the marvelous growth and development of Methodism in the Southern and Western States of the American Union. This is attributable, under God, to the peculiar adaptation of its economy to the character of the country and its population, and to the agents who were called to labor in this vast field in the cause of Christianity. The church could not have been organized throughout the length and breadth of this immense territory, sparsely populated as it has been during the greater part of its history, by the ordinary appliances of the ecclesiastical bodies which were in existence at the time of the American Revolution. The population was too widely scattered and the people were too much divided in their religious opinions and proclivities — to say nothing of the general unconcern about religion — to call ministers, if they could have been procured, and to place them in settled pastorates, if they could have been supported. In a few of the cities and other centres the old *régime* obtained; but this was mostly confined to offshoots of the churches of England and Scotland, which could do but little in the work of evangelizing the rural populations.

But Methodism had both the economy and the men for the work. It did not wait for its ministers to be called by the people, and to be guaranteed a support; it sent them forth among the people, whether they wanted them or not; whether or not they would receive the evangelists thus sent, and minister to their wants. It did not wait till ministers could be educated in science, literature, and theology, as taught in the schools. Methodism never undervalued these attainments, but it never considered them a *sine qua non* for the ministry. It demanded certain qualifications which were considered indispensable. Concerning all candidates for the ministry these questions were asked: —

"1. Do they know God as a pardoning God? Have they the love of God abiding in them? Do they desire nothing but God? And are they holy in all manner of conversation?"

"2. Have they gifts (as well as grace) for the work? Have they (in some tolerable degree) a clear, sound understanding, a right judgment in the things of God, a just conception of salvation by faith? Do they speak justly, readily, clearly?"

"3. Have they fruit? Are any truly convinced of sin and converted to God by their preaching?"

If these questions were answered in the affirmative, the candidates were admitted to the ministry, and employed in work to which they were adapted, in the judgment of those who were placed over them in the Lord. They were of the people—a plebeian ministry—and they found no difficulty in adapting their style of address, their social intercourse, modes of life, etc., to the people whom they served.

They went forth like the primitive evangelists,—“taking nothing of the Gentiles.” They were, indeed, allowed to receive entertainment from the people, “eating and drinking such things as they gave,” and thirty-two pounds Virginia currency, or twenty-four pounds Pennsylvania currency, if they could get it, and the same for their wives, with eight pounds for each child under eleven, and six pounds for each child under six years of age; subsequently it was raised to sixty-four pounds, and then to one hundred pounds and their traveling expenses. But this “allowance” they seldom realized.

Methodism was a flexible system; hence it underwent all necessary changes to adapt it to the altered conditions of society. It was fortunate in having at its head, for over thirty years of its early history, a man of strong common sense, varied attainments, good executive ability, and apostolic zeal,—the venerable Bishop Asbury. This remarkable man was a keen judge of character; he read men as we read books; and he gathered around him those who were like-minded with himself; and of these he put in prominent positions those whom he could trust to execute all his well-laid plans. Among these, and the standard-bearer among them, was William MacKendree, eminently a man after his own heart.

William MacKendree was born in King William County, Virginia, July 5, 1757. He came of worthy and pious parentage, but received

A soldier in the Revolution. only such a limited education as was common in those days in the Old Dominion. He entered the army, as a soldier, of the Revolution, and served the last two years of the war under General Washington. Shortly after he entered the service he was made an adjutant, and because of his great business qualifications and remarkable energy he was placed in the commissary department, where he did much to support the allied forces of Washington and Rochambeau at the siege

of Yorktown, where Cornwallis surrendered his sword. But he seldom alluded to this military episode in his life, and could not be induced to apply for a pension for his services. He said he contended for liberty; that gained, he asked no more.

From a youth he was under serious impressions in regard to religion, and in 1787 he joined the Methodist Episcopal Church. At a conference held in Amelia County, Virginia, June 17, 1788, he was admitted on trial into the Virginia Conference, and stationed at Norfolk and Portsmouth. The next year he was sent to Petersburg, but at the end of the first quarter he was transferred to Union Circuit, South Carolina. He was sent the next year to Bedford Circuit, Virginia, but the third quarter he was sent to Greenbrier Circuit, the fourth quarter to Little Levels, on the western waters. The next year he was sent to four circuits, to serve each one quarter! He was the next year presiding elder of the Richmond District, and the year after he was placed on a mountain district of the Baltimore Conference. The next year he was returned to the Richmond District, but after one quarter he was sent by the bishops to take charge of what was called the Western Conference, embracing Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, all Virginia west of New River, and one circuit in Illinois.

These rapid and sudden changes furnish a pregnant illustration of the ease with which the great Methodist army was mobilized in those early days. Paul's Epistles abound in military metaphors, and the fathers of American Methodism seem to have studied them to great effect. Every itinerant preacher was trained to "endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ." Those who joined the sacramental host were pledged to obey orders, to submit to the military discipline without which such a ministry could not be made available. When they were admitted into full connection in the conference, among other charges this was given them:—

"Act in all things not according to your own will, but as a son in the gospel. It is therefore your duty to employ your time in the manner which we direct: in preaching, meeting the classes, visiting from house to house, and especially visiting the sick; in reading, meditation, and prayer. Above all, if you labor with us in the Lord's vineyard, it is needful you should do that part of the work which we advise, at those times and places which we judge most for his glory."

If any one found it a test too severe, he was allowed without blame to retire into the ranks of the local ministry (as many did), and preach when and where he listed. The local preachers, in time, outnumbered the itinerants, as they do now; and immense service they have done to the cause.

For twenty years MacKendree labored assiduously, and with great success, in these important fields, especially while he was in charge of the Western Conference. He was the very man for this work. Like Na-

poleon he lived in the saddle. On his trusty steed he scaled high mountains, forded deep streams, waded through mud and mire, and penetrated pathless forests and jungles. He headed his noble band of co-laborers, and was "in labors more abundant," — "in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by his own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren; in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and heat, if not in nakedness, — besides those things that were without, that which came upon him daily, the care of all the churches."

That which gave him so much power and efficiency was the singular capacity and tact which he had observed in his great model, Asbury, of gathering around him noble, heroic men, like himself, who heartily entered into all his evangelistic plans, and executed them like loyal and valiant soldiers of the cross, with a spirit

"Such as in the martyrs glowed,
Dying champions for their God."

One of them, Jesse Walker, was usually sent forward as engineer to reconnoitre, select suitable positions, and then report to the general in command. MacKendree would then bring his heavy ordnance and his light arms into the field; the former wielded by such heroes as John McGee, William Burke, John Page, Lewis Garrett, and others; and the latter by Thomas Wilkerson, Larner Blackman, James Gwin (who was at one time General Jackson's army chaplain), Samuel Dowthett, and others; who upon occasion could wield the heavy ordnance too.

All these noble pioneers have gone to their reward. I did not enjoy the personal acquaintance of many of them; but my late glorified friend, the Rev. A. L. P. Green, D. D., often described them to me, so that I seem to know them all, and their great leader as well. Dr. Green was familiar with them, and with MacKendree, whose "minister" he was in the latter part of the patriarch's life. He served him "as a son in the gospel," and he never grew weary in conversing about him and his associates. Dr. Green at one time lived with James Gwin, and he was the traveling companion and intimate friend of MacKendree. He had a singular faculty — transcending that ascribed to Papias, but he was more trustworthy than that father — of treasuring up the incidents in the lives of these venerable men. He gives an account of the pioneer work of MacKendree and his associates, extending through a few weeks in the year 1807, as a sample: —

"Jesse Walker was sent to Illinois, there being at that time but one circuit in that State, and a young man by the name of Travis was sent to Missouri. In the summer of this year, William MacKendree, who was then in charge of what was called the Cumberland District, which ex-

tended to Illinois and Missouri, took with him James Gwin and A. Goddard (Gwin was then a local preacher, and Goddard was traveling what was then called Barren Circuit), and set out to visit Walker and Travis. They crossed over the Ohio, and entered into the State of Illinois, traveled all day, and, finding no house to stop at, passed the night in the wilderness. Next day they shared a like fortune, camping out at night again. During this night their horses got away, and they did not find them till about noon the next day; but that night they found a lone settlement, and tarried with a poor family who were living in a temporary hut or camp. Next night they reached the house of a Mr. B., who received them kindly. The Mississippi was not far off, and there being no way to get their horses across it at that point, they left them with Mr. B., took their baggage on their shoulders, and went on foot to the river, which they crossed in a canoe, and after walking twelve miles they came to the house of a Mr. Johnson. Here they met young Travis, who had gotten up a little camp-meeting in the wilderness. At this meeting their labors were greatly blessed. When it closed they returned again to Mr. B., and went to a camp-meeting in the bounds of brother Walker's work called the Three Springs.

"Here they found a few faithful members of the church, but hosts of enemies. One individual, in particular, who was a leader of a band of persecutors, had called a council among them to form a plan to drive the preachers off. He stated to his clan that if the preachers were permitted to remain, and could have their way, they would break up all the gambling and racing in the country, and that they could have no more pleasure, or fun, as he called it. So the determination among them was to arm themselves, go to the camp-meeting *en masse*, take the preachers and conduct them to the Ohio River, carry them over, and let them know that they were to keep on their own side, and never trouble them again. This purpose was made known to the preachers in advance of their appearance on the encampment. On Sunday, while Mr. MacKendree was in the midst of his discourse, preaching to a large and interested congregation, on the text, 'Come now, and let us reason together,' etc., the major, as he was called, and his company, rode up and halted near the congregation. The major told his men that he would not do anything until the man had done preaching. Mr. MacKendree was then in the prime of life, his voice loud and commanding, his bearing that of undaunted courage, while a supernatural defiance seemed to shoot forth from his speaking eyes. He was sustained by the presence of Gwin, Goddard, Walker, and Travis, who sat near him. The prayers of the faithful were being sent up to heaven in his behalf, and, above all, the divine presence was with him. Such was the power of his reasoning, that he held the major and his party spell-bound for an hour. During his remarks, he took occasion to say that himself and the ministers that

accompanied him were all citizens of the United States and freemen, and had fought for the liberty which they enjoyed, but that their visit to that place was one of mercy, their object being to do good to the souls of men in the name of Christ. As he drew his remarks to a close, awful shocks of divine power were felt by the congregation. At length mourners were called for, and scores crowded to the altar. At this moment, the major undertook to draw off his men and retreat in good order, but some were already gone, others had alighted, turned their horses loose, and were at the altar for prayer. He led off a few of them to the spring, and after a short consultation, none of them seemed inclined to prosecute their purpose any further, and at once disbanded. Several of the number were converted before the meeting closed, and became members of the church.

"On the same evening, about the going down of the sun, a man came up to Mr. Gwin, and said to him, 'Are you the man that carries the roll?' 'What roll?' said Mr. Gwin. 'The roll,' said he, 'that people put their names to that want to go to heaven.' Brother Gwin, supposing that he had reference to the class-book, referred him to brother Walker, who took his name. The wild look and novel manner of the man indicated derangement. He left the camp-ground, and fled to the woods, with almost the speed of a wild beast. Nothing more was seen of him until the next morning, at which time he returned to the encampment, wet with the dew of the night, in a state of mind which was distressing beyond description; but during the day he was happily and powerfully converted to God, and was found sitting, as it were, at the feet of Jesus, clothed and in his right mind. He afterward gave the following account of himself. He lived in what was called the American Bottom, was very wicked, and professed to be a deist. A short time before, he dreamed that the day of judgment was coming, and that three men had been sent on from the East to warn him of his danger, which had distressed him greatly; and when he saw the three preachers, MacKendree, Gwin, and Goddard, pass his house, he recognized them as the same persons whom he had seen in his dream, and he had followed them to the camp-meeting, and they had warned him of his danger, sure enough. It was said of this man that he possessed a large estate, was very influential in his neighborhood, and was ultimately instrumental in doing much good.

"At the close of this meeting, one hundred persons connected themselves with the church."

It is no marvel that when another bishop was needed to supervise the connection, William MacKendree was selected for the office. He was placed in this responsible position by the general conference of 1808, and remained in it for nearly twenty-seven years. The work which he performed in that long period is almost incredible.

MacKendree
made bishop

Like Asbury, he never married, so that he was at home everywhere. It took very little to support him, so that he was never embarrassed with temporal matters, — never “entangled with the affairs of this life.”

As an executive officer he was rarely excelled. He presided in conference with great dignity and impartiality. His keen insight into the characters of men, and his perfect familiarity with all parts of the connection, eminently fitted him for the delicate and difficult task of “stationing the preachers.”

He was a strict constructionist in regard to the constitution and laws of the church, and would lay down his office, or, for that matter, his life, before he would sanction any serious infringement of them. There were occasions when he showed his unwavering and invincible regard to the old landmarks, as may be seen in that excellent work, “*The Life and Times of Bishop MacKendree*,” by one of his great admirers, — one of his sons in the gospel, on whom his mantle has fallen, — the Rev. Bishop Paine. But I have no occasion to enlarge on this point in the present sketch.

I would not have the impression made that Bishop MacKendree did not labor in the North and East, as well as in the South and West, or that he was not held in as high esteem there as here. He traveled, and preached, and presided, as a bishop, all over the Union, and he was everywhere regarded as “a chosen vessel,” exceeded by none as an able minister of the New Testament, and a faithful ruler in the Church of God.

By so much exposure and toil Bishop MacKendree, in his old age, became the victim of asthma and neuralgia, from which he suffered much; yet he continued to preach till within a few weeks of his death. His last sermon was preached in the church which bore his name in Nashville, and which, before this story shall be published, will give place to another on the same sacred spot, bearing the same time-honored name. The writer preached a watch-night sermon, the last in the sacred fane, December 31, 1876, when the bishop's last attendance at a watch-night service, in the same place, forty-two years before, was spoken of by one who was present on the occasion. His last sermon was preached there in 1834. Dr. Green heard it, and in speaking of it says, “I can in my imagination see him this moment, as he last stood on the walls of Zion with his sickle in his hand; the gray hairs thinly covering his forehead, his pale and withered face, his benignant countenance, his speaking eye; while a deep undercurrent of thought, scarcely veiled by the external lineaments, took form in words, and fell from his trembling lips, as, by the eye of faith, he transcended the boundaries of time and entered upon the eternal world. But he is drawing to the close of his sermon. Now, for the last time, he bends himself, and reaches his sickle forth to reap the fields ripe for the harvest. How balmy the name of Christ as

he breathes it forth, standing as it were midway between heaven and earth, and pointing to the home of the faithful in the sky! I look again: the sickle sways in his hand, his strength is measured out, and he closes up his ministerial labors on earth with the words, 'I add no more,' while imagination hears the response from the invisible glory, '*It is enough!*'"

Shortly after this, the bishop repaired to the house of his brother, Dr. James MacKendree, in Sumner County, Tennessee.

He suffered much from an inflammation of his index finger, and this was the apparent, proximate cause of his death, illustrating the sentiment, —

"An earthquake may be bid to spare
The man that's strangled by a hair."

But it matters not when or how we die, if we die in the Lord.

"A thousand ways hath Providence
To bring believers home."

He was very patient and cheerful during his illness, and grateful for the unceasing attentions of his friends. Once when he ^{His closing days.} awoke from sleep, he said to his favorite sister, Nancy, and his nieces, who were watching by his bedside, "You are like lamps burning while I sleep, to cheer me when I wake!"

Dr. Green spent a night with him just before his death. At one time the doctor said to him, "Bishop, I may live when you have passed away, and wherever I go your friends will want to hear from you; what shall I say to them?" He replied, "Tell them for me, that whether for time or for eternity, *All's well!*" This, his favorite saying, was the last connected utterance that fell from his lips. ^{His} dying words became the burden of a song, which has gained great popularity, and has cheered the heart of many a dying saint. It was composed by R. Jukes, and is Hymn 495 in the writer's "Songs of Zion:" "What's this that steals, that steals upon my frame?" Bishop MacKendree died March 5, 1835.

I may add a word or two respecting his personal appearance. Dr. Green describes him as about five feet ten inches in height, and weighing on an average one hundred and sixty pounds. He had fair skin, dark hair, and blue eyes. Some say his eyes were of another color, but a venerable matriarch of Columbia, Mrs. Porter, a step-daughter of one of the bishop's sisters, told me the other day they were light blue. He had a faultless form, regular features, great strength. His countenance evinced deep thought, but upon occasion it would kindle into a very lively expression. He was exquisitely neat in his person. He was generally clean-shaved and well-dressed, his favorite costume being a long-waisted, single-breasted black coat, black vest, breeches, and long stockings, polished shoes with silver buckles, a white stock, and broad-brimmed hat. He was a most venerable and dignified personage. He was very methodical and punctual and exact in all things. He usually retired at

nine o'clock, and rose at five. He was remarkable for the ease and affability with which he accommodated himself to all classes of society, high and low, rich and poor, learned and rude, bond and free, and this was one secret of his great success. He was calm and collected in the pulpit, though he sometimes rose with his subject to a high pitch of oratory. His sermons were usually short, especially in his later years, thereby differing from those of many old preachers. His public devotions were also concise, and withal simple, comprehensive, humble, and greatly edifying.

On Tuesday, October 3, 1876, I took part in a very solemn service, at the translation of the remains of Bishops MacKendree and Soule. Bishop MacKendree had been interred in the family burying-ground, Fountain Head, Sumner County, Tennessee. During the late war his tomb had been desecrated by soldiers, and was desolate and exposed. Bishop Soule, who was in some respects the successor of Bishop MacKendree, — a man of similar heroic cast and apostolic zeal, — died in Nashville, Tennessee, March 6, 1867, and was buried in the old Nashville cemetery; I officiated, with others, at his funeral. It was thought advisable to translate the remains of both bishops (the consent of relatives being granted) to a suitable spot in the grounds of the Vanderbilt University, near Wesley Hall, and to place a monument over them.

On opening the coffin Bishop Soule was not distinguishable, except by the frontal arch, which marked him in life as a man of towering intellect; and of Bishop MacKendree nothing remained but a few bones and "dust," scarcely to be separated from the mother-earth in which he had lain! But these remains are sacred and precious!

With due solemnity, devout men, ministers of Christ, bore them to their last resting-place, followed by the officers and students of Vanderbilt University, and a large company of interested friends. Suitable devotional exercises were conducted by the writer, the Rev. F. A. Owen leading in prayer, hymns were sung, and an impressive discourse was delivered by Bishop Mactyeire, who drew the characters of the two bishops, — one, of the chivalrous South (Virginia), the other, of the Puritan North (Maine), a descendant of the Soule who came over in the Mayflower; yet both of one heart and of one mind, true yoke-fellows in cultivating the gospel field and spreading Scripture holiness over these lands. The Rev. Dr. J. B. McFerrin followed with a brief address. The double grave was then covered in by the students of Vanderbilt University.

What America, and especially the Southern and Western States of the American Union, owe to these heroic, self-sacrificing, and laborious apostles of the church, no pen can describe; "the day shall declare it."
—T. S.

LIFE XIII. WILBUR FISK.

A. D. 1792—A. D. 1839. METHODIST EPISCOPAL, — AMERICA.

GREAT moral revolutions have ever been accompanied by powerful intellectual quickening. Religious energies will soon be expended in aimless struggle unless they are directed and controlled by a cool judgment and a cultured reason. Religious zeal may arouse the multitude from sloth and indifference, and even push the people to a height of endeavor truly sublime, but abiding good can be secured only by careful cultivation of the regulative faculties of the whole man.

Hence true reformers have ever been foremost in their careful interest for the education of the young. No men of the sixteenth century were more deeply imbued with the spirit of reform in education than were Luther and Melancthon. Indeed, it may be truly said that Protestantism gave to the people the common schools, and furnished to the masses an education for its own sake. John Wesley, also, placed in the front rank of importance the question of the education of the people who had been converted through his own instrumentality and that of his preachers, so that the earnest question proposed at the very first conference of his preachers was, "Can we have a seminary for laborers?" Therefore it was but in accord with a spiritual law that when the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized on these western shores the chiefest concern of its first bishop, Asbury, should be in the education of the people. He distinctly declares in his "journals" that the question of education caused him more serious thought than any other single interest. This concern is evidenced by the fact that as in England, so in America, in the very year of the organization of the church, Coke and Asbury projected a college whose foundations were laid within a year. Various efforts were made to establish academies and seminaries in different portions of the country. While these attempts were only partially successful, they nevertheless afford an index of the desire of the leading thinkers of the church to steady the great revival movement by appropriate literary and scholastic training.

Methodism must be counted especially fortunate in the choice of her first representative educator in the North, and must attribute much of her subsequent success in academic and collegiate education to the spirit and eminent ability of Wilbur Fisk, the first president of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut.

He was born in Brattleboro, Vermont, August 31, 1792, of respectable and pious parents, who were of genuine Puritan stock. The son early received careful religious instruction by reading the Scriptures, by the study of the catechism, and most of all, per-

The great reformers were true educators.

Parentage and early training.

haps, by the mild and cheerful spirit which the virtuous parents ever manifested in their home. Upon the boy's character and life were early seen the blessed effects of this parental solicitude. Naturally of an ardent temperament, and sometimes yielding to the influence of self-will, young Fisk was, nevertheless, conscientious, and early acquired great aptitude in the narration of his religious experience in the neighborhood meetings. Even in academic life his marvelous ability to influence and control mind was manifest. With a calm self-possession and an easy poise which he had acquired, he was seldom overwhelmed with surprise or found off his guard in the presence of an opponent. His collegiate life at Burlington, Vermont, and at Providence, Rhode Island, was brilliant in the line of scholarly attainment, but the brightness of his piety had grown dim, and, like too many others who have become careless of early instruction, young Fisk, on graduation, cherished the ambition of occupying a chief seat in the councils of the nation, and had thus somewhat stifled the voice of duty which had earlier so clearly pointed out the way in which he should walk. As the surest stepping-stone to future political preferment he began the study of the law with great vigor and success.

Collegiate and
legal training.

But God had other and, as we must believe, holier work for him in store. The ministry of reconciliation was to be preached by this man of power and grace. The struggles which he underwent in relinquishing his legal studies and in entering the itinerant ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church (then a most despised body of religionists), in the face of strong opposition from his early and most cherished college friends, and from the woman to whom he had become betrothed, were such as well-nigh to rend asunder his troubled soul. But when the decision was once reached, such was his spiritual organization that no reservation, mental or moral, was possible. With a zeal and energy truly wonderful he gave himself to the work of saving souls.

The hardships and exposure of this itinerant life were very trying, and it is hardly possible to conceive how any dishonest man of culture could be induced to give himself to such a work. Yet Fisk did not escape these imputations of an unsanctified ambition, even from the side of his professed friends. But his devotion and success in saving the souls of the people soon silenced all opponents. His study of the law had given him added cogency of argument with the people, and his style of preaching at this time resembled the earnest plea of an advocate who was laboring to convince a jury who had in their hands an issue of infinite moment. This portion of his public career made him entirely familiar with the polity and life of the church of which he was a minister, and thus eminently fitted him to understand the peculiar training needful for the young men who were afterwards to enjoy his instructions in collegiate life. The mission of the

Itinerant life
and experiences.

Methodist Episcopal Church to the settlements which were so rapidly made by the hardy pioneers demanded an exceptional education on the part of her preachers. These settlers were as a class possessed of a robust good sense and a strength of will which must be directed by equal good sense on the part of those who would lead them to a knowledge of the truth as it is in Christ, and by men who could easily adapt themselves to the rude conditions and homely fare of frontier life. The itinerant who was compelled to travel hundreds of miles to compass his wide circuit, and to preach from six to twelve times each week, must necessarily carry his library in his portmanteau, and prepare his sermons in the saddle. With this border work the cultured, polished Fisk became entirely familiar. Hence he was prepared later to say to the most gifted young man who might come under his instruction, "God's vineyard is broad, and abundant harvests will be garnered by your faithful service. Small earthly rewards you may expect; even sacrifices and hardships await you, but you have better companionship than that of kings, — 'Lo! I am with you.'" While he thus knew the trials of border life, he knew also the delights and comforts of the best New England homes, and found a welcome reception to the families of the most opulent of other churches than his own.

He began his work as an educator at Wilbraham Academy in Connecticut, in 1826. This infant seminary had thus a giant for its first principal. Well does his biographer remark that Fisk was now in a position for which he was admirably qualified. His natural talents and his education, his great facility in the transaction of business, his knowledge of men and quick insight into character, his affability, sound judgment, and practical good sense, were all important qualifications for his new position of usefulness. His government was eminently paternal. He carried the students and their interests on his heart, and his efforts in their behalf were truly amazing. Amid all the toils incident to the founding of an academy for the growing church, Fisk was ever planning for better things and grander results. No man had a clearer view of the necessity of blending culture with piety in order to the future triumph of the church, and the permanent security of the state. It is not strange, therefore, that the eyes of the whole church were turned towards him as their natural and acknowledged leader.

To invitations to high stations in other institutions of learning and in ecclesiastical work, he returned a firm declination, convinced as he was that the honor and prosperity of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the North were most intimately connected with the success of this rising academy. No posts of honor or of ease could for a moment swerve him from his purpose to direct the educational movements of the church. To the success of this darling enterprise were consecrated all his choicest powers. To such heroic men, who have so nearly achieved this victory

of self-abnegation, has the church ever turned in its hours of peril and in its determining crises. The Methodist Church in America had reached its educational crisis. Two colleges in name had already been commenced; several academies and seminaries had done much good in their several spheres. But she had already outstripped all other churches in the number of her communicants; wealth had greatly multiplied in their hands, and a strengthening conviction was felt by the leading men of the North and East that in order to meet the increasing responsibilities and achieve the largest success in the future, Methodism must also provide for the higher and liberal education of her sons.

Acting upon this conviction, the New York Annual Conference, at its session of 1829, adopted measures for the early establishment of an institution of collegiate grade, and in 1830 Fisk was elected first president of Wesleyan University, founded at Middletown, Connecticut. Of all men in American Methodism he then occupied the very foremost place. He brought to this new position ripened powers and a national reputation, and thus he directed public attention to this enterprise from the very beginning of its history. He was acknowledged the peer of the ablest collegiate presidents of the country, and his counsels were sought in the settlement of many important questions which were pressed upon the management of the higher institutions for solution.

Elected president of Wesleyan University.

Notwithstanding her financial endowment was necessarily limited and inadequate, Wesleyan University attracted some of the best talent of the church, and her students compared most favorably with those of the older colleges. The supreme desire of Dr. Fisk was to send forth a body of men who should exemplify a sanctified manhood, and become important forces in properly moulding public opinion. Hence he spared no pains to foster in the university a controlling religious influence. His holy life gave great weight to his earnest personal appeals to consecrate the powers to the service of Christ. The revivals of religion among the students gave him inexpressible delight; "These young men," said he, "are training and girding themselves for the great enterprise of subduing the world to Christ, and how strongly does this commend our literary institutions to the patronage of the Church!"

It was to the great West of the American continent, which was being so rapidly populated, and which he saw was in the near future to hold the balance of power in the nation, that Fisk frequently turned his most anxious thought. This belt of population would be a belt of barbarism unless the churches should throw into its midst the leavening influences of the gospel. Preachers and teachers could with the greatest difficulty keep pace with the restless enterprise of the immigrants. He saw that to save these new empires to an enlightened Christianity, and to lay firmly the foundations of their institu-

His plans

tions, political, social, and educational, a host of young men properly trained and burning with zeal for the salvation of souls must be prepared in his own college. Hence his untiring industry to supply this pressing need; hence his wide correspondence with the foremost men of his own and other churches on a subject which so constantly pressed upon his attention. The results have fully justified these anxieties and these sacrificing labors. Much of the wonderful success of the Methodist Episcopal Church west of the Alleghanies, and much of the broad and enlightened policy adopted in her work, have been the immediate result of the advice of Wilbur Fisk, and of the labors of the alumni of Wesleyan University. "I wish we could fill that country with sound, pious teachers," said he. "Indeed, I want to send out enough to set the world on fire! I have done educating youths for themselves; my sole object, I think, will be hereafter to educate all I can get for the world." This accounts for the fact that during the first twenty years of its history so large a proportion of the alumni of Wesleyan University became preachers and teachers.

A man of superior culture and broad views, whose sympathies were as wide as humanity, and yet under the direction of a sound judgment, could not but be keenly alive to the deficiencies of the ministry of his church in order to the most effective work in the future. Hitherto the preachers of the Methodist Church had accomplished marvelous results by virtue of an untiring industry and an unquenchable zeal. Other churches had been thereby greatly stimulated, and yet they had yielded nothing of their former intellectual and professional preparation. Fisk, therefore, clearly saw that unless more generous provisions were made for theological training, the Methodist clergy must soon work at a fearful disadvantage, and the influence of that communion must steadily decline. Consistently with its history, the Methodist Church had hitherto done what was possible to instruct its candidates in doctrines and polity. Their theological seminary had been in the field, their professor of theology had been the senior preacher, under whose direction the junior was to study and work; the examinations were held at the session of the annual conference, and thus a not insignificant degree of knowledge and mental discipline was secured. The great defect of this system was its inability to prepare raw material for the responsibilities of the Christian pulpit and pastorate, since the circumstances were often very untoward, and the senior preachers themselves were frequently insufficiently prepared to be guides to those who were under their supervision. It was no uncommon thing for the young itinerant to painfully study out his Greek Testament by the light of the pitch-pine fire in the cabin of the pioneer, and master his systematic theology in the saddle while hurrying forward to his distant appointment. But however zealous, and however industrious, these preachers

Anxiety for a
trained minis-
try.

could not be thus fully prepared for ministering to a more settled and intelligent society, which must soon succeed to this initial period. Fisk, in common with a few other broad-minded men, was deeply anxious to supply this felt deficiency in the training of the ministry. He did not, however, favor the founding of separate theological seminaries. His opposition came from lack of funds, from want of properly qualified professors, and, most of all, from a fear that the instruction in these exclusively theological schools might be too speculative in character and result in mere dogmatism, or that, by being excluded for a term of years from the activities of Christian work, the ardor of the piety of the candidates might be unhappily lessened and chilled. It is well known that many of the ablest men of other churches still share this feeling. It was his custom to form voluntary classes in theology; by this means the leisure hours of the students could be occupied by such subjects, and their reading directed to such topics, as would more especially fit them for the responsibilities of the Christian ministry. It is not too much to say that many who now occupy foremost places in American Methodism, received their strongest impulses and caught their burning enthusiasm in these theological classes of Dr. Fisk.

Closely related to theological education was the subject of missions. "The field is the world," said the Divine Christ. "The world is my parish," said John Wesley. From the hour of ^{Zeal for mis-} his consecration to the work of the Christian ministry, Fisk had flamed with missionary zeal. Two classes of missions had specially interested him, namely, that to Liberia, on account of its connection with the scheme of African colonization, whose cause he had heartily espoused, and that to the native Indian tribes both in Upper Canada and in Oregon. For the former mission he had offered himself in person; for the use of the Mohawks he had urged the translation of a portion of the Scriptures; and the Flathead mission in Oregon was his own origination. Hence his great concern as an educator was to keep the wants of the missionary work ever prominently before the thought of the students of the university, and his platform efforts at the conferences and on anniversary occasions were always powerful and effective.

The arduous labors and the constant anxieties attendant on founding the university, together with his consuming zeal for every religious and philanthropic work, had made serious inroads ^{Tour to Europe.} upon a constitution naturally delicate and now terribly overworked. It was, therefore, a necessity that he leave his work for a time and seek recreation in the Old World. Consequently in the autumn of 1835 he embarked in company with a few friends for Europe. He was charged with duties in themselves onerous and honorable, which he discharged in a manner entirely satisfactory to the great church whose delegate he was, and with a dignity and an unction which proved a blessing to the British

Wesleyan conference which received him. On this entire tour his was the same inquiring mind, the same tender heart, the same loving solicitude for the students and for the philanthropic and religious enterprises to which he had consecrated his life.

During his absence in Europe he was elected a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church by a very large majority; indeed, his election was hailed with delight by the entire church both North and South. To this expression of confidence and esteem Dr. Fisk felt that he must return most careful and deliberate answer; but after mature study he concluded that his was a mission of Christian education rather than a mission of general superintendency in the entire church. While this decision was a matter of surprise to many, and of earnest protest on the part of some of his most loved friends, to Fisk himself the way of duty seemed plain.

On his return from Europe he brought the increased power coming from travel and wide observation to bear upon the university of his own creation, and now of his strengthening and almost consuming love. The piety, humility, and simplicity of this truly saintly man had become well-nigh perfected. No one could be more free from all assumption of superiority in his intercourse even with the most lowly; none could be less careful of that dignity which so many believe should be thrown over men in high official station. From this time his preaching became even more warm and evangelical than ever before. During a most precious revival with which Middletown was blessed under the pastorate of the recently deceased Dr. C. K. True, in 1837, the students of the university became deeply interested for their own salvation. This noble and holy president now became an angel of guidance to many a young man, who afterwards successfully proclaimed to others that gospel which had there saved his own soul. Fisk's pulpit and chapel ministrations during this period of refreshing were divested of all those stately forms of art with which too many delight to clothe their thoughts, and were in simplicity and in the demonstration of the Spirit; thus they were a powerful means of arousing, comforting, encouraging, and instructing the young men who have since occupied the foremost stations in the educational and ministerial work of the Methodist Church. It is probable that no college president ever secured a more complete respect and love of his students and faculty, or a more constant affection and confidence of the church at large. His piety was so deep, vigorous, and uniform, yet so natural, cheerful, and utterly lacking in officiousness and cynicism, that it became diffusive and pervasive, and warming like the sunlight. His gentle dignity and grace, his total unselfishness, his delightful simplicity, exalted even common duties to the dignity of holy opportunities.

The sunset of such a life must be glorious. As with the early Chris-

Elected bishop
of the M. E.
Church.

Devotion to stu-
dents.

tians in the Roman catacombs, so Fisk's dying day was his true *dies natalis*, and the anticipations of his happy spirit left their impress on its former dwelling-place: for

"Living light had touched the brow of death."

He died February 22, 1839. A plain shaft, rising in the little college cemetery at Middletown, bears the simple inscription, —

WILBUR FISK, S. T. D.

FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY.

Him American Methodism reveres as her true saint in the work of Christian education. — C. W. B.

LIFE XIV. JOHN HENRY LIVINGSTON.

A. D. 1746—A. D. 1825. REFORMED (DUTCH), — AMERICA.

AMONG the ministers of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America, no name is held in higher veneration, esteem, and gratitude than that of John H. Livingston. The circumstances under which he was led to enter the ministry; the valuable services which he was able to render to this branch of the Christian church at a most disturbed and critical period in its history; the eminent qualifications of heart and intellect that he brought to every position he was called to occupy, and with which he adorned every relation of life; his success in impressing others with the divine truths and spiritual influences that filled his own soul, — all endeared him to the hearts of the people, and attested the divine guidance that signally marked his career.

Like many another of the most devoted and useful servants of God, he was connected with an honorable and pious ancestry, and thus shared in the rich promises of a covenant-keeping God. He was a descendant, in the fourth generation, of the Rev. John Livingston, the eminently devoted and successful minister of the gospel in Scotland, and the ancestor of the Livingston families in this country. Upon his death (August 9, 1672), at Rotterdam, Holland, whither nine years previous the bold and earnest preacher had removed to escape the intolerant spirit that prevailed in his native country, his son Robert came to America, connecting himself by marriage with the distinguished Schuyler family. He was given three sons, Philip, Robert, and Gilbert.¹

Of Dutch and
Scotch lineage.

¹ Among the children of Philip were Philip Livingston, Esq., one of the noble patriots who signed the declaration of American independence, and devoted his best energies to the service of his country, and William Livingston, LL. D., for several years governor of the State of New Jersey, a man distinguished for remarkable intellectual force and ardent piety. To the branch represented by Robert belonged the late celebrated Chancellor Livingston. (See the memoir of Livingston, by Rev. A. Gunn, D. D.)

John Henry Livingston, the grandson of Gilbert, and son of Henry and S. Conklin Livingston, was born at Poughkeepsie, Dutchess County, New York. on the 30th of May, 1746. After studying in a school at Fishkill, and under a private tutor at home, he entered the Freshman class in Yale College in September, 1758, at the early age of twelve years, and graduated with honor in July, 1762.

Being ambitious to obtain worldly distinction, he decided to devote himself to the legal profession. After studying two years his health failed, and, fearing that his sickness might prove fatal, he became anxious for his salvation, and earnestly sought pardon and peace through faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. Though favored with the advantages of a religious education, and occasionally impressed with the transcendent importance of the claims of God and eternal realities, still, up to this time, the prizes of earthly ambition and the fascination of worldly success had filled his imagination and absorbed his thoughts. But God had a higher and nobler work for him to do than his own plans had compassed, and through suffering and bodily weakness drew him to Himself.

On recovering his health, he resolved to prepare for the Christian ministry. Under the advice of the Rev. Dr. Laidlie, of New York, from whom he received the warmest encouragement in the prosecution of his theological studies, he determined to enter one of the universities of Holland. He was greatly influenced to take this step by the hope that his residence in Holland might help him to be the instrument of healing the sad dissensions that existed at that time in the Reformed Dutch Church in this country. Accordingly, on the 12th of May, 1766, when

Studies in Hol-
land.

he was scarcely twenty years of age, he sailed for Amsterdam, bearing with him letters to distinguished individuals, by whom he was cordially received. He pursued his theological studies with diligence for four years at the University of Utrecht, winning the love and respect of many. On the 5th of June, 1769, he was examined for licensure by the classis of Amsterdam, and became a candidate for the ministry. Soon after he was invited to become the second English preacher of the Reformed Dutch Church in the city of New York. Having received the degree of doctor of divinity from the faculty of the University of Utrecht, after a most rigid examination conducted in the Latin language, and having been ordained by the classis of Amsterdam, the young divine returned to his native country, and arrived in New York September 3, 1770.

His personal friends, and the officers and members of the church over which he had been called to preside, welcomed him home with the warmest affection, and with deep gratitude to Almighty God.

Labors in New
York city.

Dr. Livingston at once entered upon his ministerial work with renewed physical health, with mental powers disciplined to careful study and laborious investigation, with earnest zeal tempered with great

discretion, with a heart warm with love to Christ. He possessed a broad catholic spirit and intense desires for the harmony and unity of the church with which he had cast in his lot.

His first sermon was preached in the Middle Dutch Church, in Nassau Street, to a large and deeply interested audience, from 1 Cor. i. 22-24. Although he was associated with colleagues of established character and pulpit ability, yet he manfully assumed his full share of labor, preaching twice on Sunday, visiting the people, and attending two, and sometimes three, catechetical exercises every week. It was soon apparent that he was rapidly gaining the confidence and affection of his people, and the respect and esteem of the entire community. The fervor of his piety, manifested out of the pulpit, as well as in it; his prudence and Christian courtesy in private intercourse; his earnest and attractive style of preaching, presenting as he did, to saints and sinners, the truths and promises of the gospel with great clearness, force, and persuasive eloquence, secured for him a wide popularity, based upon the best feelings of the human heart.

Soon after his settlement in New York, he directed his efforts towards effecting a reconciliation between the famous Cœtus and Conferentie parties, that had so long and so seriously divided the church,—an object that he had in vain attempted to accomplish while residing in Holland. To appreciate the magnitude of this undertaking, and the value of the services rendered to the church by the settlement of the difficulties, mainly through the instrumentality of Dr. Livingston, we need to have before us the details of the unhappy schism that had destroyed the peace of the Dutch churches in America, and had raged so violently as to threaten the destruction of the denomination. But our limits will only allow us to quote Livingston's words, in connection with the motives that prompted him to remain in the church in which he had been baptized and reared: "There was another motive that imperceptibly, yet powerfully, inclined me to this determination. An unhappy schism and controversy had for several years subsisted in the Dutch churches in America, which, unless soon suppressed, threatened the annihilation of that whole denomination. The precise grounds of the dispute, or the best means for reconciling the contending parties, I had not then completely surveyed. The existing facts, however, were notorious and afflictive; and I understood enough to convince me of the inevitable ruin that was impending, and must soon be experienced if those dissensions were not healed. For the restoration of peace and prosperity in this distinguished portion of the Lord's vineyard I felt an ardent desire, and it was powerfully impressed on my mind that God would render me, however unworthy and unfit for that arduous work, an instrument in his hand to compromise and heal these dissensions, and to raise the reputation and establish the dignity and usefulness of the Dutch Church in America.

In what way these great objects were to be effected, or how the Lord would prepare and afterwards employ me for that purpose, I did not know; nor did this excite any difficulty or uneasiness. The point was settled in my mind, and I was fully persuaded that it would be accomplished. This removed all further hesitation, and fixed my determination to abide in my own church."

In about two years after he began his efforts to effect a reconciliation, it was accomplished, and he adds, "The posterior dealings of divine Providence, and the gracious fulfillment of my expectation, have afforded me abundant evidence that my choice has been crowned with the divine approbation."

Unites the
Dutch Re-
formed.

In October, 1775, Dr. Livingston was married to Sarah, the youngest daughter of Philip Livingston, at Kingston, whither the family had removed from New York, on account of an apprehended invasion by the British forces. A more happy connection could scarcely have been formed, as the lady was distinguished for all those qualities of heart and character that constitute the tranquillity and joy of a Christian home. As many families had left New York, which was in a defenseless condition, and the congregations were greatly broken up, Dr. Livingston remained for some time with his father-in-law, visiting New York as often as was practicable, and preaching (alternately with Dr. Laidlie, who had removed to Red Hook) to the remnant of the flock until September, 1776, when the British forces took possession of the city.

Soon after, he was invited by the consistory of the Dutch Church in Albany to preach for them during his exile, or as long as it might suit his convenience. He removed to Albany with Mrs. Livingston and his infant son, and labored in conjunction with the devoted and excellent Dr. Westerle for three years, when, owing to the feeble state of his wife's health, he retired to the Livingston manor. By the people of Albany he was highly appreciated and beloved for his faithful and attractive presentation of gospel truth, his ardent piety, and his elevated religious conversation. In April, 1780, a call was extended to him to settle permanently in Albany; but he declined it, deeming it best to remain at the manor, and preach to the destitute churches in the vicinity. Wherever his lot was cast, he exercised the greatest diligence in the service of his divine Master, laboring to strengthen the faith and brighten the hopes of God's people, and to win souls to Christ. The national troubles weighed heavily upon his heart, and he fervently prayed for the success of the American cause, and rejoiced in every victory that liberty gained over oppression.

After remaining about eighteen months at the manor, he removed to his father's residence in Poughkeepsie, and supplied the pulpit of the church, at that time in want of a pastor, until the evacuation of New York by the British troops, in November, 1783, when he returned to re-

sume his pastoral charge in that city. The seven eventful years since his departure had wrought sad changes in his congregation and wide circle of friends, and traces of the outrages committed by the enemy were visible in many parts of the city. Several churches were in a ruinous condition, among which were the Middle and North Dutch churches, that had been used as prisons, the interior having been entirely destroyed. His bosom friend and wise counselor, the excellent Laidlie, had passed away from the earth, and of the four ministers of the Collegiate Church, connected with it at the beginning of the war, Dr. Livingston was the only one who returned at its close to resume his ministerial work. Girding himself anew for service, and seeking guidance and strength from above, he undertook the sole charge of the congregation, and was indefatigable in his labors to sustain and advance its interests.

His churches at
the close of the
war.

After the unhappy difficulties in the denomination, already mentioned, had been removed, and harmony was restored, a plan was adopted of appointing a professor of theology; and the requisite funds having been raised, application was made to the classis of Amsterdam, and by them to the faculty of the University of Utrecht, to recommend a suitable person for the position. They at once referred to Dr. Livingston as possessing higher qualifications than any one they could send from Holland, and advised his appointment. But the storm of war that had already begun interrupted the project, and the matter was deferred until peace was restored to the nation.

In October, 1784, a convention of ministers and elders was held, and the honorable office of professor of theology was unanimously conferred upon Dr. Livingston, who, after prayerful consideration, declared his acceptance of the same. The 19th of May, 1785, was the time fixed for his inauguration. The exercises were held in the old Dutch church in Garden Street, and the inaugural oration was delivered in Latin, before the General Synod, the name that the convention had now assumed. The subject selected was "The Truth of the Christian Religion," which was treated with his usual argumentative force and clearness and elegance of style.

Theological pro-
fessor.

But the duties of this position, added to the care of a large congregation, which previous to the war had been served by four ministers, broke down his health, and for change of air and necessary exercise he removed in the spring, or early in the summer, of 1786, to Flatbush, Long Island, whither his students followed him. Since his appointment he had lectured to the class five days every week, and much of his time at this period was necessarily, yet delightfully, employed in gathering into his church a rich harvest, as the fruit of the divine blessing upon his faithful labors. During the nearly three years that he was sole pastor of the church he received over four hundred persons to the com-

munion on profession of their faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. It was "one joyful revival season," in which his mental energies were strengthened and his soul encouraged and stimulated by heavenly influences, while the strain upon his physical powers was unavoidably severe. He was willing, however, to spend and be spent for the Master who afforded him such signal tokens of his favor and approbation.

The rare combination of natural gifts and varied acquisitions of this devoted servant of the Lord enabled him to serve the church in nearly if not all the departments of its work. In 1787 he was appointed chairman of a committee to prepare and publish a selection of Psalms for the use of the church in public worship. He also proposed that a constitution of the church be drawn up, presenting in a condensed form its doctrine, worship, and government, and was a prominent member of the committee appointed to prepare it. His associate, Dr. D. Romeyn, rendered most efficient and important service in this work. It is regarded, however, by Dr. Gunn as no injustice to the memory of this able and most

Father of the
Reformed Dutch
constitution.

useful divine to give to Dr. Livingston the title of "father of the constitution of the Reformed Dutch Church in the United States of America." This constitution was solemnly ratified by the General Synod held at New York on the 10th of October, 1792.

Although Dr. Livingston was at this time in a measure relieved of his arduous labors by colleagues who were associated with him in his ministerial work, yet in the summer of 1809 it was evident that his health was becoming impaired by his constant toil. In consequence of this, he was excused from preaching more than once on the Sabbath. On the revival of Queen's College, at New Brunswick, arrangements were made between the trustees of that institution and the General Synod that the professorate should be united with the college, and in October, 1810, Dr. Livingston was transferred from New York to New Brunswick to fill the double office of professor of theology and president of the college. It was a great sacrifice for him to sunder the tender ties that had so long bound him to his work and friends in New York; but his noble spirit was accustomed to make sacrifices, and after forty years' service in the ministry, and twenty-six in the professorship (the latter without compensation), he yielded to the stern necessity that took him to another field. Under his administration, which continued fifteen years, the college prospered, and during his ministry of fifty-four years nearly two hundred students were trained under his instruction for the gospel ministry.

While in apparent health, and discharging his official duties with vigor and unwonted cheerfulness, his career was suddenly brought to a close. Probably the last letters that he wrote were addressed to his son under date of January 13 and 15, 1825, to express his sympathy in the death

of an infant member of his family. His tender domestic affection appears throughout these letters, as may be inferred from the closing words of the last : —

“Now, my dear, my sweet, my beloved children, I mourn with you. I help you to bear your burdens ; my heart and love are with you. I bless you both most tenderly, and all the precious flock, and am your loving father,
J. H. LIVINGSTON.”

On the 19th of January he made several visits in the morning and delivered a long lecture to the students on Divine Providence. The evening he spent with his colleague in conversing with great animation and delight upon divine themes. After engaging in family worship, in which he seemed to draw specially near to God, and to remember every object dear to his heart, he retired at the usual hour, and in the morning was found asleep in Jesus. His tranquil countenance and natural position indicated that he had passed away without a struggle to the realms of celestial light and everlasting blessedness.

Livingston's presence, in public and private, was commanding and dignified, and awakened a feeling of reverence in the minds of strangers and those who were most intimately associated with him. He was tall and erect, with a noble person, and a countenance beaming with intelligence, affability, and kindness. His manners were polished and courteous, and for the members of his family and his intimate friends he manifested the most tender regard and affection.

Portrait of the
man.

His conversational powers were remarkable, and, like all his other gifts, were consecrated to the good of man and to the glory of God. One of his earliest students, who enjoyed the intimacy of private intercourse with him, says, “I never knew him, in any circle in which he might be found, to hold a conversation of any length which he did not turn into some channel for religious improvement. This was done in a manner so discreet, appropriate, and gentle as not only to avoid awakening prejudice, but to conciliate respect and good-will. It was not uncommon for him, in mixed companies, when the secular concerns of the day were the theme of conversation, to interweave religious sentiments and reflections so naturally deduced, so wisely stated, and so courteously and kindly applied that even those who were generally most indifferent to religion could not but reverence it as it thus appeared to its venerable representative and minister. In his intercourse with Christians his conversation was like ointment poured forth, and his pupils will testify, one and all, that they never enjoyed an interview of any length with him in which the Lord Jesus Christ was not brought prominently before them, and valuable hints were not given, bearing upon the culture of the spiritual life.”

As we may naturally suppose from a testimony like this, he was regu-

lar and devout in his private religious duties. He spent much time in prayer and in holy meditation. He sought strength and guidance from above, and lived near to God. He daily walked in the light of divine truth, and drank from the fountain of living waters, and streams of benign influences flowed from him in every direction. His piety gave tone to his whole demeanor, rendering him eminently discreet in the management of ecclesiastical matters, tender of the feelings of others, and wise in the selection of the best means for the best ends. He was cautious rather than bold and adventurous in proposing and advocating measures for the good of the church, and yet ever evinced the greatest courage in sustaining its doctrines and discipline, and persevering in the support of whatever he deemed vital to its welfare and prosperity. He loved and maintained with the warmest affection and unwavering determination the cardinal truths of Christianity, receiving with implicit faith the words of inspiration, and accepting Christ as the centre of theology, the mediator between God and man, the only source of pardon and eternal life.

As a preacher, Dr. Livingston attained to a distinguished rank. His commanding personal appearance, his striking elocution and characteristic gesticulation, his deep convictions of the absolute truth of God's Word, and his vivid apprehension of the tremendous consequences of accepting or rejecting the gospel message rendered his preaching most impressive. The success attending his public ministrations in the city of New York and elsewhere, when in the fullness of his vigor, abundantly attest his superior pulpit power. He usually preached from carefully prepared copious notes, but was able, with very little preparation, from his large intellectual resources and his accurate knowledge of the Scriptures, to instruct and edify his hearers. His appeals to the impenitent were often very powerful and searching, but he specially loved to revive the hopes of the desponding, and to cheer the weary pilgrims in their struggles to overcome sin and the world, and win the rewards that were set before them. He loved to unfold the exceeding great and precious promises, that make the blessedness and glories of the future a present consolation, stimulus, and power.

To the professor's chair Dr. Livingston brought a knowledge of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, a rich fund of theological learning, and the varied and choice acquisitions he had gained during his four years' connection with the university at Utrecht, of whose distinguished theologian, Bonnet, he had been a favorite pupil. His manner of giving instruction was calculated to awaken the earnest attention and interest of his pupils. He delivered his lectures with ease, clearly presenting the topics in logical order, showing the authority and harmony of the doctrines of the Bible, and their relations to human belief and practical life. With his students he sat as a father among his children,

and their respect and affection for him prepared them to receive his instructions to their hearts as well as their intellects. Their subsequent faithfulness in preaching "the truth as it is in Jesus," their adherence to the doctrines of the church, and their success in the ministry, bear testimony to the value of his training and teachings, and the moulding influence of his godly character and life.

While the Reformed (Dutch) Church has an existence, the name of John H. Livingston will be held in the highest veneration, and in most affectionate and grateful remembrance. — R. W. C.

LIFE XV. WILLIAM WHITE.

A. D. 1748—A. D. 1836. EPISCOPALIAN, — AMERICA.¹

WILLIAM WHITE, the son of Colonel Thomas and Esther White, was born in Philadelphia, on the 4th of April, 1748, New Style. He graduated at seventeen from the then College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania), and, yielding to the call of the Holy Spirit, he determined at that early age to devote himself to the Christian ministry. Accordingly, he began his theological studies. The exercises which most interested and benefited him were those held by himself and four other young men looking forward to the ministry, under the direction of the Rev. Dr. William Smith, the provost of the college. During the Sunday evenings of a few months for three successive years, these young men wrote out and delivered notes and exegesis upon Bible history. These exercises, having been first submitted to the provost for correction and approval, were then delivered in public in the hall of the old college, two speaking in turn each evening, and the provost at the conclusion enlarged on the themes discussed by these youths.

"Although," says Bishop White, "this was far from being a complete course of ecclesiastical studies, it called to a variety of reading and to a concentration of what was read." "There was also use," he adds, "in the introduction to public speaking."

Five years of this kind of study were passed in this city, prolonged in his case, because he had graduated so early from college. There were then no schools of the prophets, wherein the candidates for the ministry could prepare themselves for their sacred office. The desultory teaching of private and irresponsible ministers was all that could be obtained after the pupil had taken his college degree.

¹ Of this life story, by the Rev. Dr. William Bacon Stevens, bishop of the (P. E.) diocese of Pennsylvania, only the opening and closing sentences were prepared by its author for this work. The remaining portions, with other interesting matter, were read on the occasion of the reinterment of the remains of William White in the bancel of Christ Church, Philadelphia, in 1876, and were published in pamphlet form for a limited circulation. — H. M. M.

Having pursued his studies diligently and conducted himself with sobriety and discretion, young White was ready for his ordination. But here another difficulty rose before him. There was no bishop in America, and to obtain orders he must cross the Atlantic and seek them at the hands of English prelates. This was a grievous hardship for the ministerial candidates, and was a serious drawback to the prosperity of the church in the colonies of Great Britain. A voyage across the Atlantic then was quite a different thing from a voyage now. One fifth of all the candidates who set sail for England perished abroad.

When to this danger of the seas was added the loss of time and the expense of the voyages to and fro, costing usually one hundred pounds, a sum equivalent to the yearly salary of most of the clergy at that time, we can easily understand what a formidable barrier existed against the increase of the ministry, and how much moral courage and firmness of purpose were requisite before a young man would resolve to take up such heavy crosses in order to become a minister of Christ.

These colonies were then under the episcopal jurisdiction of the lord bishop of London, who superintended them by means of certain clergymen who were termed commissaries, and to whom was committed a certain amount of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This arrangement, however, only partially remedied the evil arising from their not having any bishop. Churches were unconsecrated, the baptized were not confirmed, candidates could not be ordained, and the wholesome regimen of the episcopacy was altogether wanting.¹ Such was the condition when the youthful White, unable to get orders in his native land, was about to proceed to England for them.

He sailed from Chester for London on October 15, 1770, in the ship *Britannia*. Of the incidents of his voyage we know nothing, but can well imagine the discomforts and dangers which at that period, and with such comparatively small and ill-furnished ships, he must have endured.

¹ Yet both clergy and laity, over two hundred years ago, saw the necessity of bishops and sought earnestly to secure their appointment. When the plan was proposed in 1638 to send a bishop to the American plantations, it was thwarted by the outbreak of troubles in Scotland. When in 1673 the Rev. Dr. Alex. Murry was nominated by Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and approved by King Charles Second, and even a draft of letters-patent was prepared, the plan was defeated because the endowment was to be out of the public customs.

When again in 1713 Queen Anne responded favorably to the request of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, that bishops should be appointed for the colonies, and the society actually fixed upon and purchased a residence for the bishop at Burlington, New Jersey, the death of the good queen again frustrated the design. George First was also favorable to the plan, but the rebellion in Scotland absorbed the public mind, and Sir Robert Walpole discountenanced the project. Later still, Edmund Gibson, bishop of London, renewedly pressed the matter upon the attention of the government, and memorials were sent to him from the clergy of Maryland, of New England, of Christ Church, Philadelphia, and St. Ann's, Burlington, urging the sending of a bishop to America. The plan was sustained and advocated by Bishops Secker and Tension, by Bishops Lowth, Butler, Benson, Sherlock, and Terrick; but the rising difficulties between the colonies and the mother country, and the extreme opposition and jealousy of the opponents of the Church of England in this country, prevented the execution of the design, and so the church for a hundred and fifty years had existed here without a local episcopate.

Nor will it be difficult for us to surmise the joy which he felt when the cry of "Land ho!" was sung out from the mast-head, and then watched with ever increasing delight the unfolding panorama of the shore, until the ship cast anchor in its destined port, and he trod, for the first time, the soil of the dear old motherland.

He was received in England by his aunts, Miss White and Mrs. Weeks, and though he took lodgings in London, he spent a considerable portion of his time with them at Twickenham, ten miles from Westminster, where he said he "took pleasure not only in the society of an agreeable circle of friends to which I was admitted in that earthly paradise, but in rambles in the neighborhood."

He had come to England for a solemn purpose, and he at once set about the work of securing his ordination. Several obstacles, however, were in his way. First, he was not of canonical age. The thirty-fourth canon of the Church of England requires that a person desiring to be a deacon shall be three and twenty years old. William White lacked several months of being three and twenty, and was thereby obliged to obtain a faculty or dispensation from the archbishop of Canterbury granting ordination *infra ætatem* for persons of special abilities, before the canonical age.

Another difficulty lay in the fact that he was not a graduate of either of the two great universities, Oxford or Cambridge, as specified in the thirty-fourth canon. While, however, the usual formal testimonials were drawn up upon a supposition that the candidate was a B. A. of some college of Oxford or Cambridge, yet the same canon made provision for such cases as had not these degrees, and under this exceptional clause William White became eligible for holy orders. Having obtained the various letters testimonial and presented them to the bishop through his secretary or chaplain a month before ember week, he was then requested to present himself for examination by the bishop and three clergymen. This he successfully passed, so that the examining chaplain told a friend of his aunt, "that his examination would have been an honor to either of the universities," and then he subscribed, according to the requisition of the thirty-sixth canon, a declaration of allegiance and of the royal supremacy; of conformity to the use of the Book of Common Prayer, and an acknowledgment of the binding authority *ex animo* of the thirty-nine articles, "taking them in the true literal usual and grammatical sense."

These and all other preliminaries having been complied with, he was ordained deacon, December 23, 1770, in the Chapel Royal of St. James's Palace, Westminster, by Dr. Philip Yonge, bishop of Norwich, acting in behalf of Dr. Richard Terrick, bishop of London. The aim of years of study had been reached, and he stood trembling on the threshold of a ministry which stretched itself onward sixty and five years.

Not being of canonical age to obtain priest's orders, he remained in England until he could do so. He had no special clerical duty to perform, and hence was left free to pursue those studies which fitted him for a higher ministry, and make that acquaintance with England and Englishmen which his means and time enabled him happily to do. He took several journeys to different parts of England and passed some weeks at Oxford. His visit to this university he greatly enjoyed, making friends of the fellows and tutors of its several colleges, and enjoying the public exercises not only in the preaching which he heard in St. Mary's, but also in the convocations and examinations at which he was present.

The religious condition of the Church of England at this time was lamentably relaxed. Error of doctrine of a subtle kind had been broached by men in high positions. Worldliness had so invaded the church that routs and balls were held even in the palace at Lambeth, a fact which drew down upon Archbishop Cornwallis the rebuke of George Third. There was a fearful latitudinarianism in the opinions of the clergy which led to continued controversy. The discourses from the pulpit were mostly of a philosophical or moral character. Church people, and even the clergy, indulged, with but little restraint, in the so-called pleasures of the chase, the ball-room, and the theatre, and the general tone of morality throughout the land was low and doubtful. As a consequence, infidelity grew apace and became fashionable and popular. That this statement is not too broad is evident from the words of Archbishop Secker, who died in 1768, who says in one of his sermons: "It is a reproach, I believe, peculiar to the Christians of this age and nation, that many of them seem ashamed of their Christianity, and excuse their piety as others do their vices."

The great doctrines of grace so strongly set forth in the liturgy, the articles, and the homilies, and which were expounded so forcibly by the divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were weakened and altered into almost another gospel; and hence had arisen stronger dissent on the one hand, and that remarkable Wesleyan movement on the other, which was at that very time sapping the strength of the church and raising up against her and out of her very midst some of her strongest opponents.

Such was the state of the Church of England when William White was there for deacon's and priest's orders. To one coming from such a remote and quiet colony to the bustle and excitement of London, and to one educated under a system so diverse from that in the great schools and colleges of England, there was much to dazzle and lead astray. It is therefore the more to be thankful for, that one so young as William White was enabled to bear up against all these adverse and misleading influences, and not only to maintain an unblemished moral character

amidst so many alluring temptations, but also to retain his Christian faith unswayed by the theological and ecclesiastical errors then rife and freely broached.

April 25, 1772, he was ordained to the priesthood by Dr. Terrick, the bishop of London. The same bishop also licensed him to officiate in Pennsylvania. He was now ready to return. He sailed from England in June, on the ship *Pennsylvania Packet*, Captain Osborne, but owing to calms, light winds, and the bad sailing qualities of the ship in which he embarked, he did not reach Philadelphia until the 19th of September, when he once more entered the home circle which he had left over two years before, and now stood before them an ordained minister of Christ.

Returns to
America.

Before he left England he had been invited by the vestry to become assistant minister of the "united churches," but action was deferred until the 30th of November, 1772, when, with his friend and college-mate, the Rev. Thomas Coombe, he was formally elected to that office, and he at once entered upon its duties, at a salary of one hundred and fifty pounds per annum.

There were then but three Episcopal churches in the old city, namely, Christ Church, St. Peter's, and St. Paul's, and but little over two hundred Church of England clergymen in all the thirteen colonies. There was no bishop, no organized diocese, no church academy or church college, no church periodical, no Sunday-school, no missionary society, and no hospital. At the end of a century there are seventy-three Episcopal churches in Philadelphia, the clergymen of our church number nearly three thousand, comprised in forty-eight dioceses and missionary jurisdictions, while ninety-seven bishops have been consecrated for service in our branch of the Holy Catholic Church in these United States. There are a score of church colleges and theological schools, an equal number of church periodicals, while our great societies for missions, for Sunday-schools, for church publications, for educating young men for the ministry, and our hundred asylums, orphan-houses, church homes, and church hospitals, like a net-work of holy charity cover the land.

White had been an assistant minister of the united churches not four years, when the Declaration of Independence was made, and the political distractions and turmoils of eleven years' restiveness under King George culminated in the birth of a free nation. To the Episcopal clergy in this country, that act was fraught with disaster. At their ordination they had taken the oath of allegiance to the king; in their liturgy, which they had solemnly vowed to use, were prayers for the king and royal family and the Parliament of Great Britain, and with few exceptions they derived their support from the stipends paid to them by the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

They were thus placed between the upper and the nether millstone;

for, if they yielded to the American spirit, cast off the supremacy of the crown, and renounced praying for the king, they violated their ordination vows and lost their stipends, and if they continued to use the liturgy as it was, they compromised themselves before the public. As a consequence, most of the clergy embraced the royal side, and they were persecuted, fined, beaten, expatriated, and in one instance at least slain. William White, living in Philadelphia, then the political centre of the country, and knowing the sentiments of the most wise and thoughtful men of the colonies, was ready to cast in his lot with the fortunes of the new republic, and at once acquiesced in the change which the vestry of the united churches, on the very day when independence was declared, required its rector and assistant ministers to make, namely, "to omit those petitions in the liturgy wherein the king of Great Britain is prayed for."

His course as a patriot.

That this was not the result of a momentary impulse, under the political excitement of the time, is evident from what he says in his MS. Autobiography, where he records his careful study of English history and the English Constitution, from the times of the Saxons to the Revolution of 1688; his thoughtful reflections on the causes of American discontent, and his deliberate choice of adherence to the policy and acts of the Continental Congress. His firmness and courage were tested by an incident connected with his taking the oath of allegiance to the United States, in 1776. "When he went to the court-house for the purpose, a gentleman of his acquaintance standing there, observing his design, intimated to him, by a gesture, the danger to which he would expose himself. After having taken the oath, he remarked, before leaving the court-house, to the gentleman alluded to, 'I perceive by your gesture that you thought I was exposing my neck to great danger by the step which I have taken. But I have not taken it without full deliberation. I know my danger and that it is the greater on account of my being a clergyman of the Church of England. But I trust in Providence. The cause is a just one and I am persuaded will be protected.'"

The next year he was chosen chaplain to Congress, then sitting in York Town. "He continued chaplain until that body removed to New York. When, after the adoption of the existing Constitution, the Congress of the United States returned to Philadelphia, he was again chosen one of their chaplains, and continued to be so chosen at each successive Congress by the Senate until the removal of the seat of government to Washington, in 1801." He was thus officially brought into close relationship with the leaders of American thought and action, as well as personally, through his brother-in-law, Robert Morris, the great financier of the war of the Revolution.

In 1779, Mr. White was unanimously elected rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's. This placed him virtually at the head of the church in

Pennsylvania, and put him in a commanding position as to all ecclesiastical affairs. So soon, therefore, as the American successes secured to us a distinct nationality, he, in company with a few others, took counsel together, looking to a union of all the Episcopal clergy in all the States; and it shows the high estimation in which he was held, that at the first meeting in New Brunswick in May, 1784, he ^{Father of the American Episcopal body.} presided at the meeting, and opened it with a sermon. It is not necessary to detail the steps which led to the formation of our American church, but no one mind was more directive and controlling in all the assemblies than William White's.

He was the first to suggest the introduction of the laity into the councils of the church, the first to suggest synodal or diocesan action, and the first to suggest a general convention made up of representatives from the lower assemblies; and the first draft of the constitution was from his pen.

In this constitution there were engrafted certain principles of ecclesiastical law, which were unknown in the Church of England, and which, though partially appearing in some of the older constitutions of the Saxon church, and of the primitive eastern dioceses, had, for more than a thousand years, been kept out of sight in the ascendancy which the priesthood had claimed and exercised over lay people. Those principles were: (1) the organization of the church as an ecclesiastical body, with full and perfect power of self-government, and entirely independent of secular control; (2) the introduction of the laity as joint councillors and legislators, with equal voice and vote with the clergy in such church conventions; (3) the giving to the several dioceses the right to elect their own bishops, subject to confirmation by the whole church, and in which election and confirmation the laity have equal voice with the clergy; 4th, the full and equal liberty of each national church to model and organize itself and its forms of worship and discipline in such manner as they may judge most convenient for their future prosperity.

Accustomed as we have been, all our lives, to these principles, we cannot understand what a really great advance was made in the then existing order of things, when Dr. White boldly brought them out and had them incorporated in the fundamental constitution of his church. The English "convocation," the nominal voice of the Church of England, had long been silent, and the functions of that clerical assembly were so restricted by parliamentary act as to stifle its power. With a political sagacity that grasped at once the sound maxims which the framers of our civil government embodied in the Constitution of the United States, and with a foresight which saw that for a free people, with free institutions, the church, as an organism, must conform so far as possible to the liberal views of the body politic; he, with his few companions, in his study in Walnut Street, above Third, drew up that instrument which is the

church's *Magna Charta*. And what is the result? That document, brief as it is, has been everywhere hailed as one of the wisest ever penned by man for the purposes for which it was made. Not only has it worn well in the working machinery of the church, for more than fourscore years; not only has it been reproduced in its general principles in the constitutions of forty-four organized dioceses, not only has it kept us together amidst all the strain and severances of civil war, but it was copied in its essential features in the new constitution of the Church of Ireland, when that ancient church ceased to be established by law, and became on the first day of January, 1871, self-governing and free.

On the 14th of September, 1786, he was unanimously elected bishop of the newly formed diocese of Pennsylvania, and the sum of three hundred and fifty pounds, currency, was voted to defray the necessary expenses of the voyage of the bishop elect to and from England.

On the 2d of November, the same year, he sailed with Dr. Provost, who had been elected bishop of New York, from New York, and, eighteen days after, landed at Falmouth, making the shortest passage across the Atlantic then recorded.

Through the kind offices of John Adams, then the American minister at the court of St. James (afterward the second president of the United States), and his grace, the lord archbishop of Canterbury, the preliminaries of his consecration were arranged. On the 4th of February, he

and Dr. Provost were consecrated bishops in the chapel of the palace of Lambeth. They left London the next day for Falmouth, sailed from that port on the 17th of February, and on the afternoon of Easter Sunday landed in New York. The day of their return to America was the emblem to their church of its resurrection from the deadness of the past to the life and hope of the future.

Of the three bishops consecrated in England, namely, William White, Samuel Provost, and James Madison, Bishop White was the most prominent and active. His position as presiding bishop gave great weight to his opinions; and his thoughtful, calm, and judicious views, quietly expressed and firmly held, may be said to have shaped the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States for nearly half a century. He is the only one of the early bishops who has left behind him published works, unfolding the proceedings of those early efforts to organize the church, and the only one who has expounded the theological sentiments of our creed and catechism and ordinal.

It is most fortunate for his church that Bishop White, with that prudence and foresight which always distinguished him, wrote out his "Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church," his "Lectures on the Catechism," his commentary on "The Ordination Offices," his ten "Pastoral Letters of the House of Bishops," and sundry other valuable and

important publications. He was frank in the expression of his views, and manfully defended what he regarded as the sound doctrines and pure worship of the church over which he presided. As we look back to the difficult times in which he exercised his functions as one of the founders and legislators and subsequently rulers in the church, we cannot but thank God that so blameless a man in his Christian life, so scholarly a man in his mental culture, so calm a man in times of popular excitement, so forecasting a man amidst threatened perils, and so firm a man amidst the unsteady opinions of the day, was given to the church at that time, to be to it, in its separation from the mother church, and its erection into an independent one, what Washington was to the civil movement of the Revolution. Both were men of marked characteristics; each eminently fitted for his respective work, each saw it carried into completion, and each ruled as the first president of the organization.

I should feel myself derelict in duty did I not state, in a few words, the sentiments of Bishop White, so far as they bear on some of the ecclesiastical and doctrinal issues of to-day. These views are found in his carefully prepared volumes, in his correspondence, and in MSS. left ready for the press, but which have never yet been given to the public.

From these sources we learn that Bishop White would have had no sympathy whatever with those radical views which are held and taught by some persons, whereby episcopacy is decried, the prayer book reproached as teaching error, the canons of the church disregarded, the language of the offices of the church omitted or altered, and schism and secession openly urged, if certain claims are not authoritatively conceded. For this spirit he had no favor.

His views of doctrine and order.

On the other hand, we learn from his writings that he would discountenance and reject those tractarian and ritualistic teachings and doings, which now, alas, are so stealthily or openly proclaimed.

I cannot better set forth his ideas than by quoting his own language. "As to our church, although she commemorates a great sacrifice in the Eucharist, yet she knows of no offering of anything of this description, except in the figurative sense in which prayers and alms are sacrifices. She calls the place on which her oblation is made, not an altar, but a table; although there is no impropriety in calling it an altar also, the word being understood figuratively. And so as to the minister in the ordinance, although she retains the word priest, yet she considers it as synonymous with presbyter, which appears from the Latin standard of the Book of Common Prayer and is agreeable to etymology."

In his conducting of public worship he was exact, but simple and unostentatious. He regarded the service as a worship, not as a spectacle; to be rendered with reverence, not with pompous parade; to inspire devotion in the soul, not to minister to the mere sensuous and aesthetic ele-

ments of our nature. So much did he act upon these principles that he never bowed at the name of Jesus in the Creed, and even wrote two articles in defense of his not doing it. He never turned to the east to say the Creed or the Gloria Patri. He never in the pulpit turned his back upon the congregation during the ascription after the sermon. He never preached in a surplice, but always, when not engaged in episcopal duties, in the black gown. He never required the people to rise up as he entered the church, and at the close of the service to remain standing in their pews until he had left the chancel. He never asked the congregation to stand up while he placed the alms basons, with the offertory, on the Lord's table, or notified the communicants to continue in their places, after the benediction, until the clergy had reverently eaten and drank what remained of the consecrated bread and wine. These and other like practices, the outcroppings of sacerdotal assumptions, were utterly foreign to his wise and benign views and teachings.

He magnified his office, not by arrogant claims, or by extolling unduly its sacred functions, but by a loving discharge of its duties, under the eye of God, in the humility of a servant, and with the fidelity of an apostle. His loving nature, sound judgment, and enlightened mind also kept him from holding intolerant or unchurching dogmas in reference to other Christian bodies. Throughout his long life he carried out the spirit and letter of his ordination and consecration vows, — “to maintain and set forward quietness, peace, and love among all Christian people.” His views upon this point were well defined in one paragraph of the instructions which he gave to the first missionaries of our church to China in 1835. Addressing the Rev. Messrs. Hanson and Lockwood, the bishop says: “In the tie which binds you to the Episcopal Church, there is nothing which places you in the attitude of hostility to men of any other Christian denomination, and much which should unite you in affection to those occupied in the same cause with yourself. You should rejoice in their successes, and avoid as much as possible all controversy and all occasions which may provoke it, on points on which they may differ from our communion, without conforming in any point to what we consider as erroneous.”

Acting himself in this spirit, he became one of the founders of the Bible Society of Philadelphia, and was its president until his death.

He presided at its annual meetings when held in other than Episcopal churches, and when its anniversaries were held in our churches, ministers of different denominations stood before him in the chancel, and addressed the people. He was also one of the founders of the Society for the Institution and Support of First Day or Sunday Schools, an organization made up of Christians of different religious bodies. Thus, while he never compromised his principles as a churchman, or sacrificed a single convic-

tion of duty, he yet secured the respect of all classes of the community; and all denominations united at his death to do honor to this prince and father in Israel.

Let us thank God for the life and labor of such a man. "He being dead yet speaketh." In the beautiful language of Wordsworth in one of his Ecclesiastical Sonnets, —

"To thee, O saintly White,
Patriarch of a wide-spreading family,
Remotest lands and unborn times shall turn,
Whether they would restore, or build, — to thee,
As one who rightly taught how zeal should burn,
As one who drew from out Faith's holiest urn
The purest stream of patient Energy."

(Part iii., Son. xv.)

He died in Philadelphia, at his residence in Walnut Street, on Sunday the 17th of July, 1836. "His end," says his biographer, Dr. Bird Wilson, "was marked by the serenity and by the deep-seated and sweetly calm religious consolation and trust in the mercy of God through the Redeemer, which were in perfect consistency with his own declared principles of religion and with the uniform character of his feelings, conversation, and life." — W. B. S.

LIFE XVI. JACOB ALBRIGHT.

A. D. 1759—A. D. 1808. EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION,—AMERICA.

JACOB ALBRIGHT, the founder of the "Evangelical Association of North America," was born in the year 1759, near Pottstown, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, of Pennsylvania German parents. He was baptized in infancy by a German Lutheran minister, and at a later period catechised and received into the membership of the Lutheran Church. In his neighborhood, experimental and practical religion was then at a low ebb among the German churches, and there was also very little of enterprise and business among the people of that section. Young Albright, however, was possessed of considerable talent and energy, and hence found himself embarrassed by his surroundings. The schools of those days were "home-made" private enterprises. Pennsylvania did not adopt the public-school system until many years afterward. In such a school Jacob Albright learned to read and write German, and a little of arithmetic. The reading and writing exercises were quite bare of grammatical and elocutionary instruction. Jacob's mind did not feel at home amidst the surroundings of "Fuchsberg" (Fox's Mountain), as that section was popularly called; so when he had married Miss Elizabeth Cope, he moved away about seventy miles into Lancaster

County, Pennsylvania. In that naturally rich county, he found that bricks were needed, and tiles much in demand for roofing purposes; even large barns as well as houses were thus roofed in those days; so he started a "Ziegelhütte," or a tile and brick yard, having learned that business when he lived at home. He was quite successful in this occupation, and was highly respected by his customers and the people generally, who called him the "tiler," which title some prefaced with the valuable adjective "honest." In the midst of a successful business career, and surrounded by a prosperous family, Albright saw death enter his household in the year 1790, and carry off several of the little ones in quick succession, which deeply pained and affected him. The pungent funeral sermons delivered by Rev. Anton Howtz, a German Reformed minister, so touched his conscience that he considered these deaths as a loud call of God upon him to repent and turn to the Lord. For until that time he had lived careless about spiritual and eternal things that pertain to the salvation of the soul, in moral darkness and sin, as did others around him. He now fell into a deep trouble on account of his sins. Strange yet true it was that he could not find any one who was able to point him to Christ and explain the simple way of salvation through faith in Him. The fact was that in his church, and other German churches around him, justification by faith, regeneration by the power of the Holy Spirit, and the assurance of adoption into God's family were unknown, at least experimentally, and Christianity consisted of a mere outward form and profession. The Methodists, it is true, had come into Albright's neighborhood by that time, but as they were much despised and misrepresented, Albright did not go near them. Finally, he met a lay-preacher named Adam Ridgel, who was evidently a truly pious man. He showed Albright the way to the cross of Christ, and they met and prayed together, until Albright could claim the atonement as availing for him, and thus he realized that Christ died for him, yea, even him, and was filled with peace and joy in believing. With a heart full of gratitude towards God, whom he now could address as "Abba, Father," he wanted to tell to sinners round what a dear Saviour he had found, but to his surprise he found opposition, yea, even persecution, rising against him. He now looked around to find kindred hearts with whom he could unite in spiritual fellowship, "for," says he, "I needed some experienced Christians to watch over me, and assist me in fighting the good fight of faith, and working out my soul's salvation." He soon saw the necessity and advantage of being under good church discipline; he had no sympathy with such as wanted to be free from the "yoke," as they called it, of a proper church organization. However, in his own church he met with opposition and persecution; so he went to his next neighbor, who was a Methodist class-leader, and inquired into the discipline and government of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with which

Early business
career.

he became highly pleased. He was led soon to join himself to this communion. He thus had found a congenial church home, and went forward serving the Lord with a joyful, willing heart. By and by the Methodists gave him an exhorter's license, and he now and then delivered a public address to his fellow-Christians and fellow-men which was not without good effect. He had, however, as yet not the least thought of becoming a preacher of the gospel.

During the first few years of his Christian course he learned to understand that the Germans in America were in a deeply depraved condition, and he earnestly prayed for their salvation with an increasing sympathy. He now asked God to awaken and send forth good shepherds to seek these wandering sheep, and lead them to the great Chief-Shepherd, who laid down his life for them. One day, while he was thus praying, a light shone upon his soul, and a question arose within: "Was it mere chance that the deplorable condition of your fellow-men so touched your heart that you were led thus to pray? Or is the hand of Him who guides the steps of a man, as well as the course of nations, in this matter? How would it be if his infinite love had chosen you to lead your brethren into the way of saving knowledge, and into a participation of the mercy of God?" In his soul this light shone clearer still, and he heard an inward voice: "Go, labor in my vineyard. Trust in me for strength and help and success in saving souls." But now arose a number of objections in his mind. He said, "Lord, there are so many talented and learned men who are better qualified for such a work, and have greater resources and influence; behold, I am so feeble and incompetent!" When he looked at himself and the greatness and the difficulties of such a work, he became discouraged, and asked God to excuse him and send another one. But then his conscience would tell him that he must obey the voice of God, that his grace would be sufficient, that He would grant him the sufficiency from above. The great peril and loss resulting from disobedience, and also the great reward that awaits the faithful servant, were clearly portrayed before his mind. These cogitations troubled him greatly, but he was not willing to go into the vineyard. Finally, a severe sickness befell him, which brought him to the brink of death, and he recognized herein the chastising hand of his heavenly Father. He humbled himself under the mighty hand of God, asked for mercy, and solemnly promised the Lord if He would restore him he would go and preach the gospel. He then rapidly recovered, and his mind was again filled with light, and his heart with peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. He now speedily arranged his temporal affairs, and started out as an evangelist and itinerant preacher of the gospel, which he preached wherever he found hearers and open doors, in houses, churches, market-places, barns, on the roadside, and in the woods. He preached more particularly such doctrines as involve Christian experience and

practice, as repentance, faith, conversion, regeneration, and inward and outward holiness according to the Methodist view of these doctrines, which appeared to him to be in accordance with the Holy Scriptures. His labors were blessed with good results in the salvation of sinners, and soon a little flock claimed him as their spiritual father and looked to him as their God-given pastor.

The Methodist Episcopal Church at that time did not intend to enter upon the German field in America, and hence the labors of Mr. Albright were not regarded by her, and so it happened — perhaps providentially, for Providence often “happens” — that Albright was, by the course of events, separated from that church, while he was following a divine call, of which he was fully persuaded.

It was in the month of October, 1796, that he commenced preaching the gospel; in 1800 three classes or congregations were organized; in 1803 a council was held by the chief members of the society to consider what steps might be necessary to give the work something more of form and organization. The members of this council consisted of some of the most respectable citizens of Pennsylvania, who by the grace of God had been led to Christ through the labors of Albright. They adopted a declaration in which they firmly testified to the good character of Jacob Albright as a man and a Christian, and recognized him as their pastor, and a true minister of the Lord Jesus Christ. Before the close of the meeting he was ordained as a minister of the gospel by united prayer and the laying on of hands, in accordance with Acts xiii. 1-3.

Albright continued henceforth to labor zealously and successfully for the salvation of souls, amidst great hardships and difficulties and bitter persecutions, until 1807, when the first regular conference was held in the month of November, by which he was unanimously elected bishop, and also requested to compile articles of faith and a discipline for the guidance of the then so-called “Albright people,” but he soon afterward sank into consumption, and died happy in the Lord, in the spring of 1808,—the result probably of extreme hardships, severe labors, and over exertion in the work. Shortly before his decease he expressed to one of his co-laborers some uncertainty in his own mind whether God intended the work which was now commenced to continue as a separate organization, but said that if Providence designed it should continue, He would raise up competent men who would carry it on; and God did raise such men!

Several years thereafter this branch of the Christian church adopted the following as their proper church name: “Die Evangelische Gemeinschaft von Nord Amerika,” which was translated into The Evangelical Association of North America. The work has since grown wonderfully every way, even beyond all expectation and belief. This denomina-

Organizes the
Evangelical As-
sociation.

tion now numbers nineteen annual conferences, about one thousand itinerant preachers, and one hundred and ten thousand members. It has spread over many States of the Union, into Canada and into Europe, and has also missionaries in Japan. All this, together with an exceedingly prosperous book establishment at Cleveland, Ohio, an orphan institution at Flat Rock, Ohio, the Northwestern College, and a Biblical Institute at Naperville, Illinois, a well-organized missionary society, a Sunday-school and tract union, etc., and above all the assistance of the Holy Spirit, gives a promising prospect for the future.

The labors of the Evangelical Association are now conducted in both the German and the English language.

From the foregoing paragraphs it is already evident that this denomination is Methodist in both doctrine and church polity. However, in the latter respect some important variations exist which some very sensible men have regarded as improvements. The bishops are elected every four years by general conference; the presiding elders, likewise, every four years by the annual conferences. The bishops have no transferring power, and the presiding elders, who are practically bishops on a smaller scale, are the assistants in stationing the preachers. To the office of bishop is, however, attached a high ideal. He must *excel every way*, — live holier, work more, and preach better than other preachers, and be a pattern to all.

In conclusion, we add a brief personal description of Jacob Albright, by whom God pleased to bring about such a work as this. He was nearly six feet high, had smooth black hair, a high clear forehead, small, deeply set, piercing eyes, aquiline nose, mouth and chin well proportioned, a symmetrical form, a white complexion, the sanguine and choleric temperaments well combined. Hence he was a beautiful man, graceful in his movements, cheerful and yet determined, and altogether adapted to make a favorable impression. When he preached, from a heart filled with the love of God, people hung upon his words, and were overwhelmed by the power and attractions of the gospel of Jesus Christ; and those whom he led to the Saviour loved him as their spiritual father. He was, indeed, “a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith.” — R. Y.

LIFE XVII. ROBERT DONNELL.

A. D. 1784—A. D. 1855. CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN, — AMERICA.

WHAT is called the great southwestern revival of 1800 commenced in 1797 under the ministrations of the Rev. James MacGready. MacGready was educated at Canonsburgh, in Pennsylvania, under the direction of Dr. MacMillan. Having finished his academical education he also studied

theology with Dr. MacMillan. The Presbyterian ministers who coöperated with MacGready in the revival were also regularly educated men, but their number was small. The work soon extended itself over South-western Kentucky, and what was then called the Cumberland country, which lay adjacent. Congregations were multiplied, and calls became so numerous for the preaching of the Word and for the ordinances of the gospel, that it was soon found impossible to supply the demand.

In their exigency the revival preachers — as they were called — were advised to select out promising men from among the subjects of the revival, or others, and encourage them to prepare for the ministry, although they might not have, and might not be able to acquire, the qualifications customary in the Presbyterian Church as a preparation for that work. At first three were selected and recommended to the presbytery. With some difficulty they obtained licensure, and at length ordination; still the number was not sufficient for the increasing demand. Congregations were multiplying a great deal more rapidly than the laborers. Others were called out to meet the growing want. Amongst these was the subject of this present story.

Robert Donnell was the son of William and Mary Bell Donnell, and was born in Guilford County, North Carolina, in April, 1784. William Donnell, the father, was a soldier in the Revolutionary War, and participated in the battle at Guilford Court House, in 1781. The Donnell family seem to have been originally Seceders (as a part of the United Presbyterian body were once called), but to have joined the Presbyterian Church some time previous to 1784, as Dr. Caldwell is represented as having baptized their son, Robert, in his infancy.

In October, 1789, William Donnell started with his family for the Cumberland country, and made his final settlement in Wilson County, Tennessee, about eight miles from what is now Lebanon. Here Robert Donnell grew up to manhood. In the manuscript which is one of my guides in this story, it is stated that the whole of his school education His school life of nine months. consisted of what he acquired in nine months, and that he acquired this before he was thirteen years old. The account is not improbable, owing to the condition of the country at that time. Flavel's "Husbandry Spiritualized," his father's Bible, and Russell's "Seven Sermons" were his text-books in learning to read, and these were carried on pack-saddles over the mountains when the family came to Tennessee.

In 1800, when he was in the seventeenth year of his age, Mr. Donnell professed religion. His own account of his religious experience, afterwards narrated to his friends, was substantially the following: "I had been," said he, "for some time in great distress of soul on account of my sins, and after having spent several hours, late one afternoon, in the secret grove, seeking rest and finding none, I returned to my mother's

house; and just as I was setting my feet on the threshold I was enabled to put the rope around my own neck, to prostrate myself before the cross divested of all self-dependence, and to rely alone upon the merits of Jesus Christ." This account is characteristic. He soon became an efficient helper in holding prayer-meetings, and in otherwise promoting the interests of religion in his neighborhood. He would often exhort his friends and neighbors, "with melting heart and streaming eyes, to flee the wrath to come."

At what time his thoughts began to be directed to the work of the ministry we do not know. Such thoughts, however, would be a natural outgrowth of the feelings and exercises which have been mentioned. We may judge, therefore, that it was not long after his profession of religion, that the necessities of the times began to press themselves upon him, and he began to consider the question seriously of offering himself as a candidate for the ministry.

The Cumberland Presbytery, which included the Cumberland country, had been dissolved, but the informal "council" had taken its place. As soon as he heard of the formation of the council, he resolved to put himself under its care with a view to the sacred office, and stand or fall with the revival party. It will be understood that there was great confusion in the Presbyterian Church in the West during these times, and older men hardly knew how to direct their steps. This young man, however, was in earnest, and he looked beyond himself and the wisdom of men, for guidance. The following is his own account of the final struggle of his mind upon the question of duty. It occurred at a camp-meeting near Murfreesboro, Tennessee. He says, "While the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was being administered, I looked over the large congregation, thought of the scarcity of preachers, the distracted state of the church, and became so affected that I retired to the woods to pray, and there remained all night. The burden of my prayer was, 'Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?' I thought I saw the path of duty plainly marked before me, and resolved to pursue it."

Accordingly he presented himself before the council in 1806, and was received, as far as they felt authorized to receive him. In their informal capacity they did not feel themselves at liberty to transact presbyterial business. He was encouraged, however, to exercise his gifts as an exhorter and catechist. With this authority he entered upon his work, and soon became practically and really an efficient preacher, although he had received no formal license. He was at first directed to occupy a portion of the country lying between the Ohio and Cumberland rivers, and labor as he could for the promotion of the kingdom of Christ. It required three months to go round his circuit. Of course open houses, hard beds, and rough fare otherwise often awaited him, together with trials perhaps still more severe. But

Joins the new
Presbyterian
movement.

the account is that "God in a very remarkable manner crowned his labors with success."

In 1809 he penetrated into Northern Alabama, and commenced the work of collecting and, as far as he felt himself authorized, of organizing congregations in what was then a new but rapidly opening country. He was in this country when he received intelligence of the reorganization of the Cumberland Presbytery in 1810. This presbytery, it may be remarked by the way, thus organized as an independent presbytery, became the nucleus of what has grown into the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. The following is his own account of his labors, hopes, and fears:—

"I was traveling," says he, "in Alabama Territory, when I heard of the constitution of the Cumberland Presbytery by Messrs. McAdoo, Ewing, and King. If I ever was free from sectarian feelings, it was at that period. I often thought within myself, For what am I laboring? I am connected with no church, and know not that I ever shall be. For what, then, do I labor if I cannot build up a church? My answer to myself was, Only for the glory of God, and the salvation of precious souls. But what will become of the few so strongly united in the bonds of love? This could only be settled by the great Head of the church. Of Him I often sought an answer, and I am persuaded He did answer; as for some time before the presbytery was constituted, I became quite calm on the subject, under a firm persuasion that the Lord would open a way for us. I was in this frame when the intelligence reached me which caused me to feel truly thankful to God who had thus opened a way for us, a feeble handful of his followers, to become more extensively useful."¹

Donnell was licensed to preach at the Big Spring meeting-house, in Wilson County, Tennessee, in 1811. He had been rally preaching, however, since 1806, and had already acquired some eminence. The following year he was set apart to the full work of the ministry with the usual formalities, at the Three Forks of Duck River.

On the 17th of March, 1818, he was married to an estimable lay of Jackson County, Tennessee. It was a marriage in the Lord. Previous to his marriage Donnell, as we have seen, labored chiefly as an itinerant minister. He traveled extensively, especially throughout the southern portion of his church. It may be safely asserted that the labors of no man in any of the denominations were more signally blessed. He possessed vigorous health, a fine constitution, and in all his labors a feeling was manifested that he belonged to God. After his marriage he settled in Alabama, and became nominally a farmer. It was his family, however, that was settled: he himself still continued the most active and

Formally identified with the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

¹ *Life and Times of Finis Ewing.*

laborious minister in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. Many congregations were collected through his agency in Tennessee and Alabama. A number of them are still flourishing, yielding fruit from the precious seed sown by his ministry.

The General Assembly of 1831, in conformity with several petitions from that country, appointed five missionaries to Western Pennsylvania, of whom Donnell was one. Their mission was eminently successful, his labors with those of the others being greatly blessed.

Having lost his wife in 1828, he was married a second time, to Miss Clara M. Lindley, in 1832. Miss Lindley was the daughter of Rev. Jacob Lindley of Pennsylvania. She had been engaged for some years as an instructress in the South.

Sometime about 1830, he commenced a series of efforts in the city of Nashville. The result was the introduction of Cumberland Presbyterianism into that city. As the fruits of seed thus Founded noted churches. sown are two congregations, one in the city proper, the other in Edgefield. The former is one of the largest and best in the city; the other is promising.

In 1845 he went to Memphis for the purpose of organizing a congregation and aiding in building a house of worship. After spending some months there, and accomplishing the object of his visit, he returned home, and in a short time was called to the pastorate of the congregation of Lebanon, Tennessee. He remained in Lebanon until February, 1849, when he moved to Athens, Alabama, which became, as he expected, his last earthly home. He had now passed half through the seventh decade of his life, a period when serious men begin to think of setting their house in order. He built a mansion, comfortable rather than otherwise, as a home for his family, and from this mansion he entered into his rest.

His last years were spent mostly in quietude. He preached occasionally when he was able. On the third Sabbath in November, 1853, he officiated at the funeral of three aged Christians a few miles from his home. His text on the occasion was, "These all died in faith." It was his last sermon. He lingered, however, to the 24th of May, 1855, when he died. Thus he came to his grave in a "good old age," like a shock of corn gathered in its season. His death occurred in his seventy-second year.

At the time of his death he was the oldest vice-president of the American Tract Society. He had been for years a devoted friend of the American Bible Society, and a promoter of its interests. In favor of temperance he was outspoken, and a temperance man from principle long before there were temperance societies.

He was a member of the Cumberland Synod in 1825, when the decisive step was taken towards the establishment of Cumberland College,

and gave his unqualified support to the institution while there were hopes of its success, and in 1842 was a member of the commission appointed for the location of Cumberland University. Of the latter institution he continued a steadfast friend and supporter through his remaining life.

An authority says, "He was perhaps instrumental in the conversion of as many sinners, organized as many congregations, assisted in building as many houses of worship, and brought as many young men into the ministry, as any contemporary minister of his own or any other denomination of Christians." This is, no doubt, a faithful testimony.

Donnell preached the opening sermon at the meeting of the first general assembly of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. The meeting was held at Princeton, Kentucky, in 1829. The subject was "Solomon's choice of wisdom and understanding, that he might be able to judge the people of God, and go in and out before them in a becoming manner." The sermon was characteristic.

From the time of Donnell's maturity in the ministry, he was regarded as the leader of the southern portion of the church to which he belonged. No other man contributed so much towards directing its theological inquiries or its practical policy. For thirty years he was the highest human authority in these matters. He was a great natural man. Furthermore, by extraordinary application and industry in his early ministry, he had made himself a respectable scholar. It used to be said that he carried his English grammar and other elementary books in his saddle-bags on his circuits, and studied them on horseback between his appointments. This was probably true, as it was the custom of those days. He possessed great administrative abilities, and could hardly have been otherwise than a leader. At the same time it is to be remarked that no man seemed less anxious to be a leader. If he was ambitious, the world never knew it.

Personally, he was a man to be observed anywhere. His figure was commanding. He was something over six feet in height; his usual weight in later life was about two hundred and twenty. He was always neatly dressed, stood erect in the pulpit, delivering his message in an unusually solemn and impressive manner. He never descended to what are called the arts of elocution. Nature had done enough for him in that respect. His voice was like the voice of a trumpet; he never lacked words, and notwithstanding the defects of his early education, his words were always well selected. His thoughts were very clear, and his method of utterance unusually distinct. No man needed to misunderstand him. Above all, there were a spirituality and an unction in his pulpit ministrations which subdued, while his mind and manner led. He seemed often to be absolutely overwhelming. He was not always so, it is true, but he was always interesting. Donnell belonged to a race of

Leader of his
people.

men in the Southwest which has passed away. We may not expect to see their like again.

A few brief personal recollections will close this sketch. I saw Robert Donnell for the first time in my early boyhood. He called at my grandfather's, with whom I then lived. He was accompanied by his mother, an aged lady of serious and quiet appearance. But one thing occurred in this visit which made any impression upon my mind. My grandfather had a large family Bible which he had carried over the mountains from Virginia to this country. This, with the hymn-book, Confession of Faith, and the "Travels of True Godliness," made up the principal part of his library. Donnell, in walking over the house, found the Confession of Faith, and made some jocular remark about it. The controversy was then raging which gave rise to the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. The old gentleman relished a joke, and retorted in a very pithy one. I shall never forget his words, but they were too antiquated for such a story as this.

I saw him no more until the fall of 1817. He had then become one of the most popular preachers in the church. The occasion was a camp-meeting at the Beech church in Sumner County, Tennessee. He delivered a sermon occasioned by the death of Rev. William McGee, one of the old revival ministers who had given in his adhesion to the new organization. Mr. McGee had once been the pastor of the Beech congregation. It was an exceedingly tender occasion. The preacher himself wept freely, and but few eyes were dry in the great congregation. I was then a very young Christian.

In 1820, he preached at the same Beech camp-ground. It was late in October, and the weather was unusually cold for the season. He was then in the prime of life, and was certainly a noble specimen of humanity. He preached in the open air; there was no shelter, and snow was falling during most of the time of the sermon. But the large concourse of people kept their places, and heard with unflagging attention, and apparently with deep interest. The text was, "That as sin hath reigned unto death, even so might grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord." I had been licensed to preach but a few days before, and was perhaps in a good frame of mind for hearing. It is certain that I never heard a sermon with more intellectual interest. "Sin hath reigned unto death" in throwing darkness into the understanding, in perverting the judgment, in controlling the will, in impairing the memory, in depraving the affections, in subjecting the body to the power of disease and death. Grace reigns in enlightening the understanding, in correcting the errors of the judgment, in persuading and enabling the will, in rendering the memory more tenacious of what is good, in renewing the affections, and, finally, in restoring the body to life and immortality in the resurrection of the just. This is an outline of the sermon which was delivered that cold day.

In 1823 the Cumberland Synod met at Russellville, Kentucky. At the close of the sessions a camp-meeting was held at a place about four miles from town. Donnell preached on Saturday evening. His text was, "I speak as unto wise men; judge ye what I say." Of course, such a text was chosen because it afforded any degree of latitude. The sermon consisted of an exposition and vindication of the doctrines of the youthful church. On one topic he gave a direction to my own thoughts which they have still kept. I had entertained a confused notion that regeneration was a sort of physical change. The sermon of that evening relieved my mind on that subject. It seems to me now that he was very distinct and satisfactory, and the wonder is that with the means of information which Cumberland Presbyterians then had, he could have been so much so. The next day he preached a funeral sermon. It was a massive discourse.

It has been stated already that he preached the opening sermon of the first general assembly. In 1843 he delivered a sermon at the general assembly at Owensboro, Kentucky, upon the life, character, and death of the Rev. Samuel King, one of the three who constituted the independent Cumberland Presbytery in 1810. In his latter years he showed in his efforts in the pulpit something of the effects of age. He was always heard, however, with interest. He continued to preach, too, while he had physical strength for his work. Both nature and grace had fitted him for the pulpit. It was his throne. He loved its labors, and would have stood in the front rank of preachers in any Christian communion. — R. B.

LIFE XVIII. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

A. D. 1788—A. D. 1876. DISCIPLES, — AMERICA.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL was born in the county of Antrim, Ireland, September 12, 1788, in sight of Shane's Castle, the ancient ruin of which still stands on the northern shore of Lough Neagh. On his mother's side he was descended from the French Huguenots, and on his father's from ancestors originally from the west of Scotland, and claiming both clanship and kinship with the race Dearnid — the Campbells of Argyleshire. His father received both his academical and his theological education at the University of Glasgow, — the latter in the school of the anti-burgher Seceders, under Dr. Archibald Bruce, of Whitburn. Both father and mother were eminent for piety and the most earnest devotion to the study of the Scriptures, and but few sons ever enjoyed finer advantages in literary instruction and religious training than they diligently labored to afford their son Alexander. He was, indeed, from a very

early age, marked by rare and remarkable gifts of body and mind, and it required a high order of wisdom in discipline and of skill in instruction to give proper direction and guidance to his expanding powers. Fond of all manner of sport, by flood and field, he was nevertheless constantly and firmly held to his studies, and carefully cultured in all that could draw out and expand his powers, and fit him for the high walks in intellectual pursuits to which nature so evidently destined him.

Speaking himself of his father he says: "His family training and discipline were peculiarly didactic, Biblical, and strict. . . . The Bible was, during the minority of his family, a daily study and a daily recitation. . . . I can but gratefully add that to my mother as well as to my father I am indebted for having memorized in early life almost all the writings of King Solomon, his Proverbs, his Ecclesiastes, and many of the Psalms of his father, David. They have not only been written on the tablet of my memory, but incorporated with my modes of thinking and speaking." With such preparation of discipline as this was the powerful nature of Alexander Campbell nurtured through its period of formation. Not, however, without strong tendencies of resistance and counter-struggling, which under other masters, and a less divine and devoted guidance, might have made the "reformer of Bethany" only a great barrister, or an Irish agitator, — the peer of O'Connell in the House of Commons, or a patriot statesman, by the side of Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, in American politics. For nature had given him the elements of greatness, and fashioned him for a ruler and leader of men.

From his father's academy at Rich Hill, where he had labored both as pupil and as teacher, he passed to the University of Glasgow. Studies in Scotland. Professors Young and Jardine were his favorites in the departments of philosophy and logic and belles-lettres, — and Dr. Ure's lectures and experiments in the Anderson Institute, just then founded, introduced him to the very fountain-head of modern physics. For seventeen hours per day he bent his vigorous powers to his tasks. In after years, while president of Bethany College, he was fond of telling his students that though his name came among the first on the alphabetical class rolls, he never failed to return his "*adsum*" to the call of the professor. Outside of the university he formed "a very happy acquaintance with Dr. Greville Ewing, and Dr. Wardlaw, then prominent actors among the Scotch Independents, as well as with Dr. Moultre, Dr. Mitchell, and others of the Presbyterian faith." From such influences as these he received impressions that gave both impulse and direction to his after life, and had much to do, doubtless, in preparing him for his extraordinary career.

In 1809 he migrated to the United States, and hastened to join his father, Thomas Campbell, who had preceded him, and was already settled at Washington, in Western Pennsylvania, whither he had been sent by the Associate Synod of North America as a Seceder minister, under

the Presbytery of Chartiers. He found his father already engaged in an attempted "réformation," — and scarcely recognized on terms of ecclesiastic fellowship by the Seceders, because of his persistency in rejecting "all human authority in matters of religion," and his "plea for union on the simple basis of the Scriptures." The principle and the object of this movement at once commended it to the judgment and religious convictions of Alexander Campbell. It was in harmony with the deepest convictions of his mind as to the divine origin of all that is binding on the human conscience in matters of faith and religion, and his strong, positive intellect and resolute will accepted its fundamental proposition, with the absoluteness of an axiom. But there was nothing in the scheme to inspire ambition, or to tempt selfishness. Seemingly, it was a barren and impractical dream.

They were strangers in a new world, without position or wealth. The country was yet almost a wilderness, and they were removed from the busy centres of social, political, and ecclesiastical influence. What but isolation and proscription could a secession like this promise to the actors? Evidently, for a young and gifted pioneer, there was not a ray of promise of either honor or wealth on the side of dissent and secession. But on the other hand, the way was open and inviting. Pittsburgh, not far off, was already a growing and busy city of four or five thousand inhabitants, and soon tempting offers came to Alexander Campbell to employ his fine education in the conduct of a literary and classical academy in that city. A thousand dollars was at that time a tempting salary to a young man just starting in life, and especially to one who had been accustomed in Ireland to see old and gifted Seceder ministers paid only from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty dollars per year. Besides, there was the open way to large circles of friendly influence and avenues of honor and promotion. But his heart had already passed through an experience that prepared it to choose "the better part," and the decision was promptly and firmly made.

Speaking of himself when seventeen years old, he says: "From the time that I could read the Scriptures, I became convinced that Jesus was the Son of God. I was also fully persuaded that I was a sinner, and must obtain pardon through the merits of Christ, or be forever lost. This caused me great distress of soul, and I had much exercise of mind under the awakenings of a guilty conscience. Finally, after many strugglings, I was enabled to put my trust in the Saviour, and to feel my reliance on Him as the only Saviour of sinners. From the moment I was able to feel this reliance on the Lord Jesus Christ, I obtained and enjoyed peace of mind. It never entered my heart to investigate the subject of baptism or the doctrines of the creed." This was the beginning of his public profession of religion, as a communicant with the Seceders.

Experience of
religion.

Later, when sailing out of Lough Foyle with his father's family for America, the vessel was caught in a storm and driven to pieces on the reefs of the island of Islay. "Sitting on the stump of a broken mast, . . . and musing upon the vanity of the aims and ambitions of human life, he thought of his father's noble example, devoted to God and the salvation of his fellow-beings, and in that solemn hour resolved that, if saved from the present peril, he would give his life to the ministry of the gospel." And still again, when his voyage was renewed, and he was brought into a like peril, this sacred vow of self-consecration was repeated. It was a covenant which, calm amid the fury of the elements, his soul had made with his Maker and Redeemer, and the new situation, in the midst of safety and the brightening hopes of worldly advantage, could not tempt him to break it. The crisis of his life seemed to have been prepared for him by his Heavenly Parent, and he did not hesitate as to his choice.

Under his father's guidance, therefore, he gave himself industriously to special preparation for his chosen work, and on the 15th of July, 1810, he preached his first sermon. It was in one of nature's stately groves, rudely seated for the purpose, and to an audience naturally curious to hear the "young scholar from Glasgow." Even his critical father pronounced it "good," and calls from many quarters were soon made to hear the "young man who was a better preacher than his father," so that it is reported that during the remaining six months of that year he delivered one hundred and six sermons; some in private houses, some in barns, a few in churches. but the greater number in selected groves of the native forest. His ministry soon took a wider range, and he made missionary tours into the neighboring parts of Virginia and Ohio, preaching wherever he could find an audience: to individuals of prominence,—like Philip to the eunuch,—to fireside groups, in court-houses, and occasionally in such pulpits as were opened to him,—“to mixed audiences of Presbyterians, Unionists, Methodists,” and others.

So far, his father's movement for a larger union of Christians had only resulted in a complete isolation of himself and his associates from the fellowship of all existing ecclesiastical organizations. This was contrary to his hopes and expectations. "He would have liked," as D'Aubigné says of Calvin, "to see all the churches transformed, rather than set themselves apart and form a new one." But this could not be. An earnest overture had been made to the Presbyterian synod of Pittsburgh, but it was distinctly refused. Hitherto, they had coöperated under the name of "The Christian Association," but laid no claim to independent church organization; but now no other course seemed left
 hem, and "The Christian Association" was organized into
 ae "Brush Run Church," with Thomas Campbell as its
 elder, several deacons, and Alexander Campbell as its licensed preacher.

Forms the Dis-
 ciples' Church.

His preaching, during these years, was in no characteristic sense polemic. Still, it was a firm, practical protest against much that was dear to the existing parties, in that it refused to be subjected to their control. "Am I asked," said he, "why I am not a party man, — why I do not join some party? I ask in return, Which party would the Apostle Paul join if now on earth? Or, in other words, which party would receive him? I dare not be a party man. (1.) Because Christ has forbidden me. . . . (2.) Because no party will receive into communion all whom God would receive into heaven. . . . (4.) Because all parties oppose reformation. They all pray for it, but they will not work for it. None of them dare return to the original standard."

Having adopted the principle that he would conform his religious life in all things strictly to the precepts and precedents of the sacred Scriptures, it was not long till he was led to challenge the authority of pædobaptism. The question indeed came to him in a pressing practical form, not to be evaded. In 1812 he married a Miss Brown, who with her father's family was a member of the Presbyterian Church. The question rose, "Shall we baptize our first-born?" This led to further questions respecting baptism. The discussion, thus begun, was engaged in by the whole of the Brush Run congregation, and the result was that in a short time not only Alexander Campbell and his father and their families, but nearly all the members of the organization, were immersed. Those who did not follow in the action soon withdrew their fellowship, and the Brush Run Church became, so far as this institution could characterize it, a Baptist church. They reserved, however, their independent position as to creeds and confessions of faith. "I have set out," said Alexander Campbell to the Baptist minister whom he requested to immerse him, "I have set out to follow the Apostles of Christ and their master, and I will be baptized only into the primitive Christian faith."

Hitherto he had preached as a licentiate of the Brush Run congregation, and now the question of his "ordination" was raised, and this like everything else was brought to the test of the Scriptures. "Utterly repudiating the claim of apostolic succession, of priestly supremacy, and the communication of any official grace by superiors to inferiors, or that the clergy had any inherent or transmissible power in them, as it respects ordination," he nevertheless saw that it was a clearly established apostolic custom, and accepted it as a solemn and Scriptural mode of setting persons apart, and of committing them, when chosen by the church, to the discharge of official duties. He believed himself "called to the ministry by many tokens¹ of the divine purpose;" he had already, by solemn vows, consecrated himself in heart to the work, and it was right and Scriptural that he should be formally set apart by "ordination."

¹ In an entry made by him at the time, he states twelve separate "instances of divine power which he considered bound him under special obligations to devote himself to this service of God."

According to his light was his obedience. As he represented it, "This band of reformers had engaged themselves to be, not a sect, with its truths and its errors equally stereotyped and equally immutable, but a party of progress, as learners in the school of Christ." Soon they were brought into a prominence that excited attention, discussion, controversy, and bitter opposition.

For a number of years, from his immersion in 1812 to his debate with McCalla in 1823, his labors in the ministry, though zealous and arduous, were confined to the limited region round about his home in West Virginia. He managed a farm, toiling arduously with his own hands; conducted the Buffalo Seminary, which he established in his own house; and preached whenever and wherever he could get an audience, without charges on any one. In a letter written to an uncle in Ireland during this period, he reveals in a few bold strokes his views of the country and his own religious status. "I have had," he says, "my horse shod by a legislator, my horse saddled, my boots cleaned, and my stirrup held by a senator. Here is no nobility but virtue; here there is no ascendancy save that of genius, virtue, and knowledge. A farmer here is lord of the soil, and the most independent man on earth. I would not exchange the honor and privilege of being an American citizen for the position of your king. . . . After long study and investigation of books, and more especially the sacred Scriptures, I have, through clear convictions of truth and duty, renounced much of the traditions and errors of my early education. I am now an Independent in church government; . . . of the faith and view of the ^{His account of his belief.} gospel exhibited in John Walker's seven letters to Alexander Knox, and a Baptist as respects baptism. . . . What I am in religion, I am from examination, reflection, and conviction, not from *ipse dixit*, tradition, or human authorities; and having halted and faltered and stumbled, I have explored every inch of the way hitherto, and I trust through grace 'I am what I am.' Though my father and I accord in sentiment, neither of us is a dictator or an imitator. Neither of us leads; neither of us follows."

His views and his course as to baptism excited very general inquiry in the sphere of his influence, but both he and his father had hitherto earnestly deprecated the thought of giving their investigations a controversial cast, and these inquiries were mostly restricted to the private circles of fireside examination of the Scriptures. But in 1820, John Walker, of Ohio, a Presbyterian, made offer to a Baptist preacher by the name of Birch to debate the question of baptism either with him or with any one he might select. Mr. Campbell was urged to meet this challenge. The correspondence shows that he did so with great reluctance, but, as he says, his "unwillingness to appear, much more to feel, afraid to defend" his position on the subject overcame his scruples. The discussion was

oral, but it was afterwards written out and published by Mr. Campbell. It had a large circulation, and excited an interest beyond all expectation. It seems to have been the first step in his course which suggested the use of the press for a wider diffusion of his plea for a return to "primitive order" in all things relating to faith and practice in religion.

The combined cares and labors of the farm, the Buffalo Seminary, and the increasing and widening calls upon him in the ministry, had somewhat impaired his health, and he determined to change his method of work, and to employ the power of the press in the propagation of his own views. The result was the establishment of a printing press at his retired home in the hills and forest solitudes of West Virginia, and the issue of a monthly periodical which he called the "Christian Baptist." The first number was issued on the 4th of July, 1823. It was literally a child of faith and hope, for there was as yet no subscription list, no backing of authority, and no ecclesiastical affiliation to afford promise of patronage. But many circumstances concurred to give it a speedy introduction to the public. It was in the boldest sense aggressive, especially upon the "clergy" and all humanisms in religion, and marked by an energy in the positive assertion of the "primitive order of all things in religion," that won for it a notoriety unparalleled in religious journalism. Simultaneously with its issue Campbell made his first visit to Kentucky to debate on baptism with the Rev. Mr. McCalla, a Presbyterian divine, by whom he had been challenged. This created among the Baptists, who were numerous in Kentucky, a profound admiration for Mr. Campbell, and they eagerly sought his "Christian Baptist," that they might learn something more of their "admired champion," and in a short time the ecclesiastic circles all over Kentucky were ablaze with the excitement which the debate and his writings produced. This unpretentious monthly was continued for seven years, and its influence was widespread. Mr. Campbell was earnestly invited to make extensive tours, and Kentucky, Virginia, and Tennessee were all visited by him. Wherever he went multitudes poured out to hear him, and his life was one unremitted "labor in word and doctrine." It has been computed that in these seven years he printed and circulated forty-six thousand volumes of his writings in the defense and dissemination of his views. The "Christian Baptist" was in 1830 superseded by the "Millennial Harbinger," a monthly of sixty pages, which was continued till 1864.

The limits of this article forbid more than a passing allusion to the mighty labors of this extraordinary man. His published works amount to about sixty volumes. He held, besides the debates with Walker and McCalla, already mentioned, other discussions, in all which he displayed the remarkable powers of memory, wit, ridicule, sarcasm, and repartee for which he was distinguished; but these were ever subordinated to the defense and elucidation of truth,

His books and
his great debates.

the reproof and discomfiture of tradition and authority, and the exposure of superstition and delusion. His great learning, ready invention, adroit skill as a dialectician, and keen penetration by which he saw at a glance into the heart of all questions, and drove the point of his javelin straight to the vital point of controversy; these, with a coolness and self-possession that no fire of assault could excite, nor artifice of sophistry embarrass, constituted his irresistible power as a debater. He always thoroughly understood his subject, — both sides of it, — always entered into its discussion with a deep conviction of its importance, always subjected it to, with him, the one test of verity, the sacred Scriptures, always thought himself right, and never doubted that with the truth on his side, he could debate successfully with any antagonist.

His devotion to truth was chivalric. His soul rose like David's against any champion who defied the cause of Christ. When he first saw the arrogant and unaccepted challenge of Robert Owen, the socialist, to discuss with any of the clergy his infidel doctrines, Mr. Campbell replied, "I have felt indignant at the aspect of things in reference to this infidel and lawless scheme," and immediately took up the gauntlet, "relying," as he expressed it, "on the Author, the reasonableness, and the excellency of the Christian religion." And when, in the College of Teachers, Bishop Purcell affirmed that "the Protestant Reformation had been the cause of all the contention and infidelity in the world," Mr. Campbell immediately challenged him to make good his calumny in public debate, and so brought on the most notable and powerful exposure of Romanism that has ever been made. In 1843 he held the most comprehensive, learned, and famous discussion of his life, the debate with Dr. Rice at Lexington, Kentucky. Almost every controversial topic in the wide range of theology came under consideration, directly or indirectly, in this discussion, and the comprehensive sweep of Mr. Campbell's learning and genius never shone more conspicuously than in the majestic power with which he handled the sublimest and the profoundest questions ever grappled by the human mind.

He was the friend and patron of every enterprise that had in it the purpose and the promise of enlightening and civilizing the masses of men. The cause of education stood, in his esteem, next to Christianity, at once its product and its ally; and to bring its powerful agency to her aid was his cherished object in the founding of Bethany College.

He had labored long and earnestly to excite the people to ^{His college.} the study of the Word of God; had compiled, revised, and published and circulated widely new versions of the Holy Scriptures; had taught multitudes of people how to study the Bible, and excited whole communities, all over the land, to the formation of Bible classes, and the investigation of divine truth for themselves; had claimed for it its place and agency in the conversion of the world to Christ; and his thought

was still further to honor the sacred oracles, and incorporate their power with the elements of our public life, by founding a college in which the Bible should be a text-book. No man understood better the power of education, or believed more fully in the maxim that whatever is to appear in the life of a people should be put into the studies of the schools. A college founded upon the Bible was but the natural offspring of his life-long struggle to bring all things in religion to the one standard of the Word of God.

His reverence for the Bible, his faith in the power of the Word to work out the revolution of the world, his constant and unremitted study of it, his ability to repeat it and run the long chain of sequences in its mighty arguments, his comprehension of its meaning, his grasp of its wondrous system and scheme, his sympathy with its all-comprehending philanthropy, his lofty admiration and conception of the majesty, dignity, and glory of its Christ, his humility and his confidence before this presence as revealed in our nature, his power to magnify and exalt in the minds and hearts of men the love of God as manifested in the gift of his Son for their redemption, his power to grasp and model into shape and hold up before the imagination in vivid and sublime pictures the deep things of God, — the great mystery of godliness, — these are some of the points in which Alexander Campbell stood out among men, conspicuous in his generation.

Socially he was one of the most genial of men. The abounding buoyancy of his spirits lifted all men out of their despondency, His private life. and imparted to them, for the time, an energy and heart above themselves. In his family his presence was a perpetual benediction. Severe as he was in the religious discipline of his household in the study and knowledge of the Scriptures, there was nothing of the ascetic in his life or bearing, and cheerfulness shone as a blessed atmosphere wherever he went. In converse he was a discourses. You could not, you did not want to interrupt him by replies. No matter what the topic might be, he soon struck off some grand analogy that led him to Christ and his redemption, and the current of his thoughts became too deep, the soarings of his imagination too high, the majesty and sweep of his thought too sublime and wide, for you to feel like interrupting him, or to wish to arrest him. In his many and long tours, his intercourse with the thousands who thronged to hear him, whether in the pulpit, in the stage-coach, or by the fireside, was, as it were, an unbroken monologue on the one sublime but myriad-sided theme of the gospel.

As he lived so he died. He gradually blossomed into a beautiful old age, just forgetful enough of the concerns of this world to feel no annoyance from them, just mindful enough of them to throw over them the sweetness of a most divine charity; and with respect to the objects of the future life, lifting up to them a clearer vision and a more rapturous

joy of anticipation, as he day by day drew nearer to their possession. "Heaven seemed to lie about him," as he walked in holy meditation among the trees of his own planting; and when in his eighty-eighth year, at the close of a lovely Sabbath day in March, his eye rested upon the light of the setting sun as it streamed into his chamber, almost his last words were, "Yes, the setting sun! It will soon go down. But unto them that fear his name shall the Sun of Righteousness arise with healing in his wings." — W. K. P.

LIFE XIX. JOHN MASON PECK.

A. D. 1789—A. D. 1857. BAPTIST,—AMERICA.

THE fact, though humiliating, should be salutary in its influence, that very few persons are remembered for any long period after they die. Of almost all "born of women" it may be said, they live, they die, and are forgotten. Here and there a name is found on the page of history, but the names of countless millions are not there, and were never there.

As there is this general tendency to oblivion, — a tendency which cannot be arrested, — the only thing the living can do is to rescue, as well as they can, the names of a few from forgetfulness. These names must obviously be few. The many cannot be remembered. As Protestant Christendom is divided into different religious denominations, it is well for these denominations to preserve a record of some, of their representative men, if not of all. Such men are to be found, and among them, in the Baptist denomination, is John Mason Peck, who, in his generation, was a zealous laborer in the kingdom of his Lord.

Of Puritan descent, he was born in Connecticut on the 31st of October, 1789, a year signalized by the inauguration of George Washington as the first president of the United States. The only child of poor parents, he was required, when about fourteen ^{His early difficulties.} years of age, through the physical disability of his father, to perform the chief labor of cultivating their small farm. Devoting the largest part of the year to the pursuits of agriculture, he availed himself during the winter of the advantages of the common school. These advantages were quite limited as compared with those of the present time. Boys and girls were taught spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic. Geography and grammar were not included in the regular studies of the common schools. Dr. Peck in after years may have disparaged himself at this period of his life, for he referred to himself as "more stupid and sluggish than ordinary lads." When at eighteen years of age he taught school, for a time he felt and deplored his deficiencies, but, as is often the case, a consciousness of ignorance stimulated effort in pursuit of

knowledge. He was constantly adding to his stock of information, and became more intelligent than most young men of his age.

Like many boys, John had religious impressions at an early age, which, however, were only occasional and transient. It was not until he reached his eighteenth year that his impressions became deep and permanent. He was induced to attend a meeting where a revival was in progress. "Here," to use his own words, "I was brought to see myself a guilty sinner before God, deserving his wrath. These exercises continued and increased for about one week. I viewed myself lost without the interposition of God's mercy. My distress increased, and my burden became heavier, until the end of the week, when I was delivered, and found a peace of mind and a joy in God which I had never felt before. Insensibly, my heart was drawn out to love and praise the Lord. . . . My hope was not at first as clear and bright as it afterwards became, when a fuller discovery was made of the way of salvation through the merits of Christ."

From this epoch in his life Mr. Peck seems to have been recognized as a member of a Congregational church to which his parents belonged. The change which had taken place in him involved preëminently his spiritual nature, but a wonderful impulse was given also to his mental nature. His mind became more vigorous and active. It was quickened and strengthened by contact with the glorious truths of the gospel, though his literary attainments were very meagre. It appears strange now that Mr. Peck did not seek the advantages of thorough scholarship, but instead of doing so he married when nineteen years of age. It is to be supposed that at the time he did not expect to become a minister of the gospel, for with such an expectation it is scarcely credible that he would entangle himself with the cares of a family, and preclude himself from the benefits of a suitable education. We must not, however, be severe in our judgment, as we know not all the circumstances surrounding him.

Bringing his bride to the paternal home, where he was born, he lived there with his parents for about two years. The birth of the first child of the young married pair led to important results, — results which changed Mr. Peck's denominational relations for life. It was expected that the child would, as the common phrase was, be "dedicated to God by baptism," but the mother saw no Scriptural authority for the baptism of infants, and while the father did not agree with her he was induced to examine the subject, and became greatly perplexed concerning it.

In his perplexity he had numerous interviews with the Rev. Lyman Beecher, whose name was afterward known throughout Christendom. Mr. Beecher was of course as able as any other man to present the arguments in favor of infant baptism, but they did not satisfy Mr. and Mrs. Peck. Their child was not baptized.

Having remained with his father for two years, Mr. Peck decided to remove to the State of New York. Leaving his native Connecticut, which he ever loved, he found a home in Green County, New York. Here he had a better opportunity than before of becoming acquainted with Baptists. Nor will it surprise any one that he with his wife became Baptists. Their renunciation of infant baptism led them of necessity to believe that the rite as administered to them was null and void. Regarding themselves unbaptized, and believing baptism to be not a parental but a personal act, they began to inquire, What is baptism? After due examination they found but one answer to this question. They were immersed on a profession of their faith in Christ. Having become members of the New Durham Baptist Church, it was not long before the church, according to the usage of the Baptist denomination, gave license to Peck to preach the gospel. He "conferred not with flesh and blood," but the next day made his first attempt at expounding a text. His missionary impulses led him to discuss Mark xvi. 15, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." He seems to have preached with great personal enjoyment, and, like many young preachers, he thought the light and glory of that day would never be followed by darkness or gloom. Alas for him, one week did not pass away before he had what he calls "sore trials." Having as a licensed minister preached acceptably for about two years, his ordination was called for by the church in Catskill, New York, and was granted by a council met for the purpose on the 9th of June, 1813. From that time forward he preached the gospel and administered the ordinances as he had opportunity. In 1815 he became acquainted with Rev. Luther Rice, who was performing almost superhuman labor in traveling through the North and the South, and in appealing to the churches in behalf of foreign missions. Rice found in Peck a congenial spirit and received important assistance from him. Indeed, the soul of Peck was so imbued with the spirit of missions that he was contemplating a personal consecration to the enterprise. Often he found himself secretly saying, "Here am I, send me." A moment's reflection, however, convinced him of his lack of qualifications for so important a work. His zeal in the missionary cause led him to acquaint himself with the plans and purposes of the Baptist Triennial Convention for Foreign Missions, formed in the year 1814, of which Rev. Dr. William Staughton was corresponding secretary. Dr. Staughton was pastor in Philadelphia, and was thought by many to be the most eloquent man of his generation. His energy and industry were almost incredible. He often preached four and five times on the Lord's day, lectured in schools and academies on week-days, visited the sick and attended the funerals of the dead, maintained an extensive correspondence, and had theological students under his instruction.

The further Mr. Peck prosecuted the work of the ministry, the more conscious he was of his need of theological training. He was no doubt drawn by his missionary sympathies to Dr. Staughton, and amid many difficulties arrangements were made for him to spend about two years in Philadelphia. There was not at that time a regular theological school among the Baptists of America, and it was thought a great privilege to have the instruction of Dr. Staughton. It was a severe trial to Peck to leave his family in their New York home, but it seemed to be a necessity. He sacrificed domestic comfort for the sake of qualifying himself as well as possible for the great work of his life. He visited his family once or twice a year.

Very soon after the formation of the triennial convention, in 1814, the policy of sending missionaries to the Missouri Territory was discussed by the board of managers. This immense region lying west of the Mississippi was a part of what was called the "Louisiana Purchase," made by President Jefferson from France in 1803. Peck and one of his fellow-students, Rev. James E. Welch, were appointed missionaries to this territory on the 17th of May, 1817. Peck wrote, "The long agony is over. The board have accepted Mr. Welch and myself as missionaries to the Missouri Territory during our and their pleasure, and have appropriated the sum of one thousand dollars to defray our getting to St. Louis and for the support of the mission. In this I think I see the hand of God most visibly."

At once Peck made arrangements to start with his family for his Western home. He left his father's house on the 25th of July. His mode of conveyance to his place of destination was "a little one-horse wagon," in which was found room for the father, mother, and three children. The journey to the Mississippi, now requiring less than two days, demanded then several months of laborious travel and no little exposure to danger. Almost a month was spent in getting from Philadelphia over the Alleghany Mountains to Pittsburgh. Thence Peck made his way through the State of Ohio, passed into Kentucky, where he joined his colleague Welch, and on the 6th of November they crossed the Ohio River at Shawneetown. They were then in Illinois, at that time a Territory, but admitted into the Union as a State the next year (1818). There had been very heavy rains and the Ohio River had risen rapidly, and many parts of the country were submerged. The missionaries were in great perplexity, and it was finally decided that Mr. Peck and family should go by boat to St. Louis and leave Mr. Welch to make his way by land as soon as the subsidence of the waters would permit. The only boat available was called a keel-boat, afterward described by Mr. Peck as follows:—

"A keel-boat in shape very nearly resembled a canal boat, but with a gunwale on each side twelve or fifteen inches in width. Besides hoisting

a sail in a favorable wind, especially when going down stream, there were three modes of propelling a keel-boat in passing up stream. These were the use of the cordelle, the setting pole, and occasionally bushwhacking. Except in crossing a river, when oars were used, the boat had to creep along shore."

The splendid steamboats which now ply on the Ohio River, with their luxurious accommodations, present a gratifying contrast to the keel-boats of other days. Indeed, the "bushwhacking" operation, which consisted in catching hold of the limbs of trees and dragging the boat along, is now regarded as something to laugh at, but there was nothing laughable in the effort to get the keel-boat up the Mississippi, though it may have gone down the Ohio with but little difficulty. This Mr. Peck fully ascertained, and had his patience severely tested. In addition to the difficulties of the navigation he was, when near Cape Girardeau, assailed by disease, which for a time threatened a serious pulmonary affection. The little boat reached St. Louis the first day of December, more than four months from the time Peck set out on his laborious journey. He had traveled over twelve hundred miles. Having landed at St. Louis, the first thing was to procure accommodations for himself and family, and the best he could do was to rent, for twelve dollars a month, "a single room." He found some respectable families, but the most of the people were wicked and of vulgar tastes, while many of them were blaspheming infidels. The latter had been known to engage in "a mock celebration of the Lord's Supper," and in "burning the Bible," while they openly said that "the Sabbath never had crossed, and never should cross, the Mississippi." These were discouragements, but they proclaimed in trumpet tones the great need of missionary labor. As soon as possible Peck and Welch began to prosecute the objects of their mission. "They rented a school-room and commenced teaching, while for want of better accommodations they occupied the same room on the Sabbath and on Wednesday evening for preaching. In February they constituted a small church. In April they baptized several candidates, using for the first time, as they thought, the great river for this solemn Christian ordinance. Very soon they opened a subscription for building a church edifice, and were greatly cheered by obtaining on it nearly three thousand dollars. . . . In the mean time, they opened a Sunday-school for the instruction of colored children and adults, and were soon cheered with finding nearly one hundred names enrolled as pupils." I presume there can be no doubt that this was the first Sunday-school for colored children west of the Mississippi, and it therefore has a chronological distinction worthy of remembrance.

It would be agreeable to dwell in detail on the various labors of the missionaries in St. Louis. This, however, cannot be done.

Peck could not long resist his desire to explore certain parts of Mis-

souri and Illinois, and he therefore, as he found it practicable, made preaching excursions from St. Louis, and learned the religious state of things in many places. The brethren whose missionary he was received from him the first trustworthy information from important parts of the Great West. In one of his excursions Peck had an interview with "the veritable Daniel Boone, the pioneer and hunter of Kentucky." He was very favorably impressed by the conversation of the old man, who "spoke feelingly and with solemnity of being a creature of Providence, ordained by Heaven as a pioneer in the wilderness to advance the civilization and extension of his country." Boone was then (1818) more than eighty years old.

At the present time, in reading Mr. Peck's diary, we are almost forced to the conclusion that there was too little concentration in his labors. His motives were unquestionably pure in traveling and preaching through a large extent of country, and no doubt some of the seed which he sowed in so large a field sprang up and bore fruit. Indeed, to this day there are delightful reminiscences of his labors of love, and when he was importuned by those who had not heard a sermon for years to repeat his visits it was well-nigh impossible for him to decline compliance with requests so earnestly made. Still, it might have been better if, for several years, he had concentrated his efforts as a missionary at St. Louis. The brethren under whose appointment he was acting most probably thought so, for it is obvious that results at St. Louis did not equal their expectations. They seem to have been rather impatient of speedy results. It is often the case that missionary boards indulge hopes destined to partial disappointment. There does not seem to have been any serious complaint of the St. Louis missionaries, but they were informed July 9, 1820, that the mission was closed. Two of the reasons influencing the action of the board were these: (1.) "The want of ample funds for a vigorous prosecution. (2.) A supposition on the part of the board that this region would be soon supplied by the immigration into it of preachers from the Middle and Eastern States." Peck was directed to remove to Fort Wayne, Indiana, and join Isaac McCoy in his labors among the Indians. The board was earnestly requested to reconsider the subject, and such reasons against his going to Fort Wayne were assigned by Peck as induced a compliance with his wishes. His connection with the board of the triennial convention was, however, dissolved.

In the year 1822, Peck received an appointment from the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society. His commission bears the signature of two honored names, Thomas Baldwin, president, and Daniel Sharp, secretary. We must consider the state of things then, or it will appear incredible that the society agreed to pay the missionary only "five dollars a week" while engaged in actual service, and he was "to raise as much as practicable of this amount on the field of his labors"! It is not

strange that the life of a missionary is proverbially regarded as one of trials and privations. Peck's meagre support did not diminish his zeal nor paralyze his energy. He was obliged, however, to consult economy, and in doing so removed to Rock Spring, Illinois, which thenceforth was his home. Obtaining a half section of unimproved land, and aided by his neighbors, he erected suitable buildings, and began to till the soil to supplement a support which could not otherwise be secured. His congenial work was preaching the gospel, and to men of lethargic temperament the extent of his ministerial labors seems scarcely credible. "In season and out of season," in town and country, by day and by night, he proclaimed the glad tidings of salvation. To quote from one of his letters : —

"With sincerity of soul I can say there is no pursuit that affords such exquisite satisfaction as activity and success in measures to promote the gospel. I might dwell upon the difficulties attendant on an itinerating life, as absence from home, exposure to sickness, storms, cold, mud, swimming rivers, and not unfrequently rough fare ; but these are trifles not worthy of one moment's anxious concern. To live and labor for Him who died for the redemption of man is the highest favor we need seek after in this transitory life."

This extract breathes the missionary spirit ; and the missionary spirit would be the martyr spirit, should the days of martyrdom return. Peck was the ardent friend of missions, and while laboring in the good cause learned to his sorrow that many families were without the Word of God. He did not hesitate, therefore, to undertake the formation of Bible societies, that the people might be supplied with the Scriptures. During the next year (1823) he accepted an agency from the American Bible Society, and engaged actively in the organization of auxiliary societies. In connection with this work, he became impressed with the necessity of a society to promote Sunday-schools, and arranged his plan of operation. It is worthy of remark that this was a year before the formation of the American Sunday-School Union. There was in that day no man in Illinois or Missouri so devoted to the circulation of the Bible and the promotion of Sunday-schools as was Mr. Peck. It was his deep interest in the Sunday-school enterprise which induced him, twenty years later, to accept, for a time, the secretaryship of the American Baptist Publication Society, whose head-quarters are in Philadelphia. The success of this organization was not for some years after its formation in 1824 very satisfactory ; but it is now a great power in the denomination that sustains it. Its business and benevolent receipts are not far from half a million of dollars annually. Peck regarded it as a grand means of doing good. His prayers for its prosperity were frequent and fervent.

Though by no means a perfect literary or theological scholar, Peck felt a profound interest in the cause of education. Very soon after his re-

removal to the West he began to consider the project of founding a seminary, chiefly with a view to the education of young ministers. The difficulties in his way were so great that they yielded only to his heroic energy and unfaltering perseverance. In 1827 the institution which he styled Rock Spring Seminary was established, which, in process of development, became the Alton Seminary, and is now Shurtleff College, where the advantages of collegiate and theological training are enjoyed. Truly, the seed sown by Mr. Peck is bearing fruit, "some thirty, some sixty, and some an hundred fold."

It was during a visit to the Eastern States, in 1826, that Peck had an interview with Jonathan Going, of Massachusetts, and impressed him most deeply with the importance of an American Baptist Home Mission Society. Six years after, such a society was formed in New York, and Dr. Going was appointed its first secretary. The formation of the society had special reference to the preaching of the gospel to the destitute thousands of the West, and it was Peck who gave information as to their condition. It seems, therefore, that a society now employing three hundred missionaries is historically traceable to the active mind and benevolent heart of John Mason Peck. If this had been the only work of his life, it was well worth while for him to live.

From what has been already said, it will be inferred that Peck had enlarged views of the power of the press. This is true, and it is to be said in honor of his enterprise that he became "editor and publisher of the first religious newspaper in that wide region, where so many have since flourished." It was very appropriately called "The Pioneer." It was printed first at Rock Spring, afterward at Alton, and styled the "Western Pioneer;" but it was subsequently united with the "Baptist Banner" of Louisville, Kentucky, and the two papers are perpetuated in the "Western Recorder." Peck's was a prolific pen. He wrote extensively for religious papers, and, strange as it may seem, amid his multifarious labors he published two volumes, "Guide to Emigrants" and "Life of Daniel Boone." Of the former volume Dr. Lyman Beecher expressed a very high opinion, and it is enough to say of the latter that it was published in Dr. Sparks's American Biography. While Peck was a laborious preacher and a forcible writer, it is useless to attempt to decide whether he accomplished more good by the living voice or by the pen he wielded so industriously. This is a question which can find no accurate answer till the light of eternity dispels the obscurity of our present conceptions.

In the year 1852 Peck received from Harvard University the title of Doctor of Divinity. No man cared less for such honors, and few men were so worthy of them. He appreciated the compliment as coming from an institution whose religious views were not congenial with his own.

Father of the
Home Mission
Society.

Too often the distinctions of title are conferred by denominational colleges for denominational reasons, and comparatively young men aspire to and obtain the coveted doctorate. Harvard honored Dr. Peck when he had reached his threescore years, when his stores of knowledge were unquestionable, and the powers of his mind were in full maturity.

The reader of this story will have seen that Dr. Peck was remarkable for originating plans of doing good. It was therefore characteristic of him when, in 1853, he projected the American Baptist Historical Society. This institution has its head-quarters in Philadelphia, and its chief object is to gather up and preserve the writings of Baptists in times past and present. In carrying out this object much has been done and more will be done. Dr. Peck, at the formation of the society, could scarcely have thought that in after years his friend and fellow-student, Rev. Dr. Howard Malcom, would so zealously espouse and promote the interests of the organization.

But the most active and the most useful life must have an end. The best men are frail and mortal. Dr. Peck, after many years spent in multifarious labors to advance the cause of Christ, perceived that the time of his departure was at hand. Mrs. Peck died October 24, 1856, and he survived her but a few months. His death occurred March 14, 1857. Their wedded life embraced a period of nearly half a century. When husband and wife have borne together for long years the burdens of life, it is a merciful providence when they die about the same time, so that the survivor does not long weep at the grave of the dead. Mrs. Peck had been, during her religious life, troubled, more or less, with doubts as to her acceptance with God; but on her dying bed she "had gained clearer views of the all-perfect righteousness of Christ, and all doubts were gone."

Dr. Peck, when asked how he felt in view of death, said, "I feel as I always have felt since relying on Christ. If I were not ready for death, this would be a poor time to prepare. But I have no fear of death at all. I assure you I am a stranger to any such feeling as fear in reference to dying. Tell this to all these kind friends. . . . I have never done anything that can save me. All my works could never rescue me from destruction. Only Christ is my Saviour, my whole dependence."

There is perfect consistency between unreserved reliance on grace for salvation and zealous activity in the performance of good works. This fact was exemplified in Paul. The grace that saved him stimulated him to abundant labor. It was so with Dr. Peck. Saved by grace, he was obliged, under the impulses of sanctified gratitude, to abound in the work of the Lord. He now rests from his labors, and his works do follow him. "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord." John, the beloved disciple, heard a voice from heaven uttering these precious words.

I am glad he listened to a voice from heaven, for if he had listened to any of the ten thousand voices of earth he would have recorded a very different sentiment. He would have written, Blessed are the living, — those who live in circumstances of worldly affluence and splendor. He hearkened to a voice from heaven, which said, "Write," — commit it to the imperishable pages of inspiration for the comfort of the saints in all ages, — "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth; yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors; and their works do follow them."

LIFE XX. FRANCIS WAYLAND.

A. D. 1796—A. D. 1865. BAPTIST, — AMERICA.

FRANCIS WAYLAND may stand for a typical American, grown from American soil, formed by American institutions, and penetrated by the American spirit. He abhorred oppression and injustice, and the wrongs inflicted by monarchs and nobles and social castes. He sympathized with the people, and with all institutions that guarded their rights and strengthened their manhood. He was practical in aim and self-reliant in spirit, and believed that a nation can prosper only as every man makes the most of himself.

He was born in New York, March 11, 1796. His parents, of good English stock, emigrated to this country in 1793. They had little culture, but possessed robust common sense, sterling integrity, and sincere piety. The father, by trade a currier, soon amassed a competent fortune for those days, and retired from business to become a preacher of the gospel. In the war with Great Britain, in 1812–1815, most of his property, invested in marine insurance companies, was lost, and he was able subsequently to give little aid to his children in acquiring a liberal education. The son always cherished a profound reverence for the memory of his parents, especially of his mother, and ascribed his success in life to their precepts, example, and counsels.

His education, apart from the home training, was of little value, till he came under the influence of Dr. Nott in his college course. Most of his teachers he thought incompetent for their work. One of them, who had some reputation, "never taught anything," requiring only a repeating of the text. Others asked no questions, nor made suggestions beyond the text-book. For a little time he was under the instruction of Mr. D. H. Barnes in the classics, an extraordinary teacher, for whose inspiring influence he felt a profound gratitude through life.

But to Dr. Nott, the honored president of Union College, he always ascribed the most potent influence in forming his intellectual character.

He loved this great teacher with a reverence bordering on idolatry. He asserted that "attendance upon Dr. Nott's course of instruction formed an era in the life of every one of his pupils." He thought Dr. Nott "decidedly the ablest man he had ever known intimately."

He graduated with distinction at the early age of seventeen, and entered on the study of medicine, at first in the office of Dr. Moses Hale, and six months later in the office of Dr. Eli Burritt, of Troy, New York. The latter was a man of remarkable logical power, and an enthusiast in his profession. He took great interest in his young student, and stimulated ambition by wise appeals. "Now, Wayland," said he, "if you will bone down to it, and give your time and strength to your studies, I will make a man of you." The appeal was effective, and the promise was fulfilled.

At this time occurred a curious change in young Wayland's intellectual tastes. He had been an inveterate reader of novels and books of travels, taking no interest in more solid reading. He suddenly lost all love for novels. He describes the change: "I was sitting by a window, in an attic room which I occupied as a sort of study or reading-place, and by accident I opened a volume of the *Spectator*, — I think it was to one of the essays forming Addison's critique on Milton; it was, at any rate, something purely didactic. I commenced reading it, and, to my delight and surprise, I found that I understood it and really enjoyed it. I could not account for the change. I read on, and found that the very essays which I formerly passed over, without caring to read them, were now to me the gems of the whole book, vastly more attractive than the stories and narratives that I had formerly read with so much interest. I could explain it on no other theory than that a change had taken place in myself. I awoke to the consciousness that I was a thinking being, and a citizen, in some sort, of the republic of letters."¹ From that time he abandoned novel-reading, and his reading was restricted to works of standard excellence.

During this period he came also under the influence of a woman of remarkable character and culture, Mrs. Lavinia Stoddard. He always regarded her as a person of extraordinary power, possessing "an intellect capable of any amount of acquisition, and able to master with ease any conception. With these endowments were united a power of expression, and an ability to do anything which she determined to accomplish. She was withal a perfect woman; all was delicate and refined, while all was true and pure and lovable." He looked upon the intimacy with her and her husband as worth more to him than his college education.

Towards the close of his medical education he passed through the great change which shaped his life. The son of religious parents, he

¹ *Life and Labors*, vol. i., p. 42.

had never become a Christian by personal conviction. Of a religious nature himself, he had never exercised faith in Jesus, or submitted his will to God's will. But God had chosen him for eminent service, and summoned him now to a new course of life. He describes the change: "I had never for a single day in my life laid aside all other business, and earnestly sought of God the renewing influences of the Holy Spirit. I resolved that, dismissing every other thought, I would devote one day to reading the Scriptures and prayer, that I might be able to say that I had at least done something for the salvation of my soul."

"I at once put my resolution into practice. I retired to my chamber, and spent a day in this way. I perceived very little change in my feelings, save that a sense of the importance of the matter had so grown upon me that I resolved to spend the next day in the same manner. At the end of the second day, I determined to spend still a third day in the same employment; and at the expiration of that day, I determined to do nothing else until I had secured the salvation of my soul."¹

With the entrance on the Christian life came a change of profession. He turned from medicine to theology, feeling that God called him to the ministry of the gospel. In the following autumn he entered the theological seminary at Andover, then in the ninth year of its existence. Moses Stuart, the most learned Biblical scholar in the country, was there, in the vigor of his manhood, inspiring young men with his own enthusiasm. Young Wayland soon felt the power of this great teacher, and was aglow with zeal in the study of the Scriptures. He spent but a single year at Andover, but he never lost the impressions received under Professor Stuart; and at the semi-centennial anniversary of the seminary, in 1858, he paid a glowing tribute to the memory of his early friend and instructor. A warm friendship continued through life.

The year was one of sore pecuniary trials. The father had just lost both his property and his pastorate, and could afford no help. There were no influential friends to give the needed aid, and educational societies were not yet born to assist the deserving. He was pinched for money to buy needed books, and even to obtain clothing and board; and, though eager to return and complete his course, he saw no way of meeting the inevitable expenses.

With great reluctance he abandoned theological study to accept an appointment as tutor in Union College, by which he could earn his daily bread. It was a good position for mental growth. Daily association with Dr. Nott and Dr. Yates, and with younger men, like Wisner and Potter (afterwards Dr. Wisner and Bishop Potter), kept him at his best, while the broad range of studies he was obliged to teach compelled incessant toil. He always looked on the four years spent at Union as

¹ *Life and Labors*, vol. i., p. 51.

of great service to him intellectually, and spiritually as well ; for in the latter part of the period he was brought into intimate relations with Dr. Nettleton, the famous evangelist, and received a new unction for the work of the ministry. He began to preach occasionally in destitute neighborhoods ; and it may encourage young men to know that the sermons cost him prodigious toil. " It took me weeks — I know not but I might say months — to write a discourse of moderate length. I wrote and rewrote with endless care and anxiety. How men prepared two sermons a week I could not conceive."

In 1821 he accepted a call to the pastorate of the First Baptist Church, Boston, and began his labors in that city in August of the same year. Few ministers in this day would dare A pastor in Boston. accept such a call from a divided church. The vote stood in the church fifteen to ten, and in the society seventeen to fifteen. A strong minority, favoring a candidate of more popular gifts, but of slender intellectual furniture, determined to annoy him and drive him from the pulpit. But his unaffected humility and large charity, combined with a rare tact, soon made them ashamed of their unworthy aims, and converted many of them into warm friends. For more than five years he remained in Boston, quietly and faithfully doing his work as preacher and pastor ; loathing all display, courting no popularity, but gradually winning the ear of the public as one of the profound thinkers and great teachers of the American pulpit. His sermon on the "Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise," preached in October, 1823, and soon after published, placed him at once among the foremost American preachers, and made his name familiar on the other side of the Atlantic. Successive sermons, also published, on the "Duties of an American Citizen" and on the "Death of Ex-Presidents Adams and Jefferson," added to his reputation, and convinced the public that a young man of rare originality and force was coming to the front in Boston, to whom the world would do well to listen. Had he remained in the pulpit for life his name might, perhaps, stand at the head of American preachers. It would be hard, at least, to find four sermons from any other preacher, under thirty years of age, worthy to be compared with those mentioned in breadth and grandeur of thought and in simple majesty of style. They will long hold their place among the classics of the American pulpit.

One almost regrets that he did not continue in the calling he was so well fitted to adorn, recalling the criticism of Robert Hall on his missionary sermon : " If he can preach such a sermon at twenty-seven, what will he do at fifty?" But in 1827 he accepted the presidency of Brown University, and the vigor of his manhood and the ripeness of his attainments were given to the cause of Christian education. The fortunes of the college were at a low ebb. It had lost, in a large measure, the confidence of the Baptist denomination.

Over the university at Providence.

which was its chief patron. Discipline was neglected; a love of sports superseded the love of study; and the college was deficient alike in philosophical apparatus, in library, and in endowments. It was soon evident that the corporation had made a wise choice of a leader. A new life and energy pervaded the college. Disorderly students felt the strong hand of a master, and submitted to the new discipline. Sluggish minds caught the spirit of an earnest teacher, and lovers of study were stirred to an intense enthusiasm. The young president put equal vigor into instruction and administration. No droning was tolerated in the recitation room, and no mischievous pranks went undetected or unpunished. His keen eye and firm hand were everywhere, and Brown University under Wayland passed through changes as rapid and marked as Rugby under Arnold. The citizens of Providence and the friends of the college welcomed the revolution, and responded cordially to the calls of the president for funds to carry out his broad views of education. New buildings were erected; a moderate endowment was raised; ample apparatus was furnished for instruction in chemistry and natural philosophy; and a liberal fund was obtained for the enlargement of the library. The college took its place among the best institutions of the country, and its president was recognized as one of the great educators of the age.

The early years of the presidency were years of intense mental toil. A singleness of purpose governed his entire life. He indulged in no recreation, even in vacations, nor even in a wide course of liberal studies. He aimed simply to become master of the studies in his own department; to acquire eminent power as an instructor; to make the college worthy of public confidence, and a place of thorough intellectual discipline for its students. His lecture-room was a throne, where he ruled with an imperial majesty by divine right. Socrates wielded no higher power over the young men of Athens than Francis Wayland over the senior classes of Brown University. Many men of eminence in the state and in liberal professions trace their intellectual birth to his words, and his eulogy of Dr. Nott is equally true of himself: "Attendance on his instructions formed an era in the life of every one of his pupils."¹ His own enthusiasm inspired his

¹ On Dr. Wayland's retirement from the presidency, Judge B. F. Thomas, of Massachusetts, in presenting some resolutions of the alumni, paid to his former teacher the following tribute:—

"It has been my privilege for three years to be your pupil. I have seen and have had other eminent masters: Joseph Story, whose name is identified with the jurisprudence of his country; John Hooker Ashman, who, an invalid for years, and dying at the early age of thirty-three, left behind him no superior in Massachusetts, whose mind had the point of a diamond, and the clearness of its waters; Pliny Merrick, who graces the bench on which I have the honor to sit, but of whom my near relation forbids me to speak as I would. A quarter of a century has passed since I left these walls with your blessing. I have seen something of men and of the world since. I esteem it, to-day, the happiest event of my life that brought me here; the best gift of an ever kind Providence to me that I was permitted for three years to sit at the feet of your instruction. If I have acquired any consideration in my own beloved commonwealth, if I have worthily won any honor, I can and do, with a grateful heart, bring them to-day and lay them at your feet. *Teucro duce et auspice Teucro.*"

associates in the faculty, and they emulated him in zeal, and adopted his motto that the only road to success lies through every day's hard work.

His experience in teaching soon created discontent with the text-books in use, and compelled the attempt to supply others of better quality. His works on moral philosophy and political economy were welcomed by instructors as model text-books, and still hold their place in many colleges after a period of forty years.

As he acquired a conscious mastery of college duties, the energy of his nature asserted itself in important labors for the improvement of the city and State which had become his home. He did much Philanthropic work. to re-organize the system of public education, to establish the Providence Athenæum and many noble institutions of benevolence, and to carry into effect reforms in prison discipline. He taught a Bible-class in the First Baptist Church on Saturday afternoons, for the ladies of the city from all denominations. He had a similar class at his own house one evening in the week, to discuss personal difficulties in religious matters. One of his class gives a striking testimony to the fidelity of his instructions, and to his great power over young women, by affirming that many members of the class were belles in the city, belonging to wealthy and fashionable families, but they resolutely excluded dancing from their evening companies. He was profoundly interested in a class in the state-prison, teaching it for many years, and making it a fountain of spiritual life to wretched convicts. He came gradually to be regarded as the first citizen in Rhode Island, whose counsel was to be sought for every public enterprise, whose sympathy could be relied on in every philanthropic movement. Nor were his labors confined to his own State. He was a trusted leader in the missionary societies of his own denomination, and a counselor whose advice and help were sought by educational and scientific and benevolent institutions in all portions of the United States.

In 1840, when in his forty-fifth year, he went abroad for a few months of rest and travel. This tour brought into prominence two traits of his character: the one an incapacity for rest; the other an intense love for his native country. He did not enjoy foreign travel, though it gave him an opportunity for familiar intercourse with distinguished men, who welcomed him as an honored guest. His heart turned with eager longing to the home he had left, the friends endeared by long association, and the chosen work of his life. Nor could he content himself with repose or recreation. His mind was incessantly busy, reviewing the past to discover its failures by the new views opened in Europe; planning for the future to do wiser and more effective work. This constant study abroad led to the publication, in 1842, of a little volume entitled "Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System in the United States," in which he gave utterance to new opinions which he had adopted on the

need of a radical reform in the curriculum of study, to adapt it to the practical wants of a vigorous nation.

The views thus early expressed took definite shape in the reorganization of the college in 1850. In a report to the corporation he gave a clear statement of the changes he thought needful, and received both the authority and the means to carry them into effect. It is simple justice to his memory to say that the special lines of study in science and the arts now established in the leading colleges of the country are due, in a large measure, to the suggestions of Dr. Wayland in this report to the corporation, and to the changes introduced into Brown University. To him belongs the honor of remodeling collegiate education, and adapting it to the practical needs of the nineteenth century.

The prodigious amount of labor required to introduce the new system, and the pressure of responsibility in insuring its success, proved too great a strain on the constitution of Dr. Wayland, already worn by overwork, and his physician enjoined the necessity of rest. In 1855 he tendered his resignation as president, which was accepted with great reluctance by the corporation. He retired to a new and beautiful home in the eastern part of the city, near the bank of the Blackstone, where he intended to spend the evening of his days in quiet, devoting his leisure to such literary religious work as Providence might bring to his hands. He could not be idle, and several published works belong to this period of his life. "The Apostolic Ministry," a sermon preached at Rochester, made a profound impression by its criticisms on the current style of preaching, and excited a sharp controversy. A similar result followed a little volume entitled "Notes on the Principles and Practices of Baptist Churches," in which he expressed views differing from those of many of his brethren. "Sermons to the Churches" were rich in wise counsels and practical lessons; and in "Salvation by Christ" he put into permanent form some of his sermons notable for simplicity of style and richness of thought. A brief "Life of Dr. Chalmers" laid special emphasis on the single-mindedness of the great preacher, and his pastoral fidelity in laboring for the salvation of souls.

In 1857, Dr. Granger, the pastor of the First Baptist Church, Providence, died; and the church invited Dr. Wayland to perform pastoral service until a permanent pastor could be obtained. He accepted the invitation, regarding it as a providential call to illustrate in practice the views of preaching and pastoral work which he had recently developed in theory, and which had given offense to some of his brethren. For sixteen months he filled the office, and it is not extravagant to say that in no pulpit in the country was the truth preached with more simplicity and directness, and in no parish was pastoral labor done with more systematic fidelity, and with more

Leader in college reforms.

A model pastor.

singleness of desire to save men. History can hardly furnish a finer illustration of the morally sublime than the devotion of this great man to his accepted work. With a stern self-denial, born of conscientious conviction, he crucified his literary tastes in the pulpit, laid on the shelf all his elaborate sermons, and aimed to preach so simply that children could not fail to understand the truth, and so pungently that every hearer should feel a personal need of salvation. He alludes to this victory over himself: "I had held some important offices of a literary character. I had published some things which were more than usually successful. I had had some reputation as a good writer. All these antecedents would seem to point to a mode of preaching in harmony with them. I could not but feel that to preach otherwise would appear to many a falling off, a sinking away; that it would, in a word, induce many persons to think less of me." The self-crucifixion was heroic and complete. In the sixteen months of service he attempted to preach no great sermons, but only those fitted to do immediate good.

The self-denial in pastoral work was more sublime. It is affecting to read, in the "Life of James Hamilton," of his cheerful surrender of literary ambition to his duty as pastor. He had collected ample material for a Life of Erasmus. He was familiar with the times, with the men and the movements of that stirring period, and longed to put into permanent form the studies of a life-time. But the routine of parish life, apparently trivial, absorbed his energy, — calling on old women to comfort them, meeting his elders for humdrum talk. He weighed the matter in the scales of conscience. The routine was accepted, and, with a single sigh, the precious manuscripts were laid on a shelf, never to be taken down again. Dr. Wayland's sacrifice was more complete. "The moment I assumed the duties of pastor I relinquished every other engagement and occupation. I laid away my manuscripts, put aside all labor for myself, and devoted myself to the service of the gospel." His son adds the comment, "Not only did he give up all authorship; he relinquished all reading. He did not, we believe, even read a review during the period of his pastoral labors. He employed in studying the Bible and in prayer all the time not consumed in needful exercise, in preparation for the Sabbath, or in visiting the congregation."

He visited the entire parish during his brief term of service, and this involved prodigious labor. His own home was at one extreme of the city, far removed from the larger part of the congregation. He was now past sixty years of age, with physical energy impaired by long and severe mental toil. The parish being an old one, the people were scattered in all parts of the city. It required great diligence to find them, and long walks to reach them. He went always on foot, fearing that some of the poor would take offense at a pastor visiting in a carriage, and spiritual good would be hindered. Day by day he threaded the

streets of Providence, and climbed its high hills, to find the scattered sheep of his flock, and to bring in tender lambs into the fold. Beginning his visits in the later hours of the forenoon, when morning work might be finished, he continued them till evening, often reaching his home again only when an evening meeting was ended, and not always partaking of regular meals. As he did not find the male members of families at their homes, he sought them at factories and stores and offices, determined that no one should be overlooked. He resolved to visit no house without introducing the subject of religion as a personal matter, and that in every case, unless it was manifestly best to omit it, he would pray with the family. He held personal religious conversation with nearly every member of the parish, finding many who confessed that no one had ever before talked with them directly on their spiritual needs.

Such systematic and earnest labor could not fail of results. The congregation increased on the Sabbath; the lecture-room was often crowded during the week; the spiritual life of the church was quickened, and many converts were gathered. The revival was neither so extensive nor so fruitful as he had hoped to see it, but he had reason to believe that at least seventy in his own parish began a Christian life, while many in other congregations were led to Christian character by his earnest words. These sixteen months always lingered in his memory as the pleasantest part of his ministry.

Refusing an earnest call from the church to become a permanent pastor, from a conviction of inability to fulfill the duties, he retired again to private life. A delightful kind of recreation was found in his garden, which became famous in Providence for its extreme neatness, and for the choicest flowers and fruits. In it he spent several hours each day, with the same energy and enthusiasm which were given to brain work in the study. He took great pleasure in showing the garden to visitors, and in sending specimens of its fruits and flowers to friends.

It was perhaps an inevitable penalty of retirement from public duties that his spirits drooped, and he became more familiar with clouds than sunshine in his closing years. In middle life, when brain and heart were at highest tension, and each day was crowded with public duties, his cheerfulness was electric, and misanthropes and Cassandras went from his presence constrained to take more cheerful views of life and of human progress. But when the pressure of public duty relaxed, and the mental powers, relieved from the long strain, brooded in meditation instead of working for practical results, a curious morbidness colored the old views of life, and his familiar talks with friends were generally in a minor key. Like the Grecian Nestor, he deplored the growing degeneracy of the age. He could see few signs of advance, many of retrogression, a decaying piety in the churches, a loss of fidelity and earnestness in the pulpit, and a decline of moral vigor in college faculties and

students. John the Baptist, in his prison cell, cut off from active labor, lost faith in the Messianic work of Jesus. And it is not surprising that Francis Wayland, in the mental reaction consequent upon a life of leisure after intense toil, looked often on the darker side of things, and was tortured with doubts if the Messianic kingdom was making progress among men. Nor is it improbable that fatal disease had already begun its work by clouding the intellect and benumbing the heart. Declining health and anxieties incident to the long civil strife might naturally create gloom and forebodings even in a hopeful mind.

But personal piety ripened, and made his home radiant with Christian peace, when clouds obscured the spiritual horizon without. As he drew near to the end of life, his love for the Bible deepened, and prayer became more real and helpful. He wrote to a friend, "I have lately read the Bible more than ever in my life, in the same space of time, and at every new reading I find more to love and admire." The hour before breakfast was always given to secret prayer and reading the Scriptures. During this hour he read the Bible for devotion, not at all for criticism. The day closed, as it had begun, with communion with God. "After family prayers," writes his son, "were his own devotions, and those who occupied the room above the study heard his voice last at night, as it had been the first sound in the morning." A young friend asked him, "Can you always feel, when you pray, that prayer is a reality?" His answer was prompt: "Almost always I can; and the older I grow, the more fully I am convinced that it is a real thing to ask God for blessings, and to receive them in answer to prayer."

The civil war caused him many hours of gloom. He saw in it the divine retribution for national sins, and bowed meekly to the stroke, choosing rather to fall into the hands of God ^{Faithful to the} end. than into the hands of man. But in the darkest hours of national calamity, when the hopes of leaders drooped, he never doubted the final issue. His faith was unfaltering that slavery would be overthrown, and justice and freedom would triumph. His voice and pen responded freely to his country's call; his counsels inspired the wavering, and his courage kindled new hopes in the desponding.

The assassination of President Lincoln brought him once more before the public, and furnished a striking proof of the esteem in which he was held by his fellow-citizens. When the sad news reached Providence, a general wish was expressed that Dr. Wayland might appear in some church or public hall, and give counsel suited to the solemn hour. A delegation of leading men conveyed to him the public wish. He declined the task, but consented to address in a quiet way any friends who would gather at his house towards evening. The afternoon closed with a heavy rain, and no public notice had been given of the proposed service; but a company of fifteen hundred men, comprising the first

citizens of Providence, gathered at even-tide, and marched in procession more than a mile through the falling rain, to stand in close ranks before his dwelling. Raised upon a rude platform, hastily erected, Dr. Wayland talked to his fellow-townsmen in a strain of dignified eloquence never surpassed in his best days. The virtues of the martyred president, the atrocious crime, the cloud overshadowing the country, and the delicate tribute of his neighbors stirred mind and heart to highest activity, and the crowd retired awed to reverent silence by the grandeur of the man no less than by the grandeur of his words. It was a fit peroration to his long life of public service.

A few months later, in a less public manner, he uttered his last religious counsels. The Warren Association, with which he had been connected for nearly forty years, met on September 13th and 14th, in the Central Baptist Church, Providence. The pastor had sent him a special request to be present, and, though the church was two miles from his home, he attended promptly every service, excepting that of Wednesday evening. On Thursday afternoon he took part in the conference meeting, with which the association closed, and no one who was present can ever forget the solemnity of his words, or the tender earnestness of his appeals. He spoke as if already loosed from this world, and awaiting the summons to a better life. Many listened tearfully, with a foreboding that they should never hear his voice again. On Friday of the following week he felt strangely listless, and on Saturday did not leave his bed. On the next Tuesday the stroke of paralysis, long gathering, suddenly fell. He lost the power of motion, and articulation became difficult. The disease could not be arrested, and on Saturday evening, September 30, 1865, after some days of unconsciousness, the end came.

During the week of sickness a general anxiety had pervaded the city. The inquiry was on hundreds of lips every day, "How is Dr. Wayland?" And when the tolling bell of the First Baptist Church announced, on Sunday morning, that the struggle was over, the grief was universal, for all felt that Providence and Rhode Island had lost their greatest citizen.

An immense crowd gathered at the First Baptist Church on Wednesday, October 4th, to look on his lifeless face and follow him to burial. The large edifice could not hold the company of mourners. Clergymen from other States and from other denominations, statesmen, educators, authors, and personal friends in all walks of life united in a tribute of loving homage. Dr. Caswell, an associate and friend of forty years, made an address, simple but beautiful; and Dr. Caldwell, his pastor, and Dr. Swain, a Congregational clergyman, conducted the devotional services.

A year later, at the commencement of Brown University, September

4, 1866, Professor Chace, one of the earliest graduates under Wayland's administration, and for many years a colleague in instruction, delivered a memorial discourse to the alumni of the college. It was a worthy tribute to the great teacher, whom all his pupils revered, and to the great man, whom they all loved. — H. L.

LIFE XXI. RICHARD FULLER.

A. D. 1804—A. D. 1876. BAPTIST, — AMERICA.

MANY men are good; few are great, and they are great only in a comparative sense. Human greatness is the result of vast intellectual endowments, large educational advantages, close application to study, and wide opportunities for the exercise of talents. The lack of any one of these elements of greatness, though it may not preclude eminent usefulness and honorable distinction, will prevent those high attainments which dignify the leaders of human thought and win the admiration of intelligent and discriminating observers.

Richard Fuller, the subject of this story, was a great as well as good man. He was descended of a highly respectable family of the State of South Carolina, noted for the number of able and distinguished men born within its limits. His birth occurred in the town of Beaufort, on the 22d of April, 1804. It was his good fortune to receive his early instruction from that ripe scholar and eloquent preacher, the elder Dr. William T. Brantly, equally well known and esteemed in the South and in the North. In the seventeenth year of his age, young Fuller, having mastered his preparatory studies, entered Harvard University, Massachusetts, soon proving himself to be one of the best scholars of his class. Fixing his ambitious eye on the highest honors of the institution, he resolved, by the most intense application to study, to secure them. When they seemed to be almost within his grasp, he was seized with symptoms of a pulmonary disease, which compelled him reluctantly to abandon his studies, and betake himself to the use of means for the recovery of his health. So satisfactory, however, had been his progress in learning that he graduated with his class in 1824, being about twenty years old.

Fuller had chosen the profession of law, for which his genius and taste peculiarly fitted him. Returning to his native town, he entered at once on his professional career, and was not long in finding clients. At a bar whose members were distinguished for their legal knowledge and their eloquence, he immediately, by the force of his genius, placed himself in the front rank of advocates. He soon acquired a lucrative practice, and the richest emoluments and the highest honors of the legal profession were spread before him.

At this period an event occurred deeply affecting the after life of the rising barrister. A young widow, of amiable disposition, refined manners, and excellent judgment, having her ample estate involved in litigation, employed him as her counsel. He not only vindicated her rights, but won her heart, secured her hand, and became the manager of her valuable property. Mrs. Fuller survives her husband, and it is now only proper to say that a more congenial and happy union was never formed. To the close of his life, on all suitable occasions, he continued to speak of her in terms of the highest commendation, and with all the ardor of a young lover.

A still more important event in his life was approaching. Daniel Baker, a Presbyterian, well known in those days as a successful evangelist, held a series of meetings in Beaufort. Converted under Daniel Baker. Fuller was among the converts on the occasion. He had been for some time nominally a member of the Episcopal Church, making no profession of piety. Very soon after his conversion he was baptized by the Rev. Henry O. Wyer, of Savannah, Georgia, and united with the Baptist church in Beaufort, of which his parents were members. His conversion and call to the ministry seem to have been simultaneous. Immediately, like converted Saul, he "conferred not with flesh and blood," but entered on his life-long work of persuading sinners to be reconciled to God. In the year 1832 he was ordained to the ministry, and became the pastor of the church of which he was a member. The general truth stated by Jesus, that a prophet is without honor in his own country and among his own kindred, was signally reversed in the case of Fuller. He was nowhere more admired, more loved, or more useful than in the town where he drew his first breath and engaged in his boyish sports. Nor did he limit his labors to his native village, but preached the gospel among the slaves of the cotton plantations on the sea-coast, as well as to refined audiences in the cities and towns of his native State and of Georgia, everywhere attracting great crowds, who, whether they were rich or poor, learned or rude, hung with equal delight and profit on his ministrations.

It was not possible that so bright a light as the pastor of the Beaufort Baptist church should be long concealed. The time for the manifestation of his powers to the large denomination of Christians with which he was connected was at hand. In the year 1841, the Baptist Triennial Convention of the United States was held in the city of Baltimore. It was largely attended by the representative men of the churches. Fuller had been appointed at the previous meeting to deliver the introductory sermon. Few persons present had heard him, but his fame had preceded him, and the congregation was on tiptoe to hear his sermon. His text was, "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me;" and his theme was "The Power of the Cross." It was heard with pro-

found attention, great admiration, and intense feeling. I afterwards heard him deliver sermons much superior to it in richness of thought, genuine pathos, and commanding eloquence, but this discourse established his pulpit reputation, and gave him a place in the front row of American Baptist preachers.

He received many tempting invitations to settle with wealthy city churches ; but as salary was no object with him, and he greatly loved his field of labor, his removal seemed improbable. He was elected, however, to the pastorate of a new church (the Seventh) in the city of Baltimore ; and for strong and peculiar reasons, which need not here be mentioned, he accepted the office, and entered on its duties, in a new and spacious building which had been erected for his reception, in August, 1847. Here, for nearly twenty-five years, he continued his earnest and faithful ministry, attracting crowds by his eloquence, adding largely to the membership of the church, and exerting a most excellent influence in the rapidly growing city. No pastor was more loved and honored by his flock than he. He commanded their admiration in the pulpit by the splendor of his gifts, and won their hearts in private by the gentleness and simplicity of his manners.

Finds in Baltimore his life-field.

"In the spring of 1871," says Dr. Brantly, his companion in labor and life-long friend, "a handsome marble house of worship, one of the ornaments of Baltimore, was completed by the church of which Dr. Fuller was pastor, and he was invited to take charge of a colony of some two hundred persons, who within a short time were dismissed from the Seventh Church to prosecute the new enterprise. According to our figures, the doctor was then sixty-seven years of age ; and it would ordinarily have been a hazardous experiment for so old a man to embark in the work of building up a new interest. But his success was remarkable. The congregations were at once large ; additions by experience and letter were numerous ; so that in the few years that elapsed between the dedication of the house and the death of the pastor the number of members had been more than doubled, and the indebtedness of the church fully provided for."

The most brilliant life must end. "In the midst of his usefulness and vigor, his form erect, his mental vision unobscured, and when friends were hoping for other years of usefulness in addition to the many he had lived, a malignant carbuncle appeared on his right shoulder, detaining him from his pulpit and confining him to his bed. The disease progressed so rapidly that in a short time his medical attendants despaired of his recovery. The Christian hero promptly accepted the providence with submission, and even with joy. He calmly disposed of all earthly interests, then dictated a letter to his church, assuring them of his 'perfect peace in Jesus,' and calling upon them to be faithful to God and his truth. Never did a death-bed afford sublimer illustration of the power of the

gospel to sustain the soul in 'the supreme struggle,' as he spoke of his last moments to a friend. 'To one,' said he, 'in my situation, the most important question is, If a man die, shall he live again? The world does not believe that he will. The church only half believes it. But I know it, and I rejoice in it. The death and resurrection of Jesus Christ stamp eternal verity on this doctrine. I have fought a good fight; I have finished my course; and there is a crown laid up for me.' Love to Christ was the ruling passion of his life, and it was the dominant passion in his dying hour. Knowing that his tongue would soon be silent, he asked in most plaintive tones but a short time before he died, 'Who'll preach Jesus?' — thus indicating his concern for the glory of his ever-dear Lord. He died on Friday morning, October 20, 1876, and was interred by the side of two of his daughters, in Greenmount Cemetery."

"Never," says Dr. Brantly, "have I seen a large city so thoroughly moved as was Baltimore when, last fall, it was announced that the eloquent and beloved Fuller was critically ill. And when it was understood that he was no more, the grief was profound and universal. On the day of his interment it seemed, such was the thronging on every street which the funeral *cortège* passed, that the whole community had turned out to offer the tribute of tears."

Dr. Fuller was a remarkable man, and would have been so considered in any age, in any country, and in any department of human life. He was cast in one of nature's finest moulds. He had "a sound mind in a sound body." No one saw him without being impressed by his appearance. Tall, well proportioned, vigorous, and commanding in person, he moved as a prince among men. His open countenance, beaming eyes, and pleasant but not handsome features gave indication of the noble intellect dwelling within. His mind, clear and discriminating, was equally original, logical, and imaginative. If he had not genius, which too frequently shines only to dazzle and mislead, he had what was far better, masculine sense, a well-balanced intellect, and a ready command of all his powers. His mind and body were well fitted to each other, constituting him a man thoroughly developed, and suited for arduous labors, physical and intellectual.

Fuller was a man of earnest and consistent piety. Converted in his maturity, he furnished, by the abandonment of his lucrative profession, the devotion of his powers to the ministry, and the consecration of his ample income to pious purposes, such proofs of the sincerity of his love to Christ as few ministers have been able to do. None doubted, or could doubt, the genuineness of his conversion, for he left all to follow Christ. His piety was not only sincere, but consistent, free alike from asceticism and from levity, from bigotry and from latitudinarianism. Faith was probably the most prominent trait in his piety. He had a firm and unwavering conviction of the truth of Christianity, which did not fail him

His personal appearance.

in his "supreme struggle." His humility was little less conspicuous than his faith. With greater cause for self-exaltation than any minister I have known, he continued throughout life a plain, unostentatious preacher, free from the jealousy and envy by which inferior minds are so often afflicted. Prayer was the natural breathing of his pious heart. At any time and in any place, when circumstances would permit, he would say, "Let us pray!" and his prayers were usually brief, tender, and earnest.

Fuller would have attained to eminence in any art, science, or profession that called for the exercise of a clear and vigorous intellect and unwearied industry. He was an excellent writer, considering that authorship was merely incidental to his profession. Had he devoted himself to composition, he would have attained to distinction and enduring fame. As it was, he reached no mean rank as a writer. His published sermons would be an honor to any pulpit, in any age and in any country. Many of his articles in the "*Religious Herald*," of which he was an associate editor, were rich in thought, brilliant in illustration, and equally graceful and nervous in style. His controversy with Dr. Wayland on the subject of slavery, while he was comparatively young, was conducted with admirable courtesy, and with no little skill and vigor. No careful reader of the discussion, whatever might be his views of the questions at issue, could doubt that the New England dialectician found in the Southern preacher "a foeman worthy of his steel."

It was, however, as a speaker rather than as a writer that Dr. Fuller excelled. Like him many could write, but like him few ^{His excellence as a preacher.} could speak. He had rare gifts for platform speaking. His addresses were remarkable for their combination of argument, illustration, pathos, humor, wit, and sarcasm, delivered with inimitable grace and power. It was equally difficult to listen to his best strains without laughter and without tears. Some of his speeches, in which he gave free course to his wit, the sallies of his imagination, and the glowing bursts of his eloquence, were both attractive and overwhelming. Many years ago, he spoke at an anniversary of the American Colonization Society, in Washington city, with Clay and Webster; and the preacher, in the estimation of an intelligent hearer, bore away the palm from the illustrious statesmen.

In the pulpit, not on the platform, Dr. Fuller gained his highest reputation. The pulpit was his throne. From the hour of his entrance on the ministry to the close of his life, he was wholly consecrated to it. All posts of honor and of profit deemed suitable for ministers were open to him. His extensive learning, his resplendent talents, his popular manners, and his high social position eminently fitted him to succeed as a professor or president of a college, or as a lecturer in any department of art, science, or philosophy, or indeed in any employment for which

knowledge, judgment, and industry were required ; but, like the late Dr. Witt, of Virginia, he was, and he desired to be, "nothing but a preacher." To the success of his ministry he devoted not only himself, with all his powers and time, but his wealth also. To him no toil and no sacrifices seemed great, if they but secured the object of his ministry, — the salvation of sinners.

More than any other prominent minister I have known, Dr. Fuller confined his preaching to "Christ and Him crucified." Others might preach science, or philosophy, or moral reform, or politics, or introduce largely into their discourses sensational topics ; but he preached Christ, only Christ. It must not, however, be supposed that his sermons were comprised within a narrow range. To him the theme was inexhaustible. Before his capacious mind it spread out into a boundless field for instruction and exhortation. No thirsty sinner ever went to hear him without being led to the fountain of living waters. Whether he preached to a refined and fastidious city audience, to a large representative assembly of ministers and theologians, or to the illiterate negroes of the rice plantations of South Carolina, his subject was the same, — Christ, the only and all-sufficient Saviour of sinners. No doubt, the power, influence, and usefulness of his ministry were greatly increased by the transcendent importance of the topics of his sermons.

In debate or in counsel, Fuller might have been equaled or excelled ; but in the highest order of pulpit power, he had no peer within the range of my observation, and that has been extended through a period of more than half a century, and among English-speaking preachers on both sides of the Atlantic. He had a rare combination of pulpit talents. To an imperial presence he added a clear, sonorous, mellow, flexible, and powerful voice, lively and tender sensibilities, a mind well disciplined and richly stored with divine truth, a perfect command of language, and an imperturbable self-possession. He was a born orator. That he possessed pulpit power in an extraordinary degree none who ever heard him preach, under favorable circumstances, will question. The proofs of this power were seen in the crowds, of all classes and in all places, that attended his ministry ; the delight with which they heard his words ; the deep, tender, and persuasive impression usually made by his sermons ; the multitudes converted, edified, and comforted by his ministrations ; and the churches founded or built up by his labors.

I attended meetings with Fuller in the South and in the North, in the East and in the West, in which were gathered the best talent of the denomination in this country, with distinguished preachers from foreign lands, and I recollect not a single instance in which he was not, by common consent, appointed to fill the most important pulpit, and at the most important time ; and rarely did he fail to meet the excited expectation of his crowded audience.

Of all sermon-writers, ancient or modern, James Saurin, pastor of the French church at the Hague, was one of the most profound and brilliant. He was evidently Fuller's model, especially in his early ministry. On hearing him frequently, one conversant with the writings of Saurin could not fail to notice the striking resemblances between their discourses. Fuller had closely studied the works of the French pastor, and, consciously or unconsciously, had imbibed his spirit and copied his style. More than twenty years ago, I heard Fuller preach a sermon on God's Controversy with his People, founded on Micah vi. 2. It was a grand effort. I was, however, haunted by the impression that it was substantially a repetition of Saurin's sermon on the same subject. On returning to my library, I took down his work and read the sermon. It is one of the finest productions of his glowing intellect. It was evident that Fuller had read the discourse, and was indebted to it, in part, for the plan of his own; but, while the subject was fresh in my memory, I felt convinced that the American had excelled the French preacher. There was in the sermon of Fuller a range of thought, a sublimity in description, a brilliancy of illustration, a beauty of style, and a pathos in expression to which the masterly discourse of the pastor at the Hague — at least, as it appears in the translation — could not lay a just claim.

Only the preaching of Jesus was faultless. Dr. Fuller, in his best sermons, often overstepped the modesty of nature. His constant aim to be impressive led him occasionally to be theatrical and extravagant in manner and declamatory in style. His desire for immediate results sometimes led him to neglect instruction to secure efficiency; to deal less with the understanding and the conscience, and more with the sympathies and the passions, than was demanded to secure the highest measure of usefulness. Still, take him all in all, he was, within the limits of my acquaintance, if not unrivaled, certainly not excelled, in pulpit power.

This portrait will be ended with a single remark: Few ministers can reasonably hope to rival Dr. Fuller in gifts and reputation, but all may cherish his spirit, follow his example, preach the gospel that he proclaimed, honor the Master that he served, and share in the rewards that he sought; and let them remember that piety is better than talents, prayer can accomplish more than eloquence, and diligence can outstrip genius. — J. B. J.

LIFE XXII. TIMOTHY DWIGHT.

A. D. 1752—A. D. 1817. CONGREGATIONAL, — AMERICA.

AMONG the theologians of New England and of America during the period which extended over the latter part of the last century and the early part of the present one, no man was more eminent than President Dwight, of Yale College. A grandson of Jonathan Edwards, he inherited great intellectual power and a tendency towards theological study and thought. He was also naturally brought, in consequence of this relationship, under the influence of the philosophy and the doctrinal views of Edwards. But, with the clearness and force of an independent mind, he rose above mere imitation, and became a teacher who, modifying and advancing the system of his master, brought a new inspiring influence to those who followed him. In the progress of thought on all the great subjects within the field of Christian truth, from the beginning of our country's history until now, he was, in a peculiar sense, a connecting link, binding the past and the present. He was also a grand motive power, impelling earnest scholars to press forward in their investigations, and to follow boldly and freely wherever the light of revelation might lead them.

The story of his life, like that of all men who find their home in a university, is mainly a narrative of a thoughtful, earnest working for the truth. But his great executive ability, his large-minded interest in all that was good, his magnetic influences upon those around him, his far-seeing outlook into the future, made him a constant energizing force in public life; so that scarcely any man in America has ever had a wider fame or a more commanding personal power.

He was born in Northampton, Massachusetts, May 14, 1752, where his father was a prominent citizen, and where his maternal grandfather, Edwards, had, until within a short time, been a pastor and religious teacher of the church. By descent he was connected with some of the noblest families in the land, — the Hookers and Stoddards and Winthrops, — as well as with the two of which he was the immediate offspring. He was the heir of both intellectual and moral power of a high order, and was gifted by nature with a large mind and with a large heart. From his earliest years he exhibited extraordinary qualities. His memory was remarkable. He is said to have learned to read before he was four years of age. In his early boyhood he became an attentive reader of books. Treasuring his knowledge thus gained, and being inquisitive, with the eagerness of a wakeful and open mind, he made rapid progress in learning. When he was only eight he was largely prepared to enter Yale College, and though he was too young to pursue the course at

Grandson of
Edwards.

that time, he was graduated at the early age of seventeen. Two years after graduation he became a tutor in the college, and continued in this official position from 1771 until 1777. At this time there were but two professorships in the institution, so that the instruction of the students was for the most part in the hands of the president and three or four tutors, who were young men. The classes were thus very dependent on these young men, and were brought under their influence to a degree which at present can scarcely be appreciated. Mr. Dwight, from the beginning of his work as a teacher, gained the respect and admiration of his pupils. He stimulated their minds and awakened their enthusiasm. It is said that he so greatly impressed the friends of the college, as well as the students, that even from his early manhood he was regarded as a person eminently qualified to be the head of the institution. While holding the office of tutor, and largely occupied with his duties of instruction, he carried forward his own studies energetically in various lines. He read law, with the intention of devoting himself to it as his life's work. He also gave himself, with much earnestness, to the study of the *Principia* of Newton. At the same time, with the many-sided tastes and mental aptitudes which characterized him, he cultivated literature and poetry. As is well known to all who are conversant with the early history of American literature, he was one of the first poets who appeared on this side of the ocean. Though not a poet of a high order, or one who can be compared with those of a later day, he accomplished something in that time of small beginnings and of small things. He pointed the way, at least, in the darkness of that period, towards the light in the distance, and was as far beyond those who preceded him, perchance, as he was behind those who followed. In a word, he had a love for everything that the mind can enjoy, and an inspiration to impart to every pupil who came under his influence.

On leaving the tutorship in the college he entered the army of the Revolution as a chaplain, but by reason of the death of his father he was constrained to resign this office in 1779, and to take up his residence in Northampton, Massachusetts, in order that he might assist his mother in providing and caring for her large family. Having remained there a few years, he became pastor of the Congrega-
Twelve years a pastor.
 tional church in Greenfield Hill, Connecticut, in 1783. In this quiet, rural parish he continued for twelve years, working with energy for the good of his people, and preaching the gospel with great power. His fame immediately extended over the whole region where he lived. Strangers from abroad were attracted to the village to listen to his sermons. Very soon he was recognized everywhere as a leading minister. His counsel was sought on every side, and the public mind was directed more and more towards him as one from whom the country could hope great things. He was, we may say, by his very nature a teacher. He was

deeply interested in the young, and enjoyed nothing more than the work of educating and training them to a high intellectual and moral life. For this reason, as well as because of the limited support which his parish could afford him, he established very soon after removing to Greenfield Hill a school for young persons of both sexes. This school soon became quite celebrated. Pupils resorted to it from all parts of the country. It was so successful and won so high a reputation that students are said to have left Yale College for the purpose of connecting themselves with it. The feeling became a very general one that the presidency of the college should be offered to him as soon as a vacancy occurred. Accordingly, when Dr. Stiles died, in 1795, the trustees of the institution immediately elected him to the office. He accepted it, and very soon removed to New Haven.

President of
Yale.

The college was at that time just closing the first century of its existence. It was a very critical period in its history. The eighteenth century was passing into the nineteenth. The new age was opening new thought, new studies, new opportunities. A man of great force and energy and wisdom, a man who could foresee the demands of the coming years and could devise and carry out plans to meet them, was called for. If ever the right man appeared at the right moment, it was in this case. The unanimous testimony of all who were associated with him in the instruction and government of the college is that he was the originator of its prosperity and growth during the last eighty years. Immediately on assuming his office he became an energizing influence in every line of needed action. He inspired all his colleagues and helpers with his own large ideas and unquenchable enthusiasm. No branch of study seemed unimportant to his mind. No new science began to open itself but he instantly turned his thoughts to the providing of means for its cultivation in the institution. With a wonderful insight into character, he selected young men of especial fitness for the new chairs of instruction. These young assistants not only became earnest coöperators with him in the carrying out of his plans, but, being in his society constantly, were infused with his ideas, and borne on in their individual working by his sympathy and friendship. He had so wide-extended knowledge and such a true estimate of every department of learning that all could turn to him for counsel and aid. The value of such a man to an institution at such a point in its history cannot be too highly appreciated.

His official life as president of the college continued for twenty-two years, from 1795 to 1817. Before the close of this period the college had more than doubled its number of students. It had established professorships in the leading branches of study. It had enlarged its organization so as to prepare for and include schools of professional instruction in medicine, law, and theology. Of these schools, one had begun a flourishing existence, another had been unfolded in its germ within the col-

lege curriculum, and the means had been secured for the beginning of the third within a few more years. The college, which for a hundred years before had been little more than an academy of a high order, had begun to develop itself towards a university. The plans were all prepared, the possibilities all well considered, the growth was actually commenced, the future made secure, before his work was finished. The period of his presidency was a creative period. When it came to its close such results had been accomplished that his successors had only to go forward in the line of his own action, in order to reach all the grander achievements of the present day. He determined who his successors should be in the time immediately following his own by imparting his thoughts and the energy of his soul to his associates. They grew up around him with a love and reverence, a devotion to him as a teacher, and a belief in his wisdom, such as have rarely been surpassed. They knew that he moved in the right course, because they saw how steadily and safely the institution advanced from year to year. They felt, when they had themselves passed into later life, and he was no more among them, that the same course was the wisest and best. His influence thus remained, though his presence was gone. It passed down from those who succeeded him to those who succeeded them, and has not ceased, even to this day, to be a power exerting itself in the traditions and character and spirit of the university. New men have arisen, but the old life and the old impulse, in their measure, still linger. Every great institution has its peculiar character, — the genius of the place, as we may say, — which remains the same from generation to generation. This peculiar character which marks Yale College is due to President Dwight in a greater degree, probably, than to any other man who has been connected with it during its whole history.

When Dr. Dwight became president of the college the influence of French infidelity was very powerful. The young men of the country turned aside from the Christian faith, and even arrayed themselves in opposition to it. In the college there were scarcely any professing Christians. It is said that at one time there was only a single member of the church among the students. The condition seemed almost a hopeless one, and the prospects were very disheartening. But the president entered into the conflict with skepticism with his characteristic energy and ardor. With powerful sermons in the college pulpit, and with earnest and convincing arguments in the lecture-room, he pressed upon his pupils the claims of the religion of Christ. He stood forth in the institution as a defender of the faith, victorious in his assaults upon the enemy, and, by the force of his reasoning and the nobleness of his character, he led those who listened to his teaching to a firm belief in the gospel. The whole college was revolutionized in this regard. Revivals of great power were experienced. The church was

Dwight's championship of the faith.

filled with earnest Christians. The moral influence of the place was made to bear upon all who came to it. The reign of infidelity was ended, and the students were settled upon firm foundations. Perhaps no more striking or happier change has been accomplished by a single man within the last one hundred years than was here seen.

But not only as a defender of the faith did Dr. Dwight affect the religious character of his pupils. He was a preacher of unusual ability. He commended the claims of the divine law to the minds and consciences of the young men. By his eloquence, his profound thought, his tender sympathy, his manifest sense of the invisible things, his elevated views of duty and of life, his concentration of all his faculties in devotion to Christ, he had, as he spoke from the pulpit, an overmastering power. The impression produced by his preaching on the Sabbath was deepened as he met the students in his daily exercises with them. In the recitation-room he unfolded before them and urged upon them the great truths of life, and in his private intercourse he was always, like a faithful friend and father, pointing them upward to higher things. Gifted with extraordinary powers as an extemporaneous speaker and as a conversationalist, he was able to carry the influence of his public efforts as a minister of the gospel and a professor of theology into the hours and work of every day, and thus to give continually an impulse and stimulus to the whole student community towards the service of God.

He discharged during the whole term of his presidency the duties of the college preacher. In this way he was enabled to set before the successive classes the system of theological truth which is embodied in his "Theology," a work of four volumes, which was published soon after his death. This work has had great influence both in Great Britain and in our own country. It presents, in the form of sermons, elaborate discussions of the various doctrines of the Christian system. With great clearness, calmness, and moderation, with nothing of the wild vehemence of a too ardent advocate, yet with great rhetorical force and with all the qualities of the best discourses of the age, these sermons set before the reader, as they did before the hearers when they were originally delivered, a very full and admirable statement of the truth. It is a matter of no surprise to us when we learn that they have been made a text-book in theological science in England and Scotland, and that the clergymen of the non-conforming churches, who are now in middle life or beyond it, have very generally known and studied their pages in the days of their preparatory education. These volumes will mark an era in theological thought in American history. They will be treasured in libraries after they have passed beyond the notice of the general reader, and will be a guide to the investigator as he attempts to gain a knowledge of the opinions of the age that gave them birth.

In his sermons and his religious teaching, however, Dr. Dwight aimed

Dwight's "Theology."

especially at practical results. He felt that his work, in the position which he was called to occupy, was that of an educator of young men. But education, he thought, could reach its highest development and realize its noblest end only when it should bring to the mind the knowledge of spiritual truth. He accordingly consecrated his energies and his efforts to the securing for all who came under his teaching such an education. He was not, therefore, a mere speculative philosopher; nor was he a man who could dwell alone in the abstractions of theological science. Whatever depth and profoundness of thought characterized him, be brought everything to bear upon the elevation of the minds of others and the purification of their hearts. Though he was an influential theologian, and as such carried forward theological knowledge to new stages of advancement, he did not, for the reason mentioned, take such a position among religious thinkers and philosophers as President Edwards did. That eminent man was, in the truest and highest sense, an originator and a discoverer. His was one of the great creative minds of the world. The genius of President Dwight was of a different order. He had the clearest apprehension of truth; admirable powers of statement; a free spirit of inquiry, which bore him onward to new views; an open, honest, courageous soul, which waited for further revelations, and believed that more light was to come from God. He was therefore qualified in a remarkable degree to present the truth, as he had learned it from those who preceded him, in the best form; to add to it, as imperfectly apprehended in former days, the greater symmetry and fullness which his own thought and studies discovered to him; and to guide his followers in the way which should lead them not only beyond the earlier teachers, but even beyond himself. In this field, as in others, he was a heroic leader, taking all the good which was handed down to him, and pressing on with it to all the good which the future held in its own possession. He was a leader who impressed all about him with his ability, his sincerity, his heroism, and his love of truth, and thus a leader whom younger men were glad to follow. He gained the universal respect of his contemporaries, the universal reverence of his pupils. He made, as far as was possible, every man who was brought under his influence a thinker. By his example he rebuked narrowness and intolerance. By his precepts he urged men to follow the truth, whithersoever it might lead them. By the magnetism of his personal presence and his spoken words he incited them to be fearless, large-minded, confident, believing theologians. He accordingly affected the theological thinking of the country in as great a degree as any one except President Edwards himself, and must be reckoned among those who have accomplished great results in this divine science. Indeed, it was due to him especially that the theology of Edwards, as distinguished from the old Calvinism of the early days of New England, became established as the commonly accepted system. He had

the remarkable power of taking the great thoughts of a man like Edwards, of holding them freely and intelligently in his own mind, without being bound in fetters by them; of rejecting all injurious additions and outgrowths connected with them by the speculations of others, and developing them healthfully for himself; and of leading the best minds to accept them as thus held, and to make them the basis of their own opinions. It was in this way that he became, in a sense, the originator of theological thought as it has unfolded itself in New England since his death.

As a man, Dr. Dwight was tall of stature, commanding in person, with a countenance evincing both strong intellect and benevolent character. He was interested in all things which interested other minds. He knew much of a vast number of subjects, and thus was fitted to meet men of every class within their own fields of thought or of business. His gift of eloquent discourse was even more strikingly manifest as seen in conversation, according to the testimony of very many who knew him, than it was in his public efforts. In social life, therefore, he was admired greatly. He was full of kindness, ready always to help others, abounding in sympathy and charity. Like all men of his order, he held his opinions strongly, and was positive in his expression of them. But he had a generous spirit, and showed hospitality to new ideas. In his Christian character he was humble, earnest, loving, devoted. He trusted wholly to Christ, and preached Him as the power of God unto salvation.

In a brief story like the present, no complete view of the man and no complete narrative of his career can be given. It is only possible to set forth his character and work in some aspects, and let this imperfect representation speak to the reader of what he did. The great monument commemorating his life of mental and moral activity is Yale College. He was its second founder, as it were, to whom is due its origin as a university. The extent of his influence can be measured only when all the good can be computed which has been accomplished by his pupils in every sphere of life, all of whom — however widely they differed in other respects — were united in ascribing to him a wonderful influence on their minds and hearts. The results for theology which came from him were the admirable presentation of Christian doctrine in his published volumes, and the inspiration to honest study of the truth and to freedom in Christian thought which he gave to his contemporaries and successors. The best testimony to his worth and nobleness and power as a man is found in the love of those who knew him personally and are still in life, and in the honorable reputation in which his name is held wherever the English language is spoken, or the hymns of the church are sung. — T. D.

LIFE XXIII. LYMAN BEECHER.

A. D. 1775-A. D. 1863. CONGREGATIONAL, — AMERICA.

FEW men have exerted a wider and more powerful influence upon their country and times than Lyman Beecher. The eighty-eight years of his life cover a period in which some of the most important movements, moral, theological, and political, were in progress in America, and in all these he was intensely interested and widely efficient.

Like that of many of the strong men of New England, his early youth was spent upon a farm, and he was inured to daily labor, and bred up in all the economies and frugalities of a Connecticut farmer's life. But the uncle who adopted him soon perceived the workings of a mind and spirit which needed a larger sphere, and of his own accord offered to him the opportunity of a college education.

In the year 1793 he left the village of North Guilford and entered Yale College, at New Haven. At that early period the advantages of this institution, as respects library and apparatus, were inferior to those of many high schools and country academies in these days. But in his Sophomore year the college was reinforced by the accession of Dr. Dwight to the presidency, and from that time Mr. Beecher's whole mind, character, and education came under the formative influence of this distinguished man. When Dr. Dwight took the college, its condition was one of great demoralization. The college church was almost extinct. Most of the students were skeptics. Wine and liquors were kept in many rooms, and intemperance, gambling, and licentiousness were common. In the class before Beecher, the leading students were professed infidels, calling each other Voltaire, Rousseau, D'Alembert, and glorying in the writings of the encyclopedists. In the pride of their new-found philosophies, these young disciples boasted that the faculty would never dare to meet them in free discussion. Quite to their surprise, however, when they handed to Dr. Dwight their subjects for class disputation, he selected this, "Is the Bible the Word of God?" and told them to do their best. He heard all they had to say, and answered them, preaching a course of lectures every Sunday morning for six months; and by the end of that time the whole public sentiment of the college was changed and purified. In his Junior year young Beecher became the subject of a deep personal religious experience, in which, for a long time, he struggled alone and unaided with all the mysterious problems of theology. As light gradually dawned on his mind, he embraced the Christian ministry as his appointed vocation, with a humility, a single-heartedness, and a sincerity somewhat in contrast to the ambitious views with which some modern young men enter this field.

He feared that he might not get a settlement, and accepted thankfully a call to the quiet village of East Hampton, on the southeast extremity of Long Island. A place more humble, obscure, and out of the great world could scarcely be found: there was not a store in the town; it was seven miles from a post-office; and the main street of the village showed strips of green turf in the middle of the road, marking the rarity of travel.

Mr. Beecher, however, threw himself into his work in this place with as much zeal and energy as if it were the only place to be thought of upon earth. A letter from his wife, shortly after their settlement, gives the following picture of his labors: —

“Mr. Beecher has preached seven or eight times a week all winter. Last week, for example, he preached twice in town and gave two lectures, besides a funeral sermon on Gardiner’s Island and five sermons to the Indians and whites down on Montauk Point. He lectures every week at some of the adjoining villages, Wainscott, four miles, Amagansett, three miles, Northwest, seven miles, The Springs, seven, and another place with an ugly Indian name. Some weeks he lectures at two or three of these places, and when not at these places, has held meetings afternoons and evenings, and sometimes forenoons.”

In the central village of East Hampton, the prevalent spirit of skepticism had found a foothold. There was in the place an infidel club, not large in point of numbers, but composed of men of talent, education, and indefatigable zeal. Two of the teachers employed in the village academy had proved to be skeptics, and their influence had done great evil. When Mr. Beecher came upon the stage, he says, “I did not attack infidelity directly, not at all; I preached right to the conscience. Every sermon with my eye on the gun to hit somebody. Went through the doctrines, showed what they did n’t mean, what they did, knocked away objections, and drove home on the conscience.” This sentence gives an idea of what was the peculiarity of Dr. Beecher’s preaching through life. It was individual, the result of close observation of the personal character and needs of his hearers. He cultivated the society, the intimacy, and the friendship of those of the most adverse views. His people were amazed to hear of him as dining with a deist and going out hunting with another deist; but while mingling as a man among men, he was always studying character and watching his opportunities, if by any means he might save some. Those most opposed to the doctrines he represented were often warmly attached to the man. In time his ardent zeal and burning energy woke up the still and quiet community about him, and a powerful religious awakening was the result, in which many converts were added to the church.

His expenditure of vital energy began to tell upon his strength. He was seized with an illness followed by a long period of ill-health; he

was laid up, unable to preach, for nine months. After a while, by vigorous out-of-door exercise, he recovered his strength and resumed his labors. During this time, he prepared for the press his first published sermon, "On Dueling," a sermon called forth by the celebrated and fatal duel between Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton. It was first preached before presbytery at Aquebogue, and at their request prepared for publication. A stray copy of this sermon by a nameless young minister found its way to New York, where an effort was being made in the ministry to get up an association against dueling, and the sermon was shown to the great Dr. Mason, who then stood at the head of the Presbyterian Church. Dr. Mason reviewed the sermon with approbation, drew up a constitution, and publicly recommended the object. At the next synod, at Newark, Mr. Beecher brought up the resolution of forming an anti-dueling society, but in the mean time certain politicians had raised an opposing party. For the first time, young Mr. Beecher poured out his whole soul in that powerful, vigorous, and condensed style of impassioned oratory which marked his after life, bearing down opposition and carrying all before it. The opposition was overruled, and the resolution carried. The synod started forthwith a series of efforts that permanently affected the whole Northern mind. When Henry Clay was up as candidate for the presidency in after years, forty thousand copies of this sermon were printed and distributed as a campaign document; it never ceased to be a power in the politics of the country. In 1808 he preached before the synod, at Newark, his sermon on the text, "Thy will be done," which was by request printed, and attracted great attention in the theological world. The title of the sermon was "The Government of God Desirable." It was a statement and a vindication of the principles of the divine administration in this and all worlds, its whole tone inspiring, cheerful, and triumphant, like the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. Dr. Bacon, of New Haven, says of this sermon, that "it is well worthy to be ranked with the greatest discourses of the elder Edwards, which it resembles in its solid massiveness of thought and terrible earnestness, while it excels them in a certain power of condensed expression, which often makes a sentence strike like a thunderbolt."

A mind of such energy and vigor could not long be allowed to rest in an obscure situation, and in a few years Mr. Beecher accepted an invitation to the town of Litchfield in Connecticut. Litchfield was a rural town, in a hilly, picturesque region, a county seat, and a place of great importance and influence. It united more intelligence, culture, and education than could be found in any other town in the State, excepting the collegiate seat of New Haven. The law school, under the care of the celebrated jurists, Judge Tappan Reeve and Judge Gould, drew to the place young men of the finest minds from every State of the Union. The female academy, under Mr. I. P. Brae and Miss Pierce, attracted

an equal number of young ladies from all parts of the country. The governor of the state for some years resided there. Colonel Talmage, the friend and associate of General Washington, was a leading member of the church, and a number of distinguished lawyers and civilians of wealth and family made Litchfield their residence. Besides these, there was an extensive outlying, rural population of farmers, who from a circuit of seven or eight miles round came in their farm-wagons every Sunday to attend church.

But with this variety of education and position, there was never any occasion given to feel that the sympathies of the new pastor were more with the rich and the cultured than with the rural and laboring portion of his flock. Brought up as a farmer's boy, he always retained in his heart the sympathies of that wholesome life; his illustrations and images were largely drawn from it, and in every farm-house he was felt by its inmates to be as one of themselves.

As before, in his little parish at East Hampton, he preached three times every Sunday, and four times in the week, in the school-houses lying north, south, east, and west of the town hill.¹

¹ Here it may be in point to give a brief view of that system of doctrine which he preached. We extract a summary from a sermon published during his Litchfield pastorate, entitled, *The Faith once Delivered to the Saints*.

"The faith once delivered to the saints includes in it, among other doctrines, the following:—

"1. That men are free agents, possessing such faculties, and placed in such circumstances as render it practicable for them to do whatever God requires, making it reasonable that He should require it, and fit that He should inflict literally the entire penalty of disobedience.

"2. That the divine law requires supreme love to God and impartial love for men, together with certain overt duties by which this love is expressed, and that this law is supported by the sanctions of eternal life or death.

"3. That the ancestors of our race violated this law, and that as a consequence of their apostasy, all men as soon as they become capable of accountable action do, of their own accord, most freely and most wickedly withhold from God the supreme love, and from man the impartial love, which the law requires, besides violating many of its practical precepts.

"4. That according to the principles of moral government, obedience, either antecedent or subsequent to transgression, cannot avert the penalty of law: and that pardon, on condition of repentance merely, would destroy the efficiency of moral government.

"5. That an atonement for sin has been made by Jesus Christ, with reference to which God can maintain his law, and forgive sin upon condition of repentance towards God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and that all men are sincerely invited to return to God with an assurance of pardon and eternal life if they comply.

"6. That compliance with these conditions is practicable in the regular exercise of those powers and faculties given to man as an accountable creature, and is prevented only by the exercise of a voluntary criminal aversion to God, so inflexible that by motives merely men are never persuaded to repent and believe.

"7. That God is able by his Spirit to make such application of truth to the mind of man as shall unfailingly convince of sin, and render him joyfully obedient to the gospel.

"8. That this special influence of the Holy Spirit is given according to the supreme discretion or good pleasure of God, and yet ordinarily is so associated with the use of the means of grace, as to create ample encouragement to attend upon them, and to render all hopes of conversion while neglecting or rejecting the truth, or while living in open sin, presumptuous.

"9. That believers are justified through the merits of Christ, received into covenant with God, which insures their continuance in holiness forever; while those who die in their sins will continue to sin willfully and be punished justly forever.

"10. That God exercises a providential government which extends to all events in such a manner as to lay a just foundation for resignation to his will in afflictions brought upon

The preaching of Dr. Beecher was never abstractly metaphysical or dry doctrinal statement. The doctrinal statement was only a foundation on which he based a strong personal urgent plea with the hearers to do something immediately, and with all their might. Nothing was reckoned success by him that did not result in the conversion of souls to God, — the radical change of heart and life.

The New England mind in his day was thoroughly possessed and leavened by Calvinistic metaphysical theology. Often the absolute supremacy of the Divine Being was asserted in forms which practically nullified human ability, and left the impression that man was subject to the commands of a hard master, who required what he had received no ability to perform. Dr. Beecher asserted that perfect free agency was the only proper foundation of just government. His children still remember that he would never permit them to commit to memory the answer of the Assembly's Catechism which says, "No mere man since the fall is able perfectly to keep the commandments of God." This declaration he altered into the statement, "No man since the fall is willing to keep the commandments of God." This style of preaching and appeal was of a kind fitted to produce results, and consequently the active years of Dr. Beecher's labors in Litchfield were largely taken up in revival labors in that and the neighboring towns, in gathering in converts, and building up churches. One of the family letters in the earlier part of his ministry speaks of a "continual revival" as going on in Litchfield.

Besides this, Dr. Beecher's attention was early called to the subject of public reform. When he went to Litchfield intemperance prevailed through society to a fearful extent. The habit of drinking spirituous liquors pervaded all ranks of society, and was countenanced by the example of ministers, at whose stated ecclesiastical meetings the brandy bottle and the tobacco pipe held a prominent situation. Here and there in all ranks of society might be counted hapless victims lost to themselves and their friends, through the curse of intemperance. In the year 1812 Dr. Beecher moved in the general association that a committee be appointed to report on the ways of arresting the tide of intemperance. As chairman of that committee, Dr. Beecher presented a report recommending the following measures: —

us by the wickedness of men, and for gratitude in the reception of good in all the various modes of human instrumentality; that all events shall illustrate his glory, and be made subservient to the good of his kingdom; and that this government is administered by a purpose or plan known and approved of by Him from the beginning.

"Finally, that the God of the universe has revealed Himself as existing in three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, possessing distinct and equal attributes, and in some unrevealed manner so united as to constitute one God."

This short statement contains the sum of that system of doctrines on which Dr. Lyman Beecher founded his ministry, and upon which he grounded his pungent appeals to men to repent and turn to God at once. Full ability to accept the gospel as offered, and obligation to accept immediately, — those were the salient points of his ministry.

1. That all ministers in the Association should preach upon the subject.

2. That the District Associations should abstain from the use of ardent spirits at ecclesiastical meetings.

3. That members of churches abstain from the unlawful vending or purchase and use of ardent spirits, exercise vigilant discipline, and cease to consider the production of ardent spirits a part of hospitable entertainment.

4. That parents cease from use of ardent spirits in the family, and warn their children of the danger.

5. That farmers, manufacturers, and mechanics substitute palatable and nutritious drinks, and give if needful additional compensation to those in their employ.

6. To circulate documents on the subject among the people.

7. To form voluntary associations to aid the civil magistrates in the execution of the laws.

In one year, by the vigorous prosecution of these measures, the temperance reformation was aroused in full force in New England. In 1813 the Massachusetts Temperance Society was founded, and since then by correspondence, preaching, lecturing, and organization, the work has been kept up in America, and its example spread to England, Scotland, and the Continent. Dr. Beecher's six sermons on the nature, causes, and cure for intemperance were the offspring of a great personal anxiety and affliction for two noble and much beloved men in his parish who had fallen under the dominion of this fatal tyrant. They produced an immense impression at the time, and have been among the most efficient, permanent documents of the temperance reform in both this country and Europe. They have been translated into many foreign languages, even into that of the Hottentots, carrying with them the burning energy which first gave them birth.

The remedy for intemperance, as proposed by Dr. Beecher in that early period, was that which in later days originated and gave efficiency to the Maine law: It is the banishment of ardent spirits from the list of lawful articles of commerce by a correct and efficient public sentiment, such as has turned slavery out of half the land, and will yet expel it from the world."

In this same year, 1812, also, Dr. Beecher attended the first meeting of the American Board of Foreign Missions, and returning full of zeal called together several laymen and clergymen from various parts of the county, who organized the Litchfield County Missionary Society, the first auxiliary of the American Board. The missionary enthusiasm thus awakened had a decided effect in enlarging and strengthening the piety of the New England mind. It widened the field of vision, enlarged sympathies and charities, and taught noble lessons of self-sacrifice and self-

devotion. The first missionaries to foreign lands bore with them the heart of the American churches, and an influence constantly came back from those mission fields to enrich the piety of those who sent laborers thither.

The general state of the country in the years immediately following the war of 1812 was such as to create in Dr. Beecher's mind grave anxieties. Political parties were intensely bitter; the experiment of a free representative republic was yet a new and untried one; the war brought, as wars always do, some demoralization and disturbance, and the old settled foundations of New England morality were threatened on all hands. The Congregational ministers of New England, however, were a very able and united body, fully aware of the dangers of the times and prompt to meet every exigency. As yet, the Congregational Church was the form of religion supported by law. Every property-holder was by law taxed for its support. But French infidelity, which at this time breathed a poisonous atmosphere across the Atlantic, began to excite in the popular mind a secret uneasiness and resistance which made itself felt in society. Dr. Beecher, with the instinct of a sagacious foresight, perceived an impending change in the institutions of New England, and exerted all his influence in preparing for it. He published a sermon on the "Building of Waste Places," of which he says in his biography, "The churches did not understand all I meant by the sermon. I foresaw what was coming. I saw the enemy digging at the foundations of the standing order. I went to work with deliberate calculation to defend it, and to prepare the churches, if it fell, to take care of themselves."

The sermon on the "Building of Waste Places" resulted in forming a domestic missionary society, for the work of home evangelization; churches were thus built up everywhere through the State.

In due time, however, the standing order fell; the years in which this change was working in society were years of great anxiety and activity to Dr. Beecher and the Congregational ministers of Connecticut. By a union of all the minor sects with the democratic party, a complete separation of church and state was finally attained. All laws protecting religious institutions, or securing the support of the ministry, were repealed, and the whole field was flung open to the free guidance of moral influence. Of this time Dr. Beecher says in his biography:—

"It was as dark a day as ever I saw. The odium thrown on the ministry was inconceivable. The injury done to the cause of Christ was, as we then supposed, irreparable. For several days I suffered what no tongue can tell for the best thing that ever happened to the State of Connecticut. It cut the churches loose from their dependence on state support; it threw them wholly on their own resources and upon God. They say ministers have lost their influence; the fact is they have gained. By voluntary efforts, societies, missions, and revivals, they exert a deeper influence than they could by cocked hats and gold-headed canes."

In a letter written at the close of the struggle, he says, "On the whole I have concluded to give up the ship, not to enemies who have determined to take it, but to Christ, who, I doubt not, will save it."

In the very midst of the darkest part of the struggle, Dr. Beecher was called to encounter the heaviest possible affliction, in the death of a wife who had hitherto been to him a guide, a reliance, and an inspiration. She was one of those rare human beings who seemed always to live in the love and living presence of God, and who saw all things in the light of heaven; never disturbed, discouraged, or dismayed; her last words, even in the shadow of death, were words of triumphant faith and cheerful hope. Her departure was a terrible blow, yet hers was one of those natures whose influence never dies, and to the latest hour of his life, her spiritual presence was ever with her husband.

Gradually, through faith and prayer and the habit of constant activity, cheerfulness and hope returned, and Dr. Beecher formed a second connection, which secured to his large family the cares of a faithful, affectionate mother. His influence, widely extended through New England, caused him to be heard of as a power in Boston. He was first invited there to labor in a revival, and this in due time was followed by an invitation to take the charge of the Hanover Street Church, a new enterprise in the north part of the city. He removed to Boston in the spring of 1826.

At the time Dr. Beecher commenced his ministry in Boston Unitarianism was dominant not only in the city but in the State. Harvard College was under that influence, and it was familiarly stated that all the *élite* of intellect, of family, rank, and fashion, were of that way of thinking. The church that Dr. Beecher took was in an unfashionable part of the city, and numbered only thirty-seven members. In his reminiscences of this period he says, "I made no attack on Unitarians. I carried the state of warm revival feeling I had had in Litchfield for years. I knew nobody there. I took those subjects that were unquestioned, but solemn, to make them tell on the conscience. I began with prudence, because a minister, however well known at home, however wise and successful, has to make himself a character anew, and find out what material is around him; people came to hear; there was a great deal of talk about me, great curiosity. They would hear and then run me down, and declare they would never go again; but they did go, and many who came to scoff remained to pray."

It was Dr. Beecher's custom to follow his public appeals by immediate private labors with such as they affected. Soon the number of these was so great that a specific meeting for those who wished personal religious instruction was appointed. The first week fifteen came, and twenty the second; but the fourth time there were three hundred, and for many months the weekly inquiry meeting numbered four or five hundred. Dr. Beecher has left a record of how he conducted these meetings.

"It was singular to see the changes of language and manner as I passed from one class to another. A large portion would reveal their state easily, and need only plain instruction. Another class would have difficulties; could not see, realize, or feel anything; did not know how to begin. To such a careful course of instruction was given. Another would plead inability, could not do anything. Many of these said their ministers told them so. Now I rose into the field of metaphysics, and began to form my language for purposes of discrimination. Next came the infidel and skeptical class, whom I received with courtesy and kindness; but after a few suggestions calculated to conciliate, I told them that the subject was one that could not be discussed among so many, but that I should be happy to see them at my house, and in that way I succeeded many times. While I was in the inquiry room the church held a prayer-meeting in a room near by, and as conversions happened every night, — ten, twenty, or thirty, — I went in and reported to them. That was blessed. They waited in hope and prayer, and I went in to carry the good tidings."

At the first season appointed for the reception of members seventy new converts united with the church, more than doubling its numbers. From this time for four years, a constant revival extended not only over Boston but through the State. Churches were built up, and converts gathered, and religious topics became the leading subjects of interest and thought through the community.

Dr. Beecher's pastorate in Boston was extended only through six years, being the shortest of his life; but it was the most active, powerful, and efficient. Besides the constant revival in his own church, bringing incessant personal labor with individual seekers after religion, there was the "care of all the churches," in the sympathy and zeal with which he took into his heart the fortunes, successes, and trials of all the other churches of the State.

It was a time of intense excitement. The decision given by the supreme court of Massachusetts in the Groton case had spread dismay among them. In this case a society worshiping in the church had outvoted the communicants, and taken possession of the church funds and building and the communion service. The church appealed to law, and a decision was rendered in the supreme court of the State that "the church, as the body of communicants were called, had no existence in law, and that the church property and funds belonged to the society who habitually worshiped in the building." This opened a wide door by which any number of persons, of all characters and views, by taking pews in a church might control its property and settle whatever minister they chose. As a consequence the orthodox churches in several places were dispossessed of their property, and obliged to take the burden of building new churches.

The so-called liberal party, which held it as a prime tenet, "that it was no matter what a man believed if he only were honest," nevertheless, in the stress of religious controversy, showed themselves as capable of intolerance as the most orthodox, and instances were not unknown where families were divided, and the member who had united with an orthodox church was cast out of the home circle. In this white heat of controversy all sorts of opprobrium rained down upon the orthodox. Their doctrines were caricatured, their conduct slandered. Dr. Beecher himself came in for a large share of this abuse, which he accepted with the most vigorous cheerfulness. He says of this time, "I cared no more for it than for the wind. I knew where I was and what I was doing, and that I was right. I used to think sometimes, as I walked the streets, If you could know anything vile about me, you would scream for joy; but you don't. All sorts of vile letters were written to me by abandoned people, but all this malignity did us no harm." About this time, a caricature of Dr. Beecher was exhibited in the shop-windows of Boston, representing him with two faces on one head: on one side black and with a fierce and threatening scowl, grasping thunderbolts and forked lightnings, while on the other side he exhibited a meek, fair face, and held out in his hand an olive branch. When Dr. Beecher preached his six sermons on intemperance preparatory to a series of temperance efforts among the churches of the State, the indignation of all the makers, venders, and drinkers of ardent spirits was arrayed against him.

As an indication of popular feeling at this time, it is remembered that when Hanover Street Church was destroyed by fire, the firemen sat on their engines around the blazing ruins and sung a parody of a well-known hymn —

"While Beecher's house holds out to burn
The vilest sinner may return."

Besides Dr. Beecher's constant preaching, three times every Sunday and several evenings every week, he wrote and published various sermons, essays, and reviews in the "Spirit of the Pilgrims," which cost him much research, study, and care. He attacked the decision in the Groton case, and exhibited its inconsistency with the spirit and history of Massachusetts law from the founding of the State. Subsequent judges have so modified this decision that churches are no longer exposed to this form of intolerance.

Dr. Beecher also preached a series of sermons exposing the designs of the Roman Catholic Church in taking possession of America, and rousing the churches to contrary efforts. In addition to all the other excitement about him, these sermons roused the wrath of the Irish population, and threats of violence were freely showered upon him, without in the least disturbing his equanimity.

The last one or two years of his Boston pastorate, there gathered in

the moral firmament signs of an approaching controversy, which was subsequently to divide the orthodox ranks. Dr. Beecher saw the first indications, feared and deplored them, spent much time, and wrote many letters to avert such an evil.

It will be seen from the whole history of Dr. Beecher's ministry, that the bent of his mind was more for practical efficiency than for dogmatic construction. To persuade men to become Christians and lead the Christian life was his one object, and he valued doctrines only as means to that end. With a mind strictly logical and keenly perceptive, he no sooner came to apply the received doctrines of Calvinism to individual cases, than his modes of presentation and statement varied often from the formulas of old standards. The views wrought out by an attempt to apply the teachings of the gospel to living souls were soon felt to be different from the technical and metaphysical statements which had been spun into systems by theologians in their closets.

His intimate friend and fellow-laborer, Dr. Taylor, now stood at the head of a new school of theology in New Haven, Connecticut, which was exciting great sensation in the theological world, and before long Dr. Beecher began to find himself an object of suspicion and solicitude among brethren who had hitherto only admired and approved.

The whole basis of religious thought and controversy has now so shifted its ground, that it is difficult for the modern student to appreciate the intensity of feeling which, for some years, convulsed all the theological mind of the United States, concerning the doctrines of man's free agency and ability and God's sovereignty.

On the one side, men of action, who worked for results, contended that man was absolutely free, and able at all points to fulfill all the requirements, of both law and gospel; and on the other side, the metaphysicians asserted that these views destroyed the divine sovereignty. The men who worked for results exhorted people to study the Bible, pray, attend the ministry of the Word, with good hope of thereby attaining to Christian life; while the opposite party mustered in alarm all the old statements of confessions of faith, which one and all are similar in spirit to this of the Protestant Episcopal Church: "Works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of his Spirit are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not from faith in Christ, nor do they make men meet to receive grace, yea, rather, forasmuch as they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin."

The theological mind of America was at issue on these points, one part insisting on man's absolute inability to good and dependence on the Spirit of God, and the other side insisting that God never commanded man to do what he was not fully able to perform. Princeton taught the extreme form of the old conservative side, and New Haven the extreme

of the advanced New England theology, while Andover held a middle ground between the two. Meanwhile a design had arisen in the hearts of some Christian men to establish, at Cincinnati, a theological seminary for supplying ministers to the Western States, and they made overtures to Dr. Beecher, as the man of all others to conduct this enterprise.

Speaking of this time, he says, "There was not a place on earth but that that I would have opened my ears to for a moment. But I had felt and thought and labored a great deal about raising up ministers, and the thought that I might be called to teach the young ministry of the broad West flashed through my mind like lightning. I went home, ran in and found E—— alone in the sitting-room. I was in such a state of emotion and excitement that I could not speak, and she was alarmed. At last I told her. It was the greatest thought that ever entered my soul; it filled and displaced everything else."

The state of his people, whose church had just been burned down, and who were depending on him to assist in rebuilding and gathering together in a new location, made it impossible at this time to entertain the project. But after the church had been rebuilt, and the affairs of the society were in prosperous order, the proposal was made again. It was an application to leave a situation where he enjoyed every worldly advantage. He had conquered a position in Boston. He was sure there of an ample and generous support for his family, he was surrounded by an admiring and loving church and congregation, associated with brethren in the ministry whom he ardently loved, and who loved and respected him in return. All this he renounced for missionary work in founding a new institution in a Western State hundreds of miles away.

Among Dr. Beecher's private papers was found a most affecting and solemn appeal to God, written at this time, in which he poured forth all his feelings as a child to a parent: "Thou knowest the burning desire of my heart for the West, and the burden of my soul for the millions of my countrymen there are not hid from Thee. To my tears Thou hast been witness, and to my great heaviness and continual sorrow, which cannot be uttered, for my country and for this whole, most miserable world, — Thou Lord knowest. I do, therefore, now consecrate myself to Thee, O Lord my Saviour and my God, in the service to which I trust Thou hast called me, in raising up the foundations of thy kingdom at the West. I accept in thy sight, and for thy sake and thy kingdom, the call to Lane Seminary, and the call to the church in Cincinnati, which Thou hast purchased by thy blood: and I resign to Thee the church and people whom Thou hast given me here, who are ineffably dear to me, and this city, the scene of many conflicts, where Thou hast guided, sustained, and defended me; all these churches, some of which have risen by my instrumentality, and all those ministers whom I have loved and who have loved and aided me, — especially those dearly beloved brethren

in the ministry, with whom I have seen eye to eye. Lord, at thy bidding I resign them all to thy care and keeping."

It was in this spirit that he laid before the church his decision to remove to the West.

In this address he thus states the ground of his acceptance: "The exigencies of our country demand seminaries, expositions of doctrine, and preachers of such zeal and activity as guarantee, by the grace of God, the continued effusion of his Spirit. And the question whether the leading seminary of the West shall be one which inculcates orthodoxy, with or without revivals, is, in my view, a question of as great importance as was ever permitted to a single human mind to decide. If I accept, I consider the question settled, that a revival seminary takes the lead, so much as probably to give a complexion forever to the doctrines and revivals in that great world."

In estimating his fitness for the work he reviews his ministerial career: "For the first ten years preaching to a congregation of implicit believers in the doctrines and revivals, . . . but in the presence of a crafty caviling infidelity, which had led away nearly the whole generation of young men; the greater portion of whom I left members of the church, and nearly all of them rescued from infidelity and settled in the doctrines of the gospel; the next sixteen years, in a field where my predecessor had pushed the unexplained points of hyper-Calvinism to the confines of Antinomianism, throwing off some to Arminianism, and embodying others into a band of doubting, chafed murmurers, — all of whom, during my ministry, or since, have become convinced of the truth, and become members of the church. The last six years I have been explaining and vindicating the same system where, to a fearful extent, all definite belief in the Bible and its doctrines had ceased, and where all the great elements of moral government and all efficient sense of responsibility had passed away, and if I may trust my own observations, and that of others, not without marked indications of a return of public sentiment to the Bible, its doctrines and institutions.

"The result has been, that, though I have never been immured with books in my study, or occupied as a disputant in theological controversy, yet my mind has been constantly exercised and disciplined in the exposition for popular apprehension, and the application for saving purposes, of the great doctrines of the Reformation; and when I look back and see that one third of my ministry has been occupied in the labors of revivals among my own people, I have dared to hope that in my mode of explaining and applying the doctrines of the Bible I have been guided by the Spirit, and the call now made upon me to write upon the minds and hearts of a new generation of ministers the results of an extended experience leads me to inquire whether He, who sees the end from the beginning, may not have been preparing me for the self-same thing by the unusual vicissitudes of my ministry."

In conclusion, Dr. Beecher alluded briefly to the threatened controversial division among the orthodox of New England. He expressed his belief that the differences between the two parties had been exaggerated; that "though there were shades of difference among ministers, they respected circumstantial, not fundamentals, and are not inconsistent with revivals and the blessing of God on either side."

"And when," he added, "I see the cause of temperance, and missions, and revivals, all moving the right way, and such dark clouds dispelled as just now threatened over a great portion of the church, . . . I cannot believe God intends to give up the ministers of New England to the infatuated madness and folly of rushing into an angry controversy; and if they should do it, I could not perceive it to be my duty to remain and wear out my strength and spirit in contending with good men."

"Against the enemies of the Lord I can lift up the spear with good will, but with the friends of the Lord Jesus Christ I cannot find it in my heart to enter into controversy, — no, I cannot do it — *I cannot do it.*"

Dr. Beecher's church, trained by their pastor in missionary spirit, acknowledged the needs and superior claims of the great West, and resigned their beloved pastor to the work in a spirit of love and prayer.

On the 14th of November, 1832, Dr. Beecher with his family arrived in Cincinnati. Here he assumed at the same time the position of pastor to the Second Presbyterian Church, and president of the new theological seminary, situated on Walnut Hills, about two miles from the city. Here Dr. Beecher spent nineteen years, — the most trying, perplexing, laborious, and stormy period of his life.

It would seem as if every element of discord and debate were let loose like the winds from the cave of Æolus, to swoop down upon the infant enterprise.

Lane Seminary was upon the borders of a slave state, and the slavery controversy was even then shaking the land as with an earthquake. The Presbyterian Church, a large proportion of whose Southern members were slaveholders, was surging and heaving with wild excitement upon this subject, and every meeting of a general assembly was distracted and almost convulsed by it; and it was during Dr. Beecher's first seven years of labor that the crisis came which finally rent the Presbyterian Church in twain.

The theological controversy which Dr. Beecher had dreaded, and from which he had hoped to withdraw, burst out immediately with renewed vigor on his arrival at the West. The new school doctrines and the old school doctrines began to array their lines of battle through the whole United States. The old school party formed an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the proslavery party in the South to resist the agitating efforts of the abolitionists. The new school body, preaching immediate repentance and forsaking of sin, denounced slavery as sin against

God, calling for immediate repentance, and requiring ecclesiastical discipline.¹ The antislavery party at this time was in two divisions : —

(1.) Those outside of all existing organizations who denounced the Constitution of the United States as a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell, and the church as a den of thieves. At the head of this party stood Garrison and the "Liberator."

(2.) Those who, like Charles Sumner in the state and Dr. Albert Barnes in the church, deemed it their duty to remain in existing organizations, and endeavor to use them for the purpose of promoting emancipation. In this party Dr. Beecher was a leader.

Immediately on his arrival in Cincinnati he was beset on one side by the theological attack of the "old school" party, and on the other by the no less dangerous attacks of the radical abolitionists. Dr. Joshua Wilson, of the First Presbyterian Church in Cincinnati, brought charges of heresy against him in the Cincinnati Presbytery, and he underwent a public trial. He was acquitted in presbytery, and the case appealed to synod; acquitted in synod, it was appealed to the general assembly, where at last Dr. Wilson was induced to withdraw his charges, and Dr. Beecher was suffered to go clear. Thus, for a space of three years, the controversy with good men which he deprecated was forced upon him, and the time which he had hoped to give to revivals of religion and the conversion of souls was consumed in writing theological statements and defenses.

Meanwhile slavery agitation was introduced into the youthful seminary, by the inception of a large class of pupils of the Oneida Manual Labor Institute, under the leadership of Theodore Weld. This class discussed the subject of slavery for nine consecutive nights, and began immediate labors among the free colored population of Cincinnati.

As only a river separated that city from slave territory, the reaction was immediate. Lane Seminary was threatened with demolition, and at that period there was the best reason in the world for believing that the threat would be executed. In those days a mob from across the Ohio twice destroyed the antislavery printing-press of Dr. Bailey, throwing his types into the Ohio River. They promenaded the streets of Cincinnati, abusing and threatening the free colored people, so that respectable families found it difficult to save the lives of their own servants. There was no efficient interference of city authorities; no retribution in courts of justice for such acts, and had the mob fulfilled their threats of burning down Lane Seminary there would have been no legal redress.

Under these circumstances it cannot be wondered at that the trustees of the seminary, as legal guardians of the property, took the matter into their own hands, and, in the absence of Dr. Beecher and the faculty dur-

¹ Chiefly true of the *Southern* old school and the *Northern* new school. But many Northern old school, as Drs. MacMaster and Thomas, were for abolition, and most Southern new school, as Dr. Ross, were strongly for slavery. — H. M. M.

ing a summer vacation, passed votes whose effect was designed to stop the antislavery discussion in the seminary, and the antislavery labors of its students in the community.

These laws, passed during Dr. Beecher's absence, caused the secession from the seminary of a class of forty young men. His utmost powers of mediation were used on his return with both parties in vain. The young men left, and went to Oberlin, and there formed the nucleus of a new theological seminary ; and thus in fact Dr. Beecher's removal to the West was the means of founding two theological schools instead of one.

Dr. Beecher's conduct on this occasion has been severely criticised. The extreme abolitionists contended that he and his fellow professors ought to have followed the example of the students and resigned their professorships. But this in effect would have been to surrender the institution to the defenders and allies of slavery. Dr. Beecher felt it his duty to hold the fort for better things.

The landed endowments of the seminary were rich, but they were in great part the gift of a family who, with one exception, then belonged to the old school party, and bitterly repented the donation, and only waited for some legal pretext to recover the possession. Had they been able to prove that the institution, instead of fulfilling the purposes stated in its charter, had been in effect changed into an abolition propaganda, they could have brought suits with a fair pretext ; and there was at that time little favor to be hoped from the decision of courts. Dr. Beecher was at all times an open and avowed antislavery man. Lane Seminary, from the first, received colored students on equal footing with whites ; and a former slave, named James Bradley, was a member of the very first class, and treated with especial consideration by faculty and students.

Those professors who were especially called by Dr. Beecher to his side were also outspoken and decided antislavery men ; and he soon had laboring with him, as ministers in the Presbyterian Church, five sons, all outspoken and determined abolitionists, and each in his sphere doing their utmost in pulpit and ecclesiastical meetings to intensify the antislavery feeling in the Presbyterian Church. It may well, therefore, be a question whether the antislavery influence of Dr. Beecher and his family was not in their chosen line and sphere quite as efficient a factor in the final result, as that of the radical abolitionists.

For a while, however, the interests of Lane Seminary suffered on all hands. The attacks on Dr. Beecher's orthodoxy alarmed some ; the ultra abolitionists were disgusted because the seminary did no more in the cause of the slave ; the proslavery party threatened its destruction because it did so much. The classes from 1836 to 1840 were sensibly diminished in numbers, and in 1837 the failure of Arthur Tappan deprived the institution of the divinity professorship, on the income of which Dr. Beecher's salary depended.

In one of the doctor's commonplace books was found entered the following memorandum: "I have this morning received a letter from New York, informing me that my draft on Mr. Tappan has been dishonored on account of his suspension of payment. Thus has the ground of my support failed. . . . But my confidence that it was the will of God that I should come here has not failed, my confidence that the end of my coming would be the establishment of Lane Seminary has not failed, and my confidence that God was well pleased with my coming, and approved my motive, and will sustain me in my life of dependence on Him as He has done, has not failed. And though one half a needed income has suddenly stopped, and I know not precisely in what manner my wants are to be supplied, I desire to praise Him who has clothed and fed me and mine to this day, that I do not distrust Him, but am cheerful and happy in my confidence in Him, whose I am and whom I serve."

Meanwhile the great under-current in the Presbyterian Church was steadily drifting towards disunion, for in this same year, 1837, the general assembly, meeting in Philadelphia, passed a resolution to cite before them all those presbyteries and synods that were suspected of heresy, the ministers and the elders of all such synods to be deprived of a seat in the next general assembly. By this method four synods, covering two thirds of New York and part of Ohio, were "exscinded," numbering five hundred and ninety-nine churches and fifty-seven thousand communicants. While heresies in doctrine were the nominal cause of this attack, it is to be remarked that the synods thus indicated were those that had been in the front ranks of the antislavery protest. Private letters from leading Southern clergymen had already explained that Southern members could not and would not longer tolerate a union with abolitionists, and this high-handed proceeding was the means of effecting a separation.

In 1838, therefore, Dr. Beecher was at the decisive meeting of the general assembly. The roll of the assembly was called, omitting the four synods. Their representatives offered their commissions, which were refused without explanation. Immediately the new school portion rose and read a declaration to the effect that whereas, contrary to law, certain synods are denied a seat in the assembly, "We now proceed to organize the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America with as little disturbance as possible." Moderator and clerks being elected, the new school proclaimed that the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States was now organized, and would proceed forthwith to the First Presbyterian Church. The new school assembly marched down the aisle, the greater part of the throng following them, and walked in procession to the First Church. Thus were the new and old school assemblies divided, and so completely was it a question other than that of doctrine,¹ that there remained in the new school church only three presbyteries in slave-holding States.

¹ The "Minutes" make it largely a question of church order. Thus regarded the exscinding, however severe, may not have been "highhanded," but constitutional. — H. M. M.

It was a dramatic and striking attendant on this event, that the day of the disunion Liberty Hall was in flames, set on fire by the proslavery mob, and the next day the African Hall on Thirteenth Street was on fire, the mob cutting the hose to prevent its destruction.

As usual, in those days, there was no efficient resistance of the authorities to these outrages, and the blame of the whole transaction was thrown upon the abolitionists.

The decision as to which body was to be recognized as the Presbyterian Church was appealed to the courts in the State of Pennsylvania. The first decision in the *Nisi Prius* term, under Judge Rodgers, was in favor of the new school. The court in bank, however, reversed this decision in favor of the old school. A suit of ejectment was now commenced against the officers of Lane Seminary, as not belonging to the Presbyterian Church of the United States. The Hon. S. P. Chase argued the case in favor of Lane Seminary, and succeeded in obtaining a decision that placed the institution on firm legal grounds for all time. From this time the difficulties in the establishment of the seminary were substantially overcome.

In 1839 Dr. Beecher returned with enthusiasm and success to his labors as a revival preacher. He visited Oxford College, and spent there two happy weeks preaching and conversing with religious inquirers. It was estimated that at this time there were over one hundred converts, eighty from the college. In his private memoranda Dr. Beecher thus speaks: "The Lord has permitted the accumulation upon me for the last few years, in domestic and public cares, anxieties, and labors, a greater pressure of responsibility and suspense, of baffled plans and hopes, than ever before in my life; and withal in a state far distant, among strangers, and remote from the cheering sympathy of that host of friends who had grown up around me, and on whom the slanders and misrepresentations of alienated friends and the conspiracy of religious party spirit could have no influence to embarrass my success. In the mean time my mind and body were tasked by responsibilities sufficient for the time and resources of two men. . . . Often has been the time when I thought the last cord was broken, and my last work on earth done; and now if any man can say it, I can say, Having obtained help of God I continue to this day. I trust God is preparing for me at the West a more open door with less distraction from adversaries, . . . where the coöperation of cordial friends will afford me opportunities of cheerful efficient action."

From this time, the course of the seminary became every year more prosperous. Two professors had resigned during the season of discouragement, and their places were filled by young men who brought vigor and strength to the institution. The lines being now thoroughly drawn between the old and new school parties, the theological controversy

ceased, and the churches set themselves quietly to the culture of spiritual religion. The young colleges of the West, Jacksonville, Marietta, Crawfordsville, Oxford, and Western Reserve, were in sympathy with the seminary, and sent a yearly increasing number of students. Powerful revivals of religion began to be heard of through the churches, and the students from Lane exhibited a truly evangelical enthusiasm in meeting the labors and hardships incident to establishing new churches in a new country; so that Dr. Beecher, writing to a friend in 1842, says, "The Lord has delivered and prospered, so that I look back on all, as the ship looks back on squalls and head winds past, when favoring gales give her a prosperous course."

The difficulties which Dr. Beecher encountered during these seven stormy years that established Lane Seminary were enough to have wholly broken down a less determined man. In the very midst of the ecclesiastical trial, his wife, the mother of four of his children, sunk under the debilitating Western climate, and died. Rumors most unfavorable to him were circulated through all the circle of his Eastern friends, exposing him to a constant galling fire of letters of alarm, inquiry, and remonstrance. The foundation of his pecuniary support gave way; students were industriously prevented from joining the seminary; some of the professors left in despair; and in all this stress of weather the only man who did not for an instant lose hope and courage, or admit the thought of abandoning the enterprise, was Dr. Beecher.

He worked, said Professor Stowe, during all these years like a Hercules. Disappointment followed disappointment, obstacle was piled on obstacle. Ossa piled on Pelion, and Olympus on Ossa; friends fell off, foes multiplied; endowments diminished, and salaries ceased; prejudices were inflamed, and students kept away. Still he was hopeful and jovial, always good-natured and never irritated. If students would not offer themselves he would go after them; if regular income failed he would beg; if he could not clamber over an obstacle he would go round it or dig through it; disappointed in one thing he would hope for another that would surely be better when he got it. He was not only hopeful and cheerful, but a spring of hope and cheer to all around him, and the sound of his rapid elastic footstep, and the ring of his confident tones, seemed to inspire courage wherever he came.

He fulfilled to the letter his own advice to his students: "When things are so bad and so dark that it seems as if you could n't hold out another minute — don't let go then — you may be sure a change is coming, and many a cause has been lost because a man could n't hold on."

In May, 1851, Dr. Beecher resigned the presidency of Lane Seminary, which he left well established and prosperous, and returned to New England, where he devoted himself to the labor of preparing his works for the press. For several years he continued to preach occasionally, and to

labor in revivals. When he was no longer able to do this he settled in Brooklyn, and became a constant attendant on the preachings and prayer meetings in Plymouth Church. To hear his own son continuing in the course begun under his teachings was almost as good as to be young himself.

Gradually his power of expression failed, and his mind was overclouded and wandering, but the ruling passion was still strong in him. A friend seeing him sitting as he often sat, as if in deep thought, said, "Dr. Beecher, you know a great deal; tell us what is the greatest of all things." His eye flashed, his face kindled, and he said, "It is not theology, it is not controversy, but it is to save souls!" To save souls had been from first to last the passion of his life.

A short time before his death the veil that had settled over his mind was suddenly rent, and he had a full enjoyment of the Beatific Vision; a vision not of earthly glory or physical brightness, but of the perfections of God. His face became radiant, his utterance strong. He said, "I have begun to go. Oh, such scenes! I have seen the King in his beauty! Blessed God for revealing Thyself. How wonderful that a creature can approach the Creator so as to awake in his likeness!" He spoke of each of his children, and left his parting blessing upon them. From this ecstasy he fell into a sweet sleep, his face still illumined with a solemn and divine radiance, and so in his eighty-seventh year he entered into rest. — H. B. S.

LIFE XXIV. CHARLES FINNEY.

A. D. 1792—A. D. 1875. CONGREGATIONAL, — AMERICA.

THERE was nothing extraordinary about the circumstances attending the birth and early life of the subject of this story, to warrant the expectation that he would be a man of special mark, or wield any unusual influence. But the most casual reader of this brief record of a life abounding in labors rewarded with peculiar success will not fail to be impressed with the fact that Providence raised up this man, and endowed him with rare gifts for a special and great mission. Charles Finney was born in the little town of Litchfield, Connecticut, August 29, 1792. Son of a New England farmer. His father, Sylvester Finney, was a farmer in a rather small way, and a good neighbor, a happy, jolly man, beloved by every one. He brought up a large family, every member of which became an honest, law-abiding, and respected citizen; only one, however, besides Charles, entering a profession. George, the youngest of the sons, was also a minister.

The family removed to Oneida County, New York, when Charles was

about two years old, and a few years later moved again into the wilderness on the southern shore of Lake Ontario. Remaining at home until about twenty years of age, assisting on the farm, and attending such schools as were occasionally in session in the neighborhood, Charles rarely heard a sermon, and knew little of religious teaching. Then he went into New Jersey, near New York city, and commenced teaching. For six years he continued to teach and to study, intermitting the teaching at two or three different times to attend a session of a New England high school, and in 1818 entered a law office in Adams, New York, as a student.

In studying elementary law, he found frequent reference to the Scriptures, especially to the Mosaic Institutes, as authority for many of the principles of common law. Consequently he bought a Bible, the first he ever owned, which he read and pondered a good deal in connection with his law studies, but with very little comprehension of much of it. He now attended religious services regularly on the Sabbath, and sometimes the weekly prayer meeting, when his duties did not require his attention at the office. He became more and more interested in religion, and in the teachings of the Bible; holding long and frequent conversations with his pastor on the doctrinal points of the gospel; reading diligently, and finally praying earnestly that he might know the right way, and have courage to walk in it. Suddenly, as the light from heaven shone upon Saul of Tarsus, the gospel plan of salvation, complete and full, dawned upon his mind, and he accepted the sacrifice Christ had made for him with a heart overflowing with love and gratitude. At once he said to himself, "I will preach the gospel." He gave up a law case which was to be tried the next morning after this experience, saying to his client, "I have a retainer from the Lord Jesus Christ to plead his cause, and I cannot plead yours," and immediately set about talking with all whom he met on the great importance of their souls' salvation. He went from house to house the whole day, and several persons professed conversion from the hour when Mr. Finney talked to them in his simple, direct, and earnest way, of their duty to God. The time was ripe for the man, and God raised him up. The whole village was awakened, and almost every one in it, young, middle-aged, and old, was converted.

At twenty-six
buys his first
Bible.

After some weeks spent in daily and hourly labor among the people, he went for a brief visit to his father, who lived in the small town of Henderson. His father met him at the gate and asked after his health. He replied, "I am well, father, but how is it that I never heard a prayer in my father's house?" The old man dropped his head, and tears came into his eyes, as he answered. "Come in, Charles, and pray yourself." Both father and mother, and some of his brothers and sisters, became converts, and the religious feeling spread all through that community also.

In the spring of 1822 he put himself under the care of the presbytery, and as he had not means to go to Princeton, his pastor, the Rev. Mr. Gale, was appointed his instructor. In March, 1824, he was *Begins to preach.* licensed to preach. Although frankly acknowledging that he did not subscribe to all the doctrines of the Presbyterian denomination, he did not fail to convince all that he was called to preach, the numerous conversions attending his lay labors corroborating the evidence. Many men have preached effectively, and swayed masses with the force and earnestness of their speech, but to few has been given such an array of physical advantages to aid them in their work, as was granted to this young man, now about to go forth to do battle against sin and evil. He was of tall figure and majestic presence; he had a noble head, a keen blue eye, that could transfix with its sharp, penetrating gaze, or melt with its tenderness, a voice sonorous and clear, without harshness, and capable of stirring the heart like a clarion, or of bringing tears to the eyes with its pathetic pleading; above all, a magnetism which fascinated and held in closest attention all in his presence. His peculiar mental characteristics were quickness of perception, clearness of discrimination, and logical acuteness.

With these advantages, physical and mental, and a soul imbued with the love of God and of immortal souls, wholly devoted to his work, what was lacking to make sure his success? He himself tells us that he had always felt that the great need in the preaching of the gospel was the "baptism of the Holy Ghost poured out on the preacher." "This," he says, "is not the gift of tongues, nor the power to work miracles, but a divine purifying, an anointing, bestowing on its subjects a divine illumination, filling them with faith and love, with peace and power." This "baptism" he sought and found, and then he went forth armed and equipped, beginning his modest labors in a little place called Evans's Mills, in Jefferson County, New York. From this time on for a period of fifty years, the record is one of constant labor; in season and out of season, in church and by the way-side, in city and country, in this country and in England, with an activity and intensity that never faltered, and a zeal for God and the souls of men almost without parallel. After preaching a short time at Evans's Mills he was urged to go to Antwerp, an adjacent town. He accordingly divided his time between the two places, allowing an occasional evening for a sermon at a German settlement near by. Nearly every soul in Evans's Mills was brought into the church, and among the Germans the work was surprising, several middle-aged persons learning to read that they might read the Bible. The whole community was converted. Mr. Finney says, "I preached the atonement of Jesus Christ, his divinity, his divine mission, his perfect life, his vicarious death, his resurrection, repentance, justification by faith. I insisted upon the voluntary

A whole community converted.

total moral depravity of the unregenerate, and the unalterable necessity of a radical change of heart, by the Holy Ghost, and by means of the truth."

At this time he was ordained by the presbytery, and for six months labored in that same region of Western New York, going on horseback from town to town, visiting from house to house, attending prayer meetings, preaching day and night. He says, "I preached out-of-doors. I preached in barns, I preached in school-houses, and a glorious revival of religion spread all over that new country." One element of his success among this uneducated population was the simplicity of his language, and the use of numerous and common illustrations. It was his study so to present the truths of the gospel, which were made for every soul of man, that they should reach the humblest and most illiterate, to make them clear to the comprehension by illustrations such as would be most familiar to those addressed. He was blamed at times for using too much repetition, but he contended that it was necessary, especially in dealing with minds unused to consecutive thought, to repeat the same truth over and over again, at first to attract attention, then to still repeat, until the subject was fixed in their memory. That there are now persons living who can not only tell the texts from which he preached in those days, but give a clear synopsis of the discourse, proves the wisdom of his course.

At Antwerp he found a very wicked and profane community, with only three pious women in it, one of whom opened her parlor for the first meeting. In walking about the town, a sort of terror took hold of him, hearing the cursing and swearing in the streets, and at every place of business. He appointed a preaching service in the school-house on Sunday, and on Saturday, while praying for help to reach and save these godless people, this text of Scripture came home to his heart to comfort him: "Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace; for I am with thee, and no man shall set on thee to hurt thee." When he went to the school-house on the Sabbath morning, he found it packed to its utmost capacity, and without any preparation he opened his pocket Bible, and read the text that offered itself, "For God so loved the world, that He sent his only begotten Son," etc. The people listened with awed attention; they quailed when he told them how they requited God's love with blasphemy, and at last nearly the whole audience was in tears. In the afternoon he was invited to come into the church, and from that time the good work spread in all directions. Afterward he preached in Gouverneur, Western, Rome, Utica, Auburn, Troy, New Lebanon, and many smaller places. Everywhere the same deep interest was manifested; everywhere the gospel presented in its simplicity, and with earnestness, wrought wondrous things, and thousands turned from evil courses and became persistent Christians. Preaching morning and evening, holding

inquiry meetings after each service, visiting from house to house, sometimes preaching twice a day in one place and then riding several miles to preach a third time, left no time for the preparation of sermons. Never was the promise, "For it shall be given you in that hour what ye shall speak," so remarkably fulfilled. The man seemed inspired each day, and the text from which he should speak and the points to make in each instance appeared to be given him directly from above. He went into a little village where the houses were almost all on one street, straggling along for a mile or two, and it was told him that there was not a religious family on the street. He preached in a school-house on the same street from the words, "The curse of the Lord is in the house of the wicked." A profound impression was made on the villagers, many were converted at once, and the feeling spread rapidly, until not a family remained impenitent. In one family sixteen children and grandchildren united with the church at one time, and seventeen of one family at another. Of course, there was opposition; such revivals were contrary to all precedent, and many expostulated, some earnestly opposed. But the preacher had no time to quarrel with any, his only answer being, "God seems to bless my efforts; while He does, I shall believe that I am right, and never cease my labors."

In this way the time passed until 1828, when he was invited to go to Philadelphia and labor. He accepted the invitation, His work in Philadelphia. preaching in different churches as they were opened to him for several months, until urged to take a central position, and preach steadily in one place. The largest church then in the city was a German church on Race Street, and this was the place fixed upon for the continuance of his labors. It was said to seat three thousand persons, and nightly it was crowded to its utmost capacity. He preached here for a year and a half, and there was no abatement of the revival during the entire period. The converts were numerous in all parts of the city, and they united with all the different denominations, for there was nothing sectarian uttered or countenanced at any time by their teacher. In the spring of 1829, when the Delaware River was high, the lumbermen came down with their rafts from the lumber regions of Pennsylvania. In that section of country were large tracts of forest, through which were scattered the log-cabins of the lumbermen and their families. They were there, without schools, without churches, without teaching of any sort. Some who went down to the city with their floating lumber strayed providentially into the evening meetings on Race Street, and becoming much interested went again, until many were converted, and went home carrying the good news; and the work of conversion spread in all that wild region, over a tract of country eighty miles in extent, until it was reported that five thousand persons had been converted, and that without a minister, or a single sermon, through the instrumentality

of the few who carried the blessed story as they heard it in Philadelphia.

Afterward the preacher labored in New York city for several months, and in the fall of 1830 he went to Rochester. The city ^{Great work in Rochester.} contained then a population of about ten thousand, and during the revival which followed eight hundred persons were converted. A revival of like proportion now would number six or seven thousand converts. In commencing his labors in Rochester, he began, as was his custom ever after, to preach to the church, first trying to revive it, and bring it into a proper frame of mind to assist in the work among the unconverted. An eye-witness of those labors says, "The duties and responsibilities of a Christian life were so portrayed as absolutely to amaze and frighten the cold and backslidden professor. The sins of worldliness, lukewarmness, and neglect of duty were set in startling colors; the atmosphere of the place seemed surcharged with the solemnity of eternity, and there was in the speaker the dignity and majesty of one of the old prophets. His words were like flames of fire. False hopes were consumed, backsliders were brought trembling and astonished to the feet of the Saviour. Reconciliations were effected between estranged brethren. The sermon from the text, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' and that from the words, 'Others save with fear and trembling, pulling them out of the fire,' made a prodigious impression. Christians being thus aroused, he was prepared to preach to sinners. He began with the law, showing what its requirements are, and what its penalty, and the justice of them; how absolutely necessary to the order and stability of the moral universe, and how fearful a thing it is then to sin against the law-giver and all the interests of the universe." When persons were awakened by these presentations, and tremblingly asked, "What shall we do to be saved?" then with great pity and tenderness they were pointed to the cross, to the Lamb of God, who bore our punishment for us; and his exceeding love was opened to their view, in all its fullness and power, and with tears and entreaties they were urged to accept it until a heart of stone could resist no longer.

All the towns in the vicinity were aroused. The preacher went from one to another as he could find time, and taught and helped them. Over twelve thousand members were added that year to the churches of the Rochester presbytery alone, besides the great ingathering into churches of other denominations. But it was not by members alone that the good results were shown; the only theatre in the city was converted into a livery stable, and a circus into a factory; grog-shops were closed, the Sabbath honored, and men seemed to live to do good. Among the converts were lawyers, judges, physicians, merchants, bankers, and master mechanics; and as all the leaders of society had changed their modes of life and feeling, social life, business, and civil affairs, all had a different tone.

Even the courts and prisons felt the change; the jail was nearly empty for years afterwards. The preacher visited Rochester again in 1842, a third time in 1856, and each time one thousand souls were given him as his hire. One of the converts of the first revival says feelingly, "It is not too much to say that thousands are indebted to that wonderful man for their success in life, for position, competence, influence, home, kindred, friends, and daily joys! What miserable shipwreck many of them might have made, both for this world and the next, had he not met them, and moved them by his mighty influence, it is not difficult to conjecture."

In 1832 he went for a second time to New York, where the Tappan brothers and others purchased the Chatham Street Theatre and fitted it up for a church. Here he preached to thronging thousands for two or three years, until the site of the Broadway Theatre, which was destroyed by fire, was for sale, when his friends bought it, and erected, after plans suggested by himself, the Broadway Tabernacle. During the years at Chatham Street Chapel, so many were the converts, that they were urged to go into different parts of the city and establish new churches. The result was the springing up of seven young churches, which all flourished and grew, without however diminishing in the least the crowd that worshiped in the chapel. About this time need was felt of a religious newspaper, which should represent the advanced ideas in religious teaching, and aid Charles Finney in his work. Accordingly the New York "Evangelist" was established. Finney's morning sermons were reported for this paper; and when he could find time, he contributed other papers, on theology, practical piety, etc. These papers were afterward printed in a volume, under the title, "Finney's Lectures on Revivals," and twelve thousand copies were sold at once. They were afterward reprinted in England and France, and translated into Welsh and German, one London publisher issuing eighty thousand copies. The Congregational ministers of the principality of Wales appointed a committee to inform the preacher of the great revival that had resulted from the translation of this book into Welsh.

Those who built the "Tabernacle," and who were the leading members of the church, decided that it should be governed as a Congregational church. Accordingly, Finney took his dismissal from the presbytery, and became pastor of that church as a Congregationalist. He was ever after identified with this denomination, although, as has before been stated, very liberal in his views, and shunning anything like sectarianism in teaching and in feeling. In 1835, the college at Oberlin, Ohio, was founded, and Charles Finney was urged to take the chair of theology; the plan being to make the school ultimately a university, but proximately to fit young men for the ministry. He hesitated for some time;

In New York
city. "The
Evangelist."

his work seemed to him peculiarly that of an evangelist ; but at last he consented to spend a part of each year teaching in this Western seminary, with the privilege of carrying on his labors in New York in the winter. This arrangement was carried out for two or three years, but was found to be too great a tax upon his strength, and the number of students greatly increasing in Oberlin, the duty to the college seemed paramount, and he resigned his pastorate in New York. He became pastor of the church in Oberlin, which for more than twenty years was the only church in the town, and finally numbered nearly two thousand communicants, so that it became necessary to divide it. For a number of years he thus increased in labors, as pastor of so large a church, as professor of theology, and during the vacation in college when his strength would at all allow, as preacher, toiling in other towns and cities, sometimes in the East, then again in the West, at Cincinnati and other places.

Twice during this time he went to England, where he preached in Houghton, Birmingham, Worcester, and in Whitefield's Tab-
ernacle, Finsbury, London. This last place of worship His work in England. could seat three thousand persons. It was constantly filled, although week-day religious services were then almost unknown in London. Upon the first call for those who would like personal conversation upon the subject of the soul's salvation, to repair to a certain hall in the neighborhood at the close of the preaching, some fifteen or sixteen hundred persons thronged in, and filled the room to its utmost capacity. There was weeping and audible sobbing all over the house, as the preacher in the simplest and clearest way pointed out to them the duty of immediate and entire submission to God. This was only one of many evenings that followed in that large church in the midst of London, where he labored for nine months. He was often accosted in the streets, when walking in different parts of the city, by perfect strangers, who would say, " Beg pardon, Mr. Finney, but I can't pass you without stopping to thank you for the great good your sermons have done me." A rector of an Episcopal church attended the meetings several times, and then went to preaching with all his might to promote a revival in his own parish. He established meetings at twenty different places in the parish, and in a short time fifteen hundred persons were converted as a result of his efforts. When Finney left London, four or five Episcopal churches were holding revival services, and the number of converts was increasing. It was ten years before Finney went again to England. He found to his astonishment that the work had never ceased, but had been spreading in all directions. In 1858, after preaching a few weeks in Houghton, he went to Borough Road Chapel, London. Here he met with the same large success, and what is better, left the church so awakened and in earnest, that, for years after, they expected, and really did

have, conversions every week. Before returning home he visited Edinburgh, and also Aberdeen, with blessed results. After this he returned to England for a few months, preaching in Bolton and in Manchester. In the former place sixty mill-hands were converted in one evening, at a meeting held for their especial benefit in the mills. After two years of this constant and wearing labor, he returned to Oberlin, and resumed his teaching and preaching there.

On returning from the first visit to England, Finney had become president of the college, without, however, resigning any of his other duties. He continued to fill this place until a very few years before his death, when advancing years, and their usual infirmities, made it necessary for him to be relieved from some of his cares. He taught his classes until the end of the college year preceding his death, and preached but a very short time before the close of his life, with much power and earnestness. In the language of one of his pupils and friends, "He was for more than a generation the best known representative of Oberlin abroad, and its constant inspiration at home." He elaborated a system of theology which, while it was essentially the same as that taught by the advanced school of New England theologians, was yet so modified, and as he regarded it improved, as to deserve its cognomen, "Oberlin theology," and he upheld its doctrines with potent logic and earnest zeal. The principal characteristics of this system, as distinguished from those of other schools, cannot be better stated than in the language of an Andover (Massachusetts) theologian, in a "Critical Review of President Finney's Theological System." He says the tenets are: "(1.) The human will is self-determining in its action. (2.) All obligation is limited by ability. (3.) All virtuous choice terminates upon the good of beings, and in the ultimate analysis on the good of being in general. (4.) The will is never divided in its action, but is at each instant either wholly virtuous or wholly sinful." The fitness of President Finney for this new field of work will be apparent if we recall the description of his mental traits already given. They were quickness of perception, clearness of discrimination, and logical acuteness. In addition to these he had an earnest determination to know nothing but the truth. On all these points there has been much discussion and difference of opinion, but the subject which excited most opposition, and on account of which many of his early friends and co-laborers withdrew their sympathy from him for a number of years, was the doctrine of sanctification. As regards exactly what he taught, there has been widespread and persistent misunderstanding. The doctrine grew naturally out of the position that the will is altogether sinful or altogether virtuous in every act. He claimed that when we obey God wholly, we are then as perfect as we can be, at that moment, in that act. But he never taught that a man was made holy by one act, so as always to remain so. He held simply

President of
Oberlin; his
theology.

that it is our duty to obey perfectly now, and to aim also to obey God the next moment, to watch and pray, to depend upon the Holy Spirit, to continue in obedience, and that this state of constant obedience is sanctification, and that by prayer and watchfulness, and the help of the Spirit, man may hope to attain to "the stature of a perfect man in Christ Jesus."

In teaching he encouraged discussion and inquiry in the freest manner, and if in the progress of the discussion he obtained any new light on a vexed question, he cheerfully admitted it, and made the change in his subsequent statements. At one time when his own words were quoted against the position he was maintaining, he smilingly replied, "Well, I don't agree with Finney on that point." He was always cordial and cheerful in the class-room, impressing upon all, however, the fact that his most earnest wish was for their spiritual insight into truth, and their personal growth in the divine life, that so they might teach others that which they themselves knew and had experienced. Later he compiled his theological lectures in a volume called "Finney's Systematic Theology." It was republished in England, and in the preface, Dr. Redford, a prominent theologian of Worcester, England, says, "As a contribution to theological science in an age when vague speculation and philosophical theories are bewildering many among all denominations of Christians, this work will be considered by all competent judges to be both valuable and seasonable."

The pastorate of so large a church, whose members were scattered over several miles of territory, would, in itself, seem occupation enough for one person. The pastor was necessarily obliged to place some limit to his efforts. He never made social visits, he never went out to dine or take tea with a neighbor. All his time and his utmost strength were fully taxed by his duties. Yet no call for sympathy or help was ever neglected. The sick could testify to his daily visitation, to the support afforded by his brief prayer at their bedside, and his kindly interest in their recovery. Up to the last day of his life, his horse and carriage were brought to the door whenever the weather was fine, that he might go to drive some hopeless invalid, or frail convalescent, out for the air. He was in every sense of the word the father of his people. He baptized their children, he married the young men and maidens, comforted the dying with strong words of faith and cheer, and buried the dead, not without tears of sympathy with the bereaved, but also with such assurance of hope and immortal life that they could not but be consoled. Two or three years before his death, at nearly eighty years of age, he resigned his pastorate, which he had wished to do for some time, but had been prevented by the universal protest of the church and of all his friends.

But he still preached occasionally, as he had strength, and to no one

As a pastor; his
tenderness.

would he ever delegate his mission to the poor, the sick, or those suffering under any affliction. The writer vividly recalls the fact of his coming in one afternoon about two weeks before his death, very tired, and much heated, and when asked where he had been, he replied, "To visit that sick girl away over on — Street." He walked about two miles on a warm August afternoon, because a sick girl wished to see him. It might readily be imagined that a man of such ready sympathies and strong enthusiasm would often be imposed upon, and much of his time wasted by unworthy calls; but his strong common sense always prevented that. One night, a little after midnight, the household were startled by the loud ringing of the door-bell. Mr. Finney himself arose and opened the door. A tall black man stood there, who said, "Mr. Finney, dey hab got de debil ober hyar in de school-house, and de Lord wants you to come ober and drive him away; de Lord wants you to come." Mr. Finney replied quickly, "Not *He*, at this time of night," and shut the door.

One lovely Sabbath afternoon, in the latter part of August, 1875, he spent with some of his children and grandchildren gathered about him, in singing sacred music and in loving converse. His voice seemed almost as strong and musical as ever; it was sweet and clear, and not at all tremulous. The little party broke up about five o'clock, with farewell kisses, and calling back from the gate, "We'll come over again in the morning, father." He retired about eight o'clock. Between ten and eleven he awoke in great pain, and after a few hours of suffering he entered Paradise, just as day dawned on the world which he had done so much to bless. To those standing about his bedside, who had been witnesses of this long, earnest, and laborious life, it seemed that through the pale dawn they heard a voice from heaven saying, "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." — H. F. C.

LIFE XXV. ISABELLA GRAHAM.

A. D. 1742—A. D. 1814. ASSOCIATE REFORMED, — AMERICA.

THE American metropolis, unlike the great Old World centres in so many things, differs from them in this also, that in affairs of church she never has dominated the surrounding population. Leaders of religion have none the less abounded here, noble men and devoted women. Of the latter none better deserves to be remembered than Isabella Graham. The grandchild of one of the founders of the Secession church of Scotland, she justly belongs to the United Presbyterian household. Among all American leaders sprung of Seceder lineage, she may fairly be called the foremost woman, even as her pastor and almost son, John Mitchell Mason, whose name will often appear in this story of her life, may be reckoned the foremost man.¹

¹ For other leaders of Seceder lineage see Lives XVII. and XVIII.

To acquaint ourselves with the Christian body, in whose membership in New York city she will be found for more than a score of years, it will be necessary to return to events occurring in Scotland some years before her birth. In 1688 the Reformed, or Presbyterian, communion became again the established church in Scotland. The rights granted to it did not, however, include as much as was desired by many who had maintained their covenant with God and their brethren even unto blood. Yet the establishment of the church on the terms offered by the government was accepted by the vast majority. The few who rejected it set up an independent organization, calling themselves the Reformed Church, though better known as the "Covenanters" (1706). A few years later (1733), others, ministers and members of the state church, found its rule too oppressive to be borne. For, instead of giving the Christian people of a parish the election of their pastor, the state gave it to a "patron" who possessed property in the parish, and, perhaps, titled position. Besides, opposition was made by the state to freedom of doctrine. For these reasons, Ebenezer Erskine, with his brother and other ministers, and with many people, seceded from the state church, and set up the Associate presbytery. Like the Reformed body, they, and other detachments who joined them afterwards, had a second name, and were popularly called "the Seceders." They, too, as Dean Stanley says, stood essentially upon the Covenant. Both Covenanters and Seceders were, for evident reasons, well prepared to become emigrants from home and fatherland at a fitting opportunity. Indeed, not a few of their fathers had already, in the time of the last Stuarts, been sent for religion's sake across the ocean, doomed to hard labor in the colonies. When the war of independence began, there were in America a Reformed Presbytery, an Associate Presbytery of New York, and an Associate Presbytery of Philadelphia. By the close of the war these had grown very near to one another. The father of John Mitchell Mason, Dr. John Mason, of New York city, who had left his pulpit to serve in the army of Washington as chaplain, became an active agent in their union. All the Reformed ministers and all the Associate save two came together, constituting the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church.¹ The two who held out, receiving help from Scotland, continued as an Associate church until 1858, when a further union took place, forming the present United Presbyterian Church of North America. This communion, in its early and grand characteristics,—deep religious enthusiasm; heart hatred of bondage, whether ecclesiastical or personal; extended intellectual culture for both men and women, and especially for ministers; strict Sabbath observance; strong

Covenanters,
Seceders, and
Associate Re-
formed.

Characteristics
of Isabella Gra-
ham's church.

¹ This was in 1782. Reformed ministers coming from Scotland continued the Reformed organization, which endures to this day, numbering, however, less than two hundred ministers in its two divisions.

church discipline; and scriptural as opposed to frivolous psalmody, — will be found nobly exemplified in the life of Isabella Marshall Graham.

Isabella Marshall was born in Lanark, in Scotland, July 29, 1742. From her mother, Janet Hamilton,¹ of whom she says, "Never was there such a mother, — her delight was with God, her closet was a Bethel, her Bible was her heart's treasure," Isabella early received religious impressions. In the woods of Elderslie, an estate (near Paisley) which her father had rented, she knew a bush under which, as she believed, she gave herself to God before she was ten years old. Upon reaching her eleventh year, having received a legacy of a hundred pounds, she asked that it might be applied to her education. She was sent (1752) to a boarding-school, in which she spent seven winters, receiving a training far above common for that day. At the end of her course of study she entered the communion of the Paisley church, of which John Wither-
 spoon (see Life VI.) was then pastor. At twenty-three Isabella married a physician of Paisley, John Graham, who was already, by a former marriage, father of two sons, both of whom became, at a later day, distinguished officers of the British army. "I was the wife," she wrote thirty-five years afterwards, "of a man of sense, sentiment, and sensibility, who was my very first love and lover, and that love ripened and improved with years."

When, two years after marriage, her husband was made a surgeon of the British army and ordered to Canada, she attended him on his journey. An infant son was left with her parents, who planned to follow and to find a home in America. The five years following, ever looked upon by Mrs. Graham as outwardly the most joyous days of her life, were spent in garrison in Quebec, Montreal, and Fort Niagara, four of them at the last place, near the mighty cataract. The husband receiving orders to Antigua, in the West Indies, the wife bravely followed him through the forests, taking three infant daughters (the child left in Scotland having died there) and two Indian captives, their servants, by the way of the Mohawk and the Hudson to New York city. She then, for the first time, beheld the scene of her future labors.

She sees New York city for the first time.

Severer discipline than she had yet known was still to educate her for her career in this New World metropolis. Within a year after reaching Antigua she was stricken by two profound sorrows, the death of her mother and that of her idolized husband. "At one blow," she writes, "He took from me all that made life dear, the very kernel of all my earthly joys, my idol, my beloved husband." A widow on a strange shore, with but slight resources, not amounting in all to a thousand dollars, Mrs. Graham resisted the urging of her friends that she sell her

¹ Her mother's father, a "ruling elder," the grandparent named above (page 740), was with the Erskines in forming the Associate Church of Scotland.

servants. A few months before she had uttered her mind on slavery in a letter to her husband, then away upon military service: "I am told that you have taken a number of prisoners. I know not if you have any right to entail slavery on these poor creatures. If any fall to your share, do set them at liberty." Now she writes of her two slaves to a friend in Antigua, "If it should please God to take me away in my approaching confinement, let Diana be sent with my children. As for Susan, I am at a loss what to do with her; my heart tells me I have no right to entail slavery upon her and her offspring. I know I shall be blamed, but I am about to be called to account by a higher power than any in this world for my conduct, and I dare not allow her to be sold. I therefore leave it to herself, either to remain here, or, if it be her desire, to accompany the children." She wrote at the same hour to her father in Scotland, commending to him her little ones. She included in her message her step-sons, saying: "Though I did not suffer a mother's pangs for them, Heaven knows how equally I love them with those that cost me dearer." She charged him: "Remember to give my love to all my dear children." To her brother, also, she sent tender words.

The widow, in her trial, found friends in Christians, even in some whose church names were very strange to her. "Do you remember," she writes to a friend, long afterwards, "how ^{Finds friends in the West Indies.} much I used to say about our dear Methodist society in Antigua, and the three holy, harmless, zealous Moravian brethren; and how the preachers gave each other the right hand of fellowship? . . . The Lord brought me into their fold a straggling lamb. These poor people nourished me with tenderness. . . . Never, never shall I forget the labors of love of that little society. How many such stragglers as I may be wandering in both East and West Indies, and may be restored by these precious missionaries! I owe them of my labors more than others. I send you a bill of fifty pounds."

Instead of death Mrs. Graham found in Antigua a higher and better life. She became, too, the mother of a son, and with her babe and her girls took ship to Scotland. Hastening to her father, she found him not in the "large ancient mansion in which she left him, but in a thatched cottage consisting of three apartments." By being surety for friends he had lost all his property. His health, too, had gone. His daughter added him to her family of four, and supported all of them, first at her father's house at Cartside, making butter and selling it, feeding her ^{Vicissitudes in Scotland.} children on porridge, and clothing them in homespun. Afterwards for two years she taught a small school in Paisley, near by. Her slender earnings, with a widow's pension of sixteen pounds, were all her income. The little capital brought with her she had invested, by the advice of a friend, in muslins, to be carried in his vessel and sold in the West Indies; but the ship was taken by the French. Of her situation

at Paisley she says, a few years after, "To this same town I returned a widow, helpless and poor, neglected and forgotten. I taught my little school, and earned my porridge, potatoes, and salt. I found myself totally neglected by some who once thought themselves honored by my acquaintance."

In the midst of her poverty it was suggested to her by the wife of an army officer to open a school in Edinburgh. In want of means, she was surprised by a remittance from the gentleman who had taken charge of her muslins, he having, without her knowledge, insured them, and recovered the insurance. She was thus enabled to remove to Edinburgh (1779), and to open a school. This she conducted with success for eight years. Among her near friends were the mother of Sir Walter Scott, then a mere boy, and the Viscountess Glenorchy. The death of the latter, her active patron and that of her father, helped sunder Mrs. Graham's ties to her native country. Her heart went out, especially since the war of independence was over, to America. She welcomed the suggestion of her old pastor, Dr. John Witherspoon, favoring her removal to the United States. "She had entertained," her daughter writes, "a strong partiality for America ever since her former residence there, and had indulged a sweet expectation of returning. It was her opinion and that of many pious people that America was the country where the church of Christ would preëminently flourish. She was therefore desirous to leave her offspring there." One serious mistake she seems to have made: she left her son, now fifteen, behind her, without his mother's care or sisters' restraint. The boy grew up with impetuous and roving spirit, after two years turned sailor, and five years later was last heard of upon a vessel which was taken by a French cruiser. Another child which was left by Mrs. Graham in Scotland prospered. This was the Penny Society, formed at her instance, composed of poor people, who laid aside each a penny a week as a fund to help them in sickness. It afterwards became endowed as "The Society for the Relief of the Destitute Sick."

Mrs. Graham's apprentice work in schools and charities in Great Britain well fitted her to be a master workman in the New World, and in its greatest city. She reached New York September 8, 1789, and was welcomed by John Mason, by whom the church of her mother was nobly represented in America. In that church she at once found a home, and ties of love which she never sundered.

Although the chief reasons for the setting up of the separate bodies of the Associate and the Reformed had been left behind when Great Britain was left, yet there remained many arguments for clinging to the "testimonies" of two centuries. So John Mason and his friends maintained their denomination, and Isabella Graham labored in it, in the city of New York over twenty years. The Associate, the Reformed, and afterwards the

Finds home and
welcome in New
York city.

United Presbyterian churches became a reservoir into which precious streams from the "old country" flowed, and from which they have poured forth to bless all the communions and all the states of this land. Mrs. Graham worked by the side of John Mason three years, and then mourned his death as that of a brother. She had seen her two daughters (one having entered the church in Scotland) received into his communion. "Dr. Mason," she says, "was a city set upon a hill. He was with the army during the war after the evacuation of New York, and had great influence over the soldiers; preached the gospel of peace uniformly, but never meddled with politics, though he was fully capable. . . . I had the honor to close his dear eyes, and to shut those dear lips from whence so many precious truths have proceeded, and to mix with the ministering spirits who attended to hail the released."

*Relations to her
pastors.*

If Mrs. Graham lost a brother in John Mason, she found an almost son in John Mitchell Mason, the successor of his father. He was now, at twenty-four, just completing his studies in Edinburgh. That they were after Mrs. Graham's heart, we cannot doubt, for his father had charged him, "Read Boston, Erskine, Harvey, the Marrow of Modern Divinity, and the Synod's Catechism" (all of them strong diet, approved of United Presbyterians). The young student, called home by his father's death, was accepted by Mrs. Graham and the rest as their pastor (1793). "Our young Timothy, John Mitchell," she writes, "is a perfect champion for the gospel of Jesus. The Lord has well girded him and largely endowed him. He walks closely with God and preaches like a Christian of long experience. He was ordained about two months ago in his father's church, and a few weeks after married a lady of eminent piety, and preached all day, both the Sabbath before and after. There is probably no church in New York where discipline is so strict, nor one which has so many communicants. He is reckoned a lad of great talents, and many, even of the idle and careless, go to hear him." Side by side with Mason, Mrs. Graham walked all her active years, and when at last she fell asleep, her fame was first sounded by the notes of his golden eloquence.

Mrs. Graham's New York school for young ladies was from the first a success. After three years she writes that "business" is good, "a house full of boarders and about sixty scholars." A description of her school says, "Her little republic was completely governed by a system of equitable laws. On every alleged offense, a court martial, as they termed it, was held, and the accused tried by her peers. There were no arbitrary punishments, no sallies of capricious passion. The laws were promulgated, and obedience was indispensable. The sentences of the courts martial were always approved and had a salutary effect." Mrs. Graham's work as a teacher may be dismissed with the statement that George Washington admired and patron-

*Her great work
as a teacher.*

ized her school, and John Mitchell Mason said of it at her death, "Twenty-five years ago she opened in this city a school, the benefits of which have been strongly felt and will be long felt hereafter in different and distant parts of our country. She succeeded in that most difficult part of a teacher's work, the inducing youth to take an interest in their own improvement, and to educate themselves by exerting their own faculties." After retiring from her school Mrs. Graham's home was with her two daughters (the eldest having died). She felt always an exceeding tenderness to her children, as strikingly appears in her letters to her son and in her memorial of her departed daughter.

Mrs. Graham's philanthropy overflowed in her school. It was even more plainly visible in her connection with enterprises outside of her life profession. First may be named Dr. John Mitchell Mason's theological seminary, the first entitled to the name upon this continent. Receiving unexpected profit by an investment in city lots soon after coming to New York, Mrs. Graham writes, "Quick, quick, let me appropriate the tenth before my heart grows hard." Half of the tenth she sent to missions, as already described, the other fifty pounds she gave for a theological seminary. As this was in 1796, the year which Dr. Mason's biographer names as that when he conceived the idea of the seminary, Mrs. Graham's gift must have been one of the very first sums given to theological schools on this continent. Her pastor's anxiety for trained preachers, says his son-in-law, came from the fact that "the seceding portion were deeply imbued with evangelical spirit and earnestly desired to strengthen and perpetuate it." This sent Mason to Great Britain to seek aid. Mrs. Graham speaks of his mission in a letter to a friend (1801): "I wrote you that our dear Mr. Mason leaves us next month for Britain. His errand is to state the situation of this country, so greatly in want of ministers and of the means of educating ministers. Many of his people are dissatisfied, as he has two congregations to supply and a large family of his own. Why should he be the man? For my own part I think he is the very man. Though I love my minister, value his ministry and his person, I hope the general interest of Christ's body is more dear to me, and of infinitely more importance than my private comfort." Mrs. Graham followed closely her pastor's journey as he established "articles of correspondence" with the Scotch Seceders, and thus secured preachers for America, and as he gathered a thousand pounds, mostly in London, for his seminary, enough to secure its successful opening. This school, let it be noted, became the training place of such fathers of the United Presbyterian Church as Dr. John T. Pressly of Allegheny, who calls Mason "one to whom I am under inexpressible obligations," and Dr. David MacDill of Ohio, who as valedictorian took leave of Dr. Mason's school with the words, "To the seminary we say, If I do not remember

Her interest in
a theological
seminary.

thee let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth." How deeply MacDill, who was in New York city in Mrs. Graham's time, and others of the students esteemed her may be concluded from one of the brilliant editorials of MacDill in the "United Presbyterian." He says, treating of "Woman's Rights," "We admit no intellectual inferiority of the sex. . . . But the Christian church was designed to train up not a Semiramis, nor yet Queen Elizabeths nor Madame de Staëls, but . . . Isabella Grahams."

Not only in education, but in missions, Mrs. Graham was by her pastor's side, or ahead of him. Even while he was abroad, A leader in missions. meeting Wilberforce and the great English leaders of foreign missions, and winning by his sermon on "Messiah's Throne" the declaration from Robert Hall, who heard him in London, "I can never preach again!" he was still receiving impulse from the quiet woman in New York. He writes from Great Britain: "I have just seen a letter from Mrs. Graham. She is up riding on her high places, but it is all from the expectation that glorious successes are about to attend the gospel. She reckons much on the commotions in Kentucky" (see Life XVIII.). As early as 1796 Mrs. Graham had obtained from England missionary periodicals, and had secured a score or so of subscribers for them. She writes that year to a friend of the forming of the New York Missionary Society. Was not this, which was for the Indians, the first foreign missionary society, strictly speaking, in America?¹ Moreover, she raised up a woman in her pupil and assistant, Miss Farquharson, who became (1805) "the first American missionary to foreign lands." How fully she was trained by Mrs. Graham may be concluded from the fact that after they both had left teaching they were for six years close companions in missionary work in New York city. Morrison, the leader of Christianity in China (Life XXXVI.), when in New York was under the roof of Mrs. Graham, and wrote her afterwards as "My ever dear mother Graham." Vanderkemp and other leaders of missions were known to her through their correspondence with her pastor. As an important event she noted in a letter to a friend that upon "the second Wednesday of February (1798), we commenced our first monthly meeting for prayer." Her zeal for foreign missions may be left with the inquiry, What woman was more eminently a pioneer of all the vast organized "woman's work for woman" throughout America?

Mrs. Graham's charity began, however, at home. In 1797 her house saw the forming of the Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Small Children, of which she became first director. Her works of philanthropy. She certainly could feel for such widows if any could. In the

¹ It is of course to be understood that more than one denomination had, as such, engaged in missions to the Indians, the Moravians having done so most notably. But had any association been formed within the American church before 1796 for evangelizing pagans as its sole or primary object?

spring of 1806 she presided at the organization of the first asylum for orphan children in the city of New York. Without waiting for a building the ladies hired a house, and Mrs. Graham or one of her daughters taught every day until means were raised to pay for a teacher. The next year a building was begun. She was throughout life one of the trustees of this asylum property, which was afterwards exchanged for the present beautiful property at Bloomingdale. In 1811 a Magdalene Society arose under a board of ladies which elected Mrs. Graham to the office of president, which she filled until her death.

Her efforts were called out not merely by the holding of office. She gave an afternoon each week for a time (1812) to teaching the catechism to the children of the Lancasterian School. She was for years a visitor of the New York Hospital, especially of the insane in it; also of the sick female convicts in the State's prison. She joined (1814) in a Society for the Promotion of Industry among the Poor, which employed several hundred women, paying them for their work. Of this she became a manager. She helped organize (1814) the young people working in factories near her home into a Sabbath Morning Adult School, which continued after her death as a Sunday-school. She visited in a season of distress upwards of two hundred poor families (1804-5). Besides looking after their bodily wants she distributed to them Bibles, and this before the time of the Bible Society, whose institution she afterwards joyfully recorded (1809). "I am not dealing in romance," exclaimed Mason, recounting in his funeral discourse her works; "the night would be too short for a full enumeration of her worthy deeds. Suffice it to say that they ended but with her life!"

To the spirit of a philanthropist Mrs. Graham added that of a patriot. Yet even in the moment when the nation was lauding the departed Washington, she did not forget the deepest need of her country. While she joined to declare "great things were due him," she yet hoped little from adulators who were "bursting with gratitude to a creature, with enmity to a Saviour God." She was ever intent on making America a land pleasant to dwell in, depending much for this upon the ministry. "In this New World," she asked, "shall such men be reckoned of none account, and their labors of no value? No! The wealth of the Indies cannot balance their work!" At Rockaway Beach, Long Island, where she spent the last five summers of her life, and in different churches in New York city, she lent strength to her pastors.

She was approaching her seventy-second anniversary and was within ten days of it when taken severely ill. Two days before (Sabbath) she had taught in her school of adults, and sat at the Lord's table. The day before she had given religious lessons at the orphan asylum. Upon the fifth day of her illness she sent for an old friend, with whom she had an agreement that one should attend the other's dying hours. With a

sweet expressive smile Mrs. Graham welcomed her, saying, "I am going to get the start of you. I am called home before you. It will be your office to fulfill our engagement." Three days she sank, ever full of joy. "Yet I could weep," she said, "for sins against so good a God." When very low and able to say but one word, that word, accompanied with a smile, was "Peace." Within two days of her anniversary, July 27, 1814, she fell asleep. Her burial was without eulogy.¹ A month later Dr. Mason celebrated her memory in noble words, which were published under the title of "Christian Mourning."

Although Isabella Graham was a genuine product of the Secession churches of Scotland, cherishing their communion and their psalms, carrying in her pocket, as a part of her "Provision for Passing over Jordan," one always used by her pastor upon sacramental occasions, the tender one hundred and third, "O thou my soul, bless God the Lord;" she was nevertheless not the property of the "psalm-singing" churches only, but was given by them to the Church Universal, and especially to the women of the church in America, who look back to this Christian daughter, sister, wife, mother, lover of her kind, not indeed as a "saint," yet as "a witness and a leader." — H. M. M.

LIFE XXVI. ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER.

A. D. 1772—A. D. 1851. PRESBYTERIAN, — AMERICA.

THE overflow of Scottish population into the northern parts of Ireland, which took place at various times, but reached a climax in the seventeenth century, resulted in the formation of what was virtually a new race, known as the Scotch-Irish. There was doubtless, in some instances, admixture of blood, but in many cases, as in that of the Alexanders, there seems to have been none whatever; yet the new settlers, whilst retaining the most strongly marked peculiarities of their ancestral stock, unquestionably laid aside some of the traits of their Caledonian forefathers, and acquired some of the characteristics of the southern Celt. Thus there were combined in happy proportion in the character of this stalwart people the best qualities of both the older races. There was one thing above all others, in which the Scottish immigrant refused to

¹ Funeral addresses were distasteful to her pastor, Dr. Mason. "When his son James died at Carlisle," says Dr. MacCartee, "I went there to attend the funeral and was requested by some members of the family to beg the doctor to allow an address to be made at the grave for the sake of his son's young companions in college. I did so. He at once replied, 'No, no, these things are so often abused.' Of course, I did not urge the matter. As the young men who served as pall-bearers lifted the coffin, the afflicted father exclaimed, in tones which those present can never forget, 'Young men! tread lightly, ye bear a temple of the Holy Ghost!' Then, overcome by his feelings, he dropped his head upon my shoulder and said, 'Dear MacCartee, say something, which God may bless, to his young friends.'" An address was made, and very soon a revival, powerful and precious in its fruits, began in the college and the town.

walk in the steps of the man of Donegal or Tipperary, and that was his religion. If it is true that the denizen of Southern Ireland is inflexible in his adhesion to the Church of Rome, it is equally true that his northern neighbor is not a whit less firm in his hold upon the tenets and usages of Protestantism. Indeed, wherever it has been carried, the name Scotch-Irish has come to be regarded as a synonym for the word Presbyterian.

Not content with their translation from one to another of the British Islands, large numbers crossed the Atlantic and joined the colonies that had effected settlements in America. One of these settlements was in the Valley of Virginia. Archibald Alexander was born near Timber Ridge, in Augusta (now Rockbridge) County, Virginia, on the 17th of April, 1772. His father was of an honorable lineage, being a scion of the ancient house of the MacAlexanders of Tarbert, in Kentyre. His mother was Ann Reid, the estimable daughter of a wealthy land-holder of the same colony. Both of Archibald's parents were reputable and pious people. The house in which Archibald first saw the light was, like most others of that day, built of square logs, and was situated not far from a little mountain-stream, familiarly styled South River. When he was about three years old his father removed to the south of the North River, to what was known as the Forks, a name given to the whole territory lying between the James River and its north branch. The scenery of the fertile region in which the future theologian's boyhood was passed was in a high degree picturesque and romantically beautiful. Not many miles away was the famous Stone Bridge, or "Natural Bridge," as it is universally designated, and in plain view rose the cerulean outlines of the House and the Jump Mountains. Archibald's father inherited from his ancestors a love of books, and in common with his Scotch-Irish neighbors knew the value of learning. Archibald was, like young David, "ruddy and of a beautiful countenance." From the first he showed signs of intellectual vivacity, and was selected out of a family of nine children as the one who was to receive a liberal education. Like the rest he was early put to school. His first teacher was "Jack Reardon," an English convict, who had been transported for crime and was a servant of his father. From him he learned little more, he says, than how to exercise his lungs. Then he fell under the tuition of one Stevenson, and afterwards of another Englishman and "redemptioner" of the name of Rhodes. He looked back upon the year under them with much satisfaction.

At ten years of age Archibald was placed under the guidance of the Rev. William Graham, a graduate of the College of New Jersey, who had set up, at Timber Ridge Meeting-House, the Liberty Hall Academy, a chartered institution which had been taken under the care of Hanover Presbytery, and was afterwards developed

By birth a Virginian.
His masters Graham, Priestly.

into Washington College. The school had existed before Mr. Graham came into the State, but at a point some six or seven miles to the east. It was now situated on the edge of Mr. Alexander's estate. The buildings had not yet gone up, and meanwhile studies were carried on in one of the upper rooms of Mr. Graham's house. Here it was that the blooming boy was admitted to some intimacy with classical learning. His master taught few books, and was in the habit of warning his pupils against the danger of forming their opinions from the number, or even from the weight, of the authorities that could be cited in their support, instead of adopting them as the result of their own independent reflection. Some of the young men took this advice kindly and profited by it, among whom was Archibald Alexander. To others it proved a stumbling-block.

Another of his masters, and the one with whom he was brought into the closest daily contact, was James Priestly, the usher, a man equally remarkable in his way, and one who stimulated to the utmost young Archibald's dawning genius and slumbering love of learning. Sometimes he would take the boys to a romantic spot, where a large spring breaks from the hill-side and pours itself noisily into the river below. Here Priestly would harangue his pupils in the words of Demosthenes, and with all the fire that could have been looked for in the Grecian orator. His wondering disciple, from whose recollections we make this report, says that when the sentiments he uttered were sublime, the gifted usher would be raised to such heights of enthusiasm as to be transported beyond himself.

Notwithstanding the advantage of such teachers, our young scholar made at this time what he conceived to be but humble attainments. This does not seem to have been the usher's judgment, though, for he spoke of him to his father as a boy of great promise. The school had become very corrupt, and Archibald had fallen into several doubtful (or more than doubtful) practices, though restrained by bashfulness or timidity (as he says) from going to the point of excess that had been reached by other of the boys. He also was favored about this time with the instructions of a new usher, Archibald Roane, afterwards governor of Tennessee. This was when he was entering upon the study of Horace. On the departure of Mr. Roane, Archibald fell more constantly than before under the tuition of Mr. Graham. The curriculum of studies was the same as Dr. Witherspoon's at Princeton. They had the same text-books, and transcribed Witherspoon's lectures on moral philosophy and criticism. It was the desire of the principal that Archibald should take a regular degree; and there was no doubt entertained of his ability to do so, as he had always been placed in the first grade, though he himself modestly ascribed the favor shown him more to his youth and small stature, and to his prompt answers, than to any solid desert. It turned out,

however, when his father came back from a journey to Fredericksburg, that he had made an engagement for him as tutor in the family of General Posey, of the Wilderness, twelve miles west of that city.

In this situation Mr. Alexander did a great deal of hard reading, and acquired at this time the foundation of all the accuracy he afterwards gained in the Latin language. In his latter years he has been heard to say that for half a century he had read more Latin than English. His reading of authors in the vernacular was miscellaneous and discursive. He addicted himself much to history and travels, and indeed everything that could give him information. His thirst for knowledge was at all periods of his life unquenchable. He tried to interest himself in Locke's Essay, but failed to comprehend it; and it was not till long afterwards that he disclosed his extraordinary proclivity for the science of the mind which became his favorite branch of study.

At General Posey's he met an aged Christian lady, Mrs. Tyler, a member of the Baptist Church, who gradually succeeded in turning his thoughts more and more into religious channels.

*An aged lady
the agent in his
conversion.*

She conversed with him, put books into his hands, and went with him to hear preachers. She was a lover of the writings of John Flavel, and naturally wished to put his books in the hands of her Presbyterian friend. Learning that Flavel was a Presbyterian he sought at once to discover what were his views of regeneration. He was a total stranger to works on the evidences of Christianity. He was not even aware that any such works had been written; though he had often heard of the infidel arguments, he had not hitherto paid any attention to them. Now he calmly interrogated himself as to the ground of his belief. This he felt all the more urged to do, as so large a number of intelligent Virginians, and others, had embraced the deistical views that had been propagated from France. Into a trunk of classical and scientific books that had been sent to him from home some kind lady had thrown a cheap pamphlet which he had often seen tossing about the house, and which he was now displeased to recognize. On opening it, however, he was at once arrested by the title, "Internal Evidences of the Christian Religion, by Soame Jenyns, Esq." The family had gone to church, and he sat down to read. The effect upon his mind was overwhelming. When he ceased, the room had the appearance of being illuminated. He had not been without transient religious impressions while yet a little boy in Augusta. Once the seriousness vanished instantly from his mind on hearing his parents speak slightly of the sermon. Now he began to be in concern. Before this he had often prayed mentally at critical times, but was not in the habit of secret prayer. Now, every fair morning, he went out into the fields to meditate. Having found some plots of green grass, shut in by thickets, and overhung by great beech trees, he made a booth or arbor with his knife; and used to resort to this sequestered spot

with his book on the Lord's Day. On a particular Sunday evening the place became solemn and delightful to such a degree that he was loath to return home. This was not accompanied by a radical reformation of character. Mrs. Tyler was accustomed to make use of his services as a reader. One Sabbath evening he had been led to select Flavel's "Method of Grace," and the sermon on Revelation iii. 20, "Behold, I stand at the door and knock." The discourse was upon "the patience and forbearance and kindness of the Lord Jesus to impenitent and obstinate sinners." As he read on, his voice began to falter, and at length he laid down the book, rose up hastily, and with a full heart repaired to his little sylvan oratory. There he threw himself upon his knees; and after some minutes was overwhelmed with a flood of joy. He did not afterwards remember that he had at this moment any distinct views of Christ.

For a few days he walked carefully; but in a week his former feelings returned, and when he was tempted he transgressed as before. The recollection filled him the next day with unutterable anguish. The intercourse with Flavel and good Mrs. Tyler enabled him to comprehend better than he had done the cardinal doctrines of the Christian system. A little book, "Jenks on Justification by Faith," which fell into his hands about this time, had an effect not unlike the perusal of Soame Jenyns. Before he had been leaning on the old covenant; now everything appeared clear as if written with a sunbeam. A good sermon was a feast now to the ardent young inquirer. This year, 1788-1789, he afterwards regarded as an epoch in his spiritual history. If not actually regenerated, he was at this period much enlightened and savingly awakened. He now began to seek for the truth as for hid treasure. To John Flavel, he was wont to say, he certainly owed more than to any uninspired writer.

At the end of a year he returned to his native haunts among the mountains of Rockbridge. This was the era of the "Great Revival," as it was called, and the Presbyterians of the day were divided into the Old Side and New Side, agreeably to their inclination to frown upon or to encourage the awakening. The friends of Mr. Alexander belonged as a general thing to the Old Side. His pastor and old preceptor, Mr. Graham, had been invited across the mountains to witness the revival scenes, and took his former pupil along with him. On the way a novel and impressive sight presented itself. A large company of young people moved slowly by on horseback, singing hymns. Most of them were young converts, who had attended the Rev. Nash Legrand from Caswell County, North Carolina. They had traveled fifty or sixty miles in order to attend the sacrament, and were full of zeal and of solemn and tender feeling.

As soon as nearly all the people who were returning had passed, they espied the imposing figure of Dr. John Blair Smith, the son of the venerable Dr. Robert Smith, of Pequea, Pennsylvania, and a brother of

Religious experiences during the "Great Revival."

the famous President Samuel Stanhope Smith, of Princeton. The two clergymen saluted one another heartily. Mr. Graham was soon induced to coöperate with the movement; and his pupil never knew a man to be more transformed. They visited Prince Edward, and were hospitably received at Hampden Sidney, of which Dr. Smith had resigned the management into the hands of the Rev. Drury Lacy, of "the silver hand." Hearing much whilst on this journey of bodily convulsions, Mr. Alexander was much perturbed at the want of these physical manifestations in his own case. The travelers journeyed to the verge of "the mountain" again, into Bedford, and when they had arrived at Liberty were joined by a large party of friends from Rockbridge, among whom was Mr. Alexander's eldest sister. While at Liberty he went a little out of town to a thicket near a wood for meditation and prayer. Suddenly there came over him such a melting of heart as he never knew before or after. In looking back upon this experience in after life, the subject of these pleasing emotions was disposed to ascribe it to a quick change in the animal system, and to the relief arising from a flow of pent-up tears. This gush of feeling was succeeded by a sweet composure of spirit. He could not recall any thought of Christ, or much contrition for sin. In a few hours everything was as it had been before. He was gradually brought to the conclusion that his case was desperate, and that he would certainly be damned. This was a sober and deliberate influence, and produced no agitation. The justice of God, it seemed to him, could be satisfied in no other way.

On their return to Lexington the young disciples, in the simplicity of their hearts, fully expected an immediate outpouring of the Spirit among their neighbors and friends; nor were they wholly disappointed. Some, however, opposed the work of grace, and some good men looked coldly upon it. Much extravagance and some fanaticism had been mixed up with the revival, though in Virginia the preaching had been uniformly sound, and the measures resorted to were commonly Scriptural. One day in the forest, at the foot of a projecting rock in a dark valley, Alexander tasted the bitter cup of despair. He knelt upon the ground, and poured out a broken cry for help, when in a moment he had such a view of the crucified Redeemer as was without parallel in his after experience, filling his mind with joy and even transport. For a few days he was full of serenity, and yet he soon fell back into darkness. In the autumn of the year 1789 he made an open profession of his faith. His first communion was not on the whole a comfortable one. He greatly feared, lest he had eaten and drunk damnation to himself. The second approach that he made to the Lord's table was, however, an occasion of delightful peace and assurance.

In subsequent controversies about what were styled "new measures," there were some who called Dr. Alexander a cold recluse who had never

felt the glow of revival warmth in his own heart, little imagining in the midst of what scenes he had been awakened and converted. Soon after becoming a communicant he began to study for the ministry, and was sent as a ruling elder to Philadelphia, to the meeting of the general assembly, where he first saw Witherspoon and other leaders, and attended upon the debates with the keenest interest.

After the completion of his theological studies, he was licensed as a probationer for the gospel ministry, and was sent out by the synod of Virginia as a missionary into the sparsely occupied territory within their bounds. He was accompanied on this errand by a classmate, a young man of talents and piety. For six months they journeyed on horseback, going from house to house in the hospitable country. One night they had much conversation with James Shelburne, an old mill-wright, wearing a leathern apron, who (though an unlettered man) had become a Baptist preacher. They felt it to be their duty to question him as to his call to the ministry; but before he was done with them, the old man made them look with some doubt on their own call. Their way lay through Charlotte and Prince Edward, and after their separation Mr. Alexander took charge of the churches of Brien's and Cumberland.

Goes as a missionary through Virginia.

This region had enjoyed the pastoral services of the Rev. William Robinson, one of the pioneers, the Rev. Robert Henry, whose ministry had been greatly helpful to the blacks, and of that great man, the Rev. Samuel Davies, afterwards president of the College of New Jersey; and there were some who still remembered the incomparable eloquence of Whitefield, who had passed through the country. The conditions of life in the new settlements east of the Blue Ridge had produced many remarkable characters, some of whom are not unknown to fame. Others lived in greater obscurity. Col. Samuel Venable used to be likened by Mr. Alexander to Benjamin Franklin, and the Rev. Samuel Brown to Jonathan Edwards. In this region lived two of the greatest orators whom America has produced, — Patrick Henry and John Randolph of Roanoke. It so chanced that the subject of this memoir was present at Charlotte Court on the occasion of the meeting of these distinguished men for the first and only time of their lives at the same hustings. He was already acquainted with Henry (then old and infirm), and afterwards numbered Randolph among his hearers, he having been known to make a detour for the purpose of hearing Alexander preach. Among the intimate friends of this period were the eccentric but gifted Conrad Speece, a preacher of great originality and force, and the Rev. John H. Rice, one of the foremost men in the roll of the Virginia ministry, the founder of the Union Theological Seminary in Prince Edward.

For a short time Mr. Alexander was president of Hampden Sidney College, which had fallen into a very low state. He was chosen by the Presbytery of Hanover a commissioner to the general assembly

which adopted the famous "Plan of Union," the repeal of which led to the disruption of the old church. Before returning, he went as a delegate from the general assembly (which at this period always met in Philadelphia, then the chief city of the land) to the general association of Connecticut, and took the occasion to make an extensive journey through New England, where he formed the acquaintance, and received the hospitable courtesies, of the venerable Samuel Hopkins, and others equally noted. Mr. Alexander engaged in amicable discussion with some of the leaders of the new theology, and seems to have made a favorable impression on the people with whom he was brought in contact. He preached everywhere, and always in the free and hearty style to which he had accustomed himself in Virginia, never taking a note into the pulpit. He had schooled himself to follow trains of premeditated reasoning, and was prone to indulge in graceful rhetorical embellishments. He was small, with a dark, piercing eye, and a flute-like voice that vibrated with emotion and penetrated to any distance.

Declining the appointment of Phillips professor in Dartmouth College, on his return to his native State, he was married to Janetta Waddel, a daughter of the celebrated James Waddel, of Louisa County, the "blind preacher" of Mr. Wirt's "British Spy," and an orator the accounts of whom seem almost fabulous, and remind one of the stories of Patrick Henry and Whitefield. In 1801 he had been invited to a pastorate in Baltimore, but did not accede to the call. A few years later he became the successor of Dr. Milledoler, in Philadelphia, with the pastoral care of the Third Presbyterian Church, in Pine Street. The people he ministered to were of simple manners, and contained many from the neighborhood of the navy yard, with a considerable proportion of shipmasters and pilots. The predominant ingredient was the good old Scotch-Irish element he was so familiar with. His labors here were faithful and most acceptable, though irksome, and were pursued in a climate unfavorable to Mr. Alexander's health. The studies of his earlier days were now much enlarged, and a goodly number of volumes began to fill the shelves of his library. Among other linguistic studies he took lessons in Hebrew, under a learned Jew by the name of Horwitz. During a great part of his life Mr. Alexander was in the habit of reading at least one chapter daily in the Hebrew Bible.

In the year 1812, Archibald Alexander was appointed by the general assembly professor of the theological seminary that had just been set up at Princeton. For a time the whole work of organizing the institution, under the plan of the assembly, was in the hands of Alexander, then just forty years old. He had no predecessor, and had scarcely a precedent. He devoted himself, not only to the outward administration, but to Hebrew, Greek, criticism, hermeneutics, and theology, including *dogmengeschichte*. This was the year

President of
Hamden-Sid-
ney.

At forty is
father of Prince-
ton.

of the war with England, which was carried on, however, almost exclusively on the high seas. Late in the following year he was joined by Dr. Samuel Miller, who was his colleague for nearly forty years, and with whom, during that entire period, he lived in unbroken harmony and tender love. Dr. Miller assumed the chair of history and polity. Never were two men more unlike. Dr. Miller had been formed on the stately model of President Stanhope Smith. He was not only a perfect specimen of the Christian gentleman, but was regular as a clock in all his habits, and singularly punctilious in his regard for all the niceties of the social rubric. He was a truly affable, learned, godly man, and a man of excellent ability. As time brought its changes, others were added to the faculty, as notably Dr. Charles Hodge, who was to exert such a mighty influence on the church, and whom his theological preceptor and associate likened to Calvin without his severity. Yet the older race of students naturally thought first of the two original professors. Dr. Alexander was now exactly at his meridian. He was at this time, as at all times, severely bound down by no rules, except such as are dictated by Christian propriety. Scrupulously clean, he seemed to give no thought to his dress. Though his study door was open to anybody and everybody, he was sometimes known to show amiable signs of weariness. He was in all things preëminently a child of nature as well as of grace. In the pulpit he was at his best when purely extemporaneous. A learned chief justice once styled him, jocosely, "the prince of Methodist preachers." Just at this point, a memorable change took place in his general mode of life. Although in his youth a bold and expert horseman, and one who lived much in the open air and in the saddle, he now confined himself strictly to exercise in his carriage, and as the years advanced became a voluntary prisoner to his study, and almost literally to his well-worn elbow-chair. A corresponding change occurred in his preaching. Until near seventy he did not take paper into the pulpit, except on the occasion of his trials before presbytery. Now he took to reading, and with a marked decline in the power of his delivery. At the close he used to push up his spectacles on his forehead, cast those lightening glances about him, and launch out untrammelled as if upon his native element. The raising of his glasses always acted on his auditors like a sudden burst of sunshine. The March winds preyed fearfully on his nervous system, and he was urged by Dr. Rice and other of his Virginia friends to consult his health and return to the South. He consented so far as to revisit the scenes of his more active experience, where he was received with open arms by attracted crowds, and where his preaching made an impression that is remembered to this day. Somewhat later he reluctantly declined an invitation to a chair in the Virginia Union Theological Seminary.

Mr. Alexander, from this time onward, buried himself more and more among the Latin theologians of the seventeenth century. His method

of teaching was partly by text-book and partly by lecture; partly, also, by animated criticisms upon the written theses of the students, as well as upon their oral discussions. He was surprisingly versed in geography and the exact sciences. His topographical faculty was something marvellous. He never forgot a road or a way-mark, and had the charges of his widely scattered pupils, and indeed the minutest localities of the entire country, so far as he was acquainted with it, mapped off in his mind with all the particularity of a drawn chart. He was still devoted to metaphysical inquiries, and paid great attention to the evidences and the canon, and brought out popular works on these subjects, as well as on the history of the Jews and the history of the colonization of Liberia, and in his later years an admirable treatise on ethics. The Rev. Dr. MacGuffey, long the brilliant professor of mental philosophy in the University of Virginia, once remarked to the writer, that whenever Dr. Alexander touched an intricate question in intellectual or moral science, it was "with the spear of Ithuriel." His elaborate reply to Dr. Murdoch on the "Atonement," and to Dr. John Brown, of Edinburgh, on the "Nature of Cause," were greatly admired for the fairness, the lucidity, and the cogency of their argument. Dr. Alexander was to some extent implicated in the ecclesiastical movements connected with the division of the Presbyterian Church in 1837 and 1838, into the branches known as

A peacemaker. Old and New School, but always deprecated the agitation which made that division a necessity, and pursued a course throughout in his relations with both parties, that was marked by his characteristic prudence and wisdom. The position he occupied was a peculiarly trying one, and it is generally allowed that in his conduct he united candor and fairness with delicacy and Christian affection.

The last years of his life were uneventful, but abundant in labors in the professor's chair and among the congregations. In the class-room and in the conference on Sabbath afternoon, his eye would kindle and his face shine, and he sometimes, on these occasions, in reasoning and power of analysis, in lucid statement and ripe spiritual wisdom, seemed raised above himself, and spoke like one almost inspired. His sermons lacked much of the earlier pictorial quality, but if less graphic were, if possible, even more perspicuous and accurate, and certainly more profound. His *forte* was clearly in experimental theology. His knowledge of fallen human nature, especially when under the workings of the Holy Spirit, was so amazing that President Woolsey, late of Yale College, one of his pupils, has even ventured so far as to call him "the Shakespeare of the human heart." In person and manner he was said to resemble William Wilberforce, the English philanthropist and Christian author. The most obvious trait of his preaching was its simplicity. Children and servants could understand all he said. This was also the distinguishing trait of his whole character, "his utter simplicity." His modesty and self-forgetful *naïveté* were those of a little child.

When in his prime he was thin, though he afterwards grew more stout, with an inclination to corpulence; his complexion was clear, and his soft brown hair already beginning to be silvered, ^{His personal appearance.} albeit it never became altogether white; his countenance was wonderfully mobile and animated, and his eye that of an eagle. Latterly he had a stoop of the shoulder and a characteristic swaying, irregular gait. A broad cloak hung at an angle on one side, and he would dart sudden downward glances to the right or left. He was of mercurial spirits, and in the social circle and at the home fireside often full of vivacity, affectionate gayety, and banter. In his best moods it would be hard to find his equal as a *raconteur*.¹ He was however subject to fits of silence and depression. Few men were ever more deeply revered or widely loved. His life was hid with Christ in God. For an hour at twilight every evening, he suffered no interruption of his privacy, and was believed to be then engaged in devotional or serious meditations. His face came to show unmistakable traces of a mellowed Christian experience. His very appearance was that of a holy as well as aged and benevolent man. His colleague, Dr. Miller, preceded him to the other world; and Dr. Alexander, with all the solemnity of the eternal state in his manner, preached the funeral sermon on the occasion of his interment. He announced his own departure as near at hand, and made his preparations for the great journey as calmly and methodically as if he had been going back to Rockbridge, among his native mountains in old Virginia. It was a blessed sojourn in the land of Beulah. His influence was by this time second to that of no man in the church. The cloud of his distinguished and undistinguished pupils rose up to praise him in at the gate. The hour of his euthanasia was not long postponed. After the most impressive and gratifying testimonies of his composure and assurance, he was gathered to his fathers, and was buried by the Synod of New Jersey, then in session in Princeton, on Friday, the 24th of October, 1851, in the eightieth year of his age. And the whole church joined in the cry, "The chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof."² — H. C. A.

¹ Dr. Alexander left behind him, besides his devoted widow, who did not long survive him, six sons and a daughter: James Waddel, William Cowper, Joseph Addison, Archibald, Samuel Davies, Janetta, and Henry Martyn. Of these, three are now gone, who once added to the indescribable charm of the circle at Princeton. James was the accomplished professor, in both the college and the seminary, where he succeeded Dr. Miller, and the gifted and beloved pastor of the Duane Street and the Fifth Avenue and Nineteenth Street churches. He was also a distinguished author. William was an able lawyer and legislator, and then the first president of a large insurance company. Addison was the well-known professor in the seminary and commentator on Isaiah, Acts, Matthew, and Mark. He was a rare linguist and brilliant genius. As a preacher he at times excelled most of his contemporaries. The two last named had a vein of original humor, and both were endowed with powers of memory that were almost unexampled. Dr. Alexander never appeared to better advantage than when chatting with his wife and children.

² See the charming narrative of his conversation in his last hours with the pastor of the church of his family, the Rev. Dr. William E. Schenck. (Sprague's *Annals*, vol. iv.)

LIFE XXVII. CHARLES HODGE.

A. D. 1797—A. D. 1878. PRESBYTERIAN, — AMERICA.

THE paternal grandfather of Charles Hodge, with his two brothers, emigrated from the north of Ireland in 1735, and settled in Philadelphia. They were by education Presbyterians, and by grace pious men, and gladly coöperated in the great revival which soon after visited the city of their adoption under the preaching of Whitefield. They were among the founders and first office-bearers of the Second Presbyterian Church, founded in 1740, whose first pastor was the apostolical Gilbert Tennant. Charles Hodge's father was a godly physician, whose health was broken by the exposures incident to his disinterested labors throughout the yellow fever epidemics occurring from 1793 to 1795. His mother, a descendant of French Huguenots, was born and educated among the orthodox Congregationalists of Boston. He thus writes of his own earliest life: "When my father died in 1798, he left a widow, little more than thirty years of age, and two children, Hugh Lenox, aged two years, and Charles, aged six months. It is no marvel that mothers are sacred in the

His mother. eyes of their children. The debt they owe them is beyond all estimate. To our mother, my brother and myself, under God, owe absolutely everything. To us she devoted her life. For us she prayed, labored, and suffered.

"Our early training was religious. Our mother was a Christian. She took us regularly to church, and carefully drilled us in the Westminster Catechism, which we recited on stated occasions to Dr. Ashbel Green, our pastor. I think that in my childhood I came nearer to the apostolic injunction, 'Pray without ceasing,' than in any other period of my life. As far back as I can remember I had the habit of thanking God for everything I received, and asking Him for everything I wanted. If I lost a book or any of my playthings, I prayed that I might find it. I prayed walking along the streets, in school and out of school, whether playing or studying. I did not do this in obedience to any prescribed rule. It seemed natural. I thought of God as an everywhere present Being, full of kindness and love, who would not be offended if children talked to Him. I knew He cared for sparrows. I was as cheerful and happy as the birds, and acted as they did."

He received his classical education in Somerville, and at the academy in Princeton, New Jersey, and entered the college in the latter place in the fall of 1812, just after the inauguration of his old pastor, Dr. Ashbel Green, as president of the college, and of Dr. Archibald Alexander as the first professor of the new theological seminary of the Presbyterian Church.

His religious experience having gradually ripened, he, with his friend Kinsey Van Dyke, made a profession of faith in the Presbyterian church in Princeton, January 13, 1815, in the middle of their Senior year. The afternoon of the Saturday preceding there was a sergeant with a drummer in the town enlisting recruits for the then pending war with Great Britain. One student abruptly hailed another with the announcement that "Hodge had enlisted." "Is it possible!" was the response. "Yes, he has enlisted under the banner of King ^{He enlists.} Jesus." This stand, as Dr. Green judged, coöperating with other providential events, was influential in bringing to a crisis the great revival in the college which immediately ensued. One half of the previously unconverted students were brought to a knowledge of Christ, and among these several who were eminent in the Christian ministry, and life-long intimate friends of Charles Hodge: as John Johns, bishop of Virginia, Charles P. McIlvaine, bishop of Ohio, W. J. Armstrong, secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, William James, Charles Stewart, etc.

Mr. Hodge entered the theological seminary under the instruction of those eminent servants of God, Drs. A. Alexander and Samuel Miller, in the fall of 1816. At the close of his course in 1819 he was selected by Dr. Alexander to be his assistant in teaching the original languages of Scripture. After having spent the winter of 1819-1820 in Philadelphia, preparing for his work under the instruction of the Rev. Joseph Banks, D. D., of the Associate Presbyterian Church, and having been licensed by the Presbytery of Philadelphia, he commenced his work in the seminary in midsummer, 1820. In 1822, having been ordained by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, he was elected by the general assembly professor of Oriental and Biblical literature in their seminary at Princeton.

In this department he labored with great diligence, and laid the foundation of considerable learning in the various special branches connected with it. But conscious of his need of greater advantages of instruction than were at that time afforded in America, with the permission of the board of directors, he left his family and his work in the seminary, and spent two years in special studies in Paris, Halle, and Berlin, ^{Studies in Europe.} from the fall of 1826 to that of 1828. He attended the lectures, among others, of De Sacy in Paris, of Gesenius and Tholuck in Halle, and of Hengstenberg, Neander, and Humboldt in Berlin. By a blessed providence he was thrown, in Halle, and yet more in Berlin, into a circle of most gracious and loving young Christians about his own age, as Tholuck, Otto and Ludwig von Gerlach, and others. Among these congenial spirits he was permitted to give as well as receive light and comfort. The intimacy and endearing tenderness of these Christian friendships is proved and illustrated by the letters he continued to receive for many years.

On his return to America, in the autumn of 1828, Mr. Hodge consecrated himself with renewed enthusiasm to his work as professor of Oriental and Biblical literature. He prepared extensive courses of lectures on Biblical criticism, hermeneutics, special introduction, sacred geography, etc. He delivered to the Junior class exegetical lectures on Paul's Epistles, an exercise which he continued twice a week without interruption for fifty years, to the end of his life.

In 1825 he had commenced editing a quarterly publication, entitled the "Biblical Repertory," designed to furnish translations and reprints of the best contemporary foreign essays upon theological and religious subjects. On his return from Europe he enlarged the scheme by making it the vehicle for original contributions to the same class of literature, adding to the former title that of "Princeton Review." He continued to be the editor and principal contributor of this review until 1868, having, as far as can be now ascertained, contributed one hundred and thirty articles, many of which gave to the review the larger share of its reputation and influence among the churches of America and Europe. The most important of these have been republished in Great Britain, and have been gathered into volumes and published in this country under the titles "Hodge's Essays," "Princeton Essays," and "Hodge's Church Polity."

These articles cover the whole field of theology and ecclesiology, and of the great practical, ecclesiastical, and moral questions of the day. From 1835 to 1868 he wrote every year a review of the action of the general assembly, which series all parties acknowledge have exerted a very powerful influence upon the current opinion and history of the church.

A writer on the "American Press" in the "British Quarterly Review" for January, 1871, says of the "Princeton Review:" "It is, beyond all question, the greatest purely theological review that has ever been published in the English tongue, and has waged war in defense of the Westminster standards for a period of forty years, with a polemic vigor and unity of design without any parallel in the history of religious journalism. If we were called to name any living writer, who to Calvin's exegetical tact unites a large measure of Calvin's grasp of mind and transparent clearness in the department of systematic theology, we should point to this Princeton professor."

Professor James McGregor, in the "British and Foreign Evangelical Review" for July, 1874, says: "Greatness of nature has been exhibited in remarkable measure from first to last by the Princeton school in general, and by Dr. Hodge in particular. They have in their controversies been earnest, eloquent, warm, even passionate, but they have invariably spoken as true Christian gentlemen, who in relation to adversaries make due allowance for human infirmities. They have shown themselves to be manly men of the heroic type."

Dr. Charles P. Krauth, of the Lutheran Church, said at Dr. Hodge's semi-centennial commemoration, April, 1872, that he (Dr. Hodge) had always treated of the doctrines of churches differing from his own, "with candor, love of truth, and perfect fairness."

As a controversialist, for forty-five years, Dr. Hodge was characterized by preëminent self-consistency, persistence of convictions, and a uniformly consistent expression of them; by great As a controversialist. clearness of style and thoroughly logical arrangement of material, and consequent development of the principles adopted; by absolute fidelity to truth as he conceived it, and devotion to its maintenance, for the glory of Christ and the good of souls, without a shadow of a thought as to the approbation or the offense of men.

As a preacher he was instructive and edifying, but not popular. His sermons were elaborate expositions of some fundamental doctrine of the gospel, often exhibited on the side of experience and practice. He read them quietly, without gesture, but with great solemnity and tenderness of tone and manner.

As a man in all the manifestations of his inward life in his family, and with his intimate friends, he was a Christian of the type of John. He was reverent, tender, joyous, full of faith and hope and love. He spontaneously cast off whatever tended to depress him, and always looked on the bright side of things. When he looked Godward his attitude was adoring love; when he looked manward his face radiated benevolence. He was a life-long controversialist, because he believed that the truth as he held it was essential to the glory of God and the salvation of men. Yet he was devoid of all personal animosities, and he truly loved all, except in the few cases in which it appeared to him beyond doubt that the persons not loved were judicially given up to be identified with the lies they taught.

As a teacher he had great power, which resulted in part from his character, and the reverence that excited, partly from the As a teacher. fullness of his knowledge and the clearness of his statements, and partly from his method. He possessed an almost perfect skill in practicing the Socratic method, in eliciting thought, and leading to conclusions by questions. He stimulated thought, and taught his students how to use their faculties, and brought them to fixed convictions through personal experience of the truth, and its relation to the conscience and the life.

In all these relations and functions his distinguishing attributes were great tenderness and strength of emotion, and power of exciting it in others; an habitual adoring love for Christ, and absolute submission of mind and will to his word; a chivalrous disposition to maintain against all odds, and with unvarying consistency through all the years of a long life, the truth as he knew it; crystalline clearness of thought and ex-

pression; and an unsurpassed logical power of analysis, and of grasping and exhibiting all truths in their relations. As he sat every Sabbath afternoon in the conference of students and professors, he spoke on all questions of experimental and practical religion, freely, without paper, in language and with illustration suggested by the moment. The matter presented was a clear analysis of the Scriptural passage or theme, doctrinal or practical, chosen for the occasion; an exhaustive statement and clear illustration of the subject; a development of each doctrine on the side of experience and duty, and a demonstration of the practical character of all doctrine, and of the doctrinal basis of all genuine religious experience and practice. As to the manner, the entire discourse was in the highest degree earnest, fervent, and tender to tears; full of conviction and full of love.

In 1835 he published his "Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans;" in 1839 and 1840 his "Constitutional History of His books. the Presbyterian Church in the United States;" in 1841, the "Way of Life," intended to instruct inquirers and young Christians as to the true nature of Christian doctrine on its practical and experimental side. It has been republished in England and translated into other languages, and thirty-five thousand copies have been circulated in America. Christians of all denominations have acknowledged their indebtedness to it. Dr. Hodge published his "Commentary on Ephesians" in 1856, that on First Corinthians in 1857, and that on Second Corinthians in 1859. His great life-work, "Systematic Theology," in three large octavo volumes, aggregating two thousand two hundred and sixty pages, was published between 1871 and 1873. These have had a large circulation in America and Great Britain, and are text-books, or books of primary reference, in many theological seminaries. In 1874 he published a small book entitled, "What is Darwinianism?" in opposition to the prevailing atheistic theory of evolution.

He was made Doctor of Divinity by Rutgers College, New Jersey, in 1834, and LL. D. by Washington College, Pennsylvania, in 1864, and moderator of the general assembly in 1846.

From 1830 to 1840 he was afflicted with an obscure affection of the nerves of the right thigh. It was the cause of great pain immediately from the nature of the affliction itself, and mediately from the remedies resorted to by his physicians. He was for several years confined to a horizontal position, part of that time with his limb in an iron splint. He was lanced, and burned with the actual cautery, and treated with electric and cold baths. For some years his classes gathered round his couch in his own room. Afterwards he went to meet them, first on crutches, and then leaning on a cane. He used one reclining chair, occupying a fixed spot in his study for more than forty-five years, and his writing was done until comparatively recent days on a board supported by his left arm.

and hand, while he was extended in an almost reclining position on his chair.

This affliction was acquiesced in by him with the utmost cheerfulness, and doubtless contributed much to deepen and sweeten his religious experience. It was by such means that his faith strengthened and became in appearance as vivid and as certain as sight, and that his sanctified affections went out in an ever-increasing flame of adoring love toward his Lord, and of holy brotherly kindness toward all Christians.

In 1840 Dr. Hodge was transferred to the chair of didactic theology, hitherto occupied by his venerated preceptor, Dr. Archibald Alexander. His special adaptation to this new chair had been strikingly demonstrated by his articles in the "Princeton Review" on doctrinal subjects, and by his "Commentary on Romans." His singular power in analysis, logical exposition, and effective polemics had become universally recognized. But it was one of the most conspicuous of the many favoring providences which distinguished his life, that he was at first constrained to turn his attention against the natural bent of his tastes and talents to the study of the original languages of Scripture, and to the practice of extended exegesis. It was doubtless largely due to the fact that for twenty years he was thus professionally engaged with purely exegetical studies that his subsequent theological writings were so predominately Scriptural in their form and spirit. The result has been that while his commentaries and exegetical lectures have been, to a marked degree, dominated by theological ideas, it is true even to a greater extent that all his theological statements and arguments are controlled by and suffused with the inspired Word.

From the date of his employment as assistant teacher of Oriental and Biblical literature in 1820 to his death in 1878, over three thousand candidates for the ministry of the various evangelical churches had passed under his instruction. The influence of such a man, exerted through so many channels for so long a time, must have been immensé. It was, however, directly exerted through the class-room and through the press, especially through his numerous articles upon all the great matters of current ecclesiastical interest which appeared in the "Princeton Review;" and the ministry, through which class he reached his entire generation throughout the Christian world.

Teaches three
thousand cler-
gymen.

On the 23d of April, 1872, the fiftieth anniversary of his election as professor, there was observed in Princeton a semi-centennial commemoration or jubilee. Four hundred of his former students enrolled themselves as having come up from every part of the land to pay their respects to their aged professor. The faculties of all the Presbyterian theological seminaries, and several of those belonging to the Episcopal, Methodist, Congregational, Lutheran, and Reformed churches, were represented. All branches of the Presbyterian churches of Great Britain

and Ireland saluted him by letter or representative with expressions of their respect, confidence, and love. Episcopal bishops, venerable professors, and pastors of all communions sent him congratulatory addresses. Dr. Joseph T. Duryea, of Brooklyn, delivered an oration on "Theology as a Science." Dr. H. A. Boardman, of Philadelphia, delivered to Dr. Hodge, in the name of the directors and alumni of the institution, a congratulatory address.

"That you should live to see this mighty mechanism in motion, to guide into so many of its countless channels this broad stream from the Fountain of living waters, is a distinction so rare and so exalted that we cannot but look upon you as a man greatly beloved of God, and honored as He has scarcely honored any other individual of our age. . . . We render the praise to Him whose providence and grace have made you what you are, and given you to us and to his church. . . . Again, with one heart and voice do we the directors and alumni of the seminary, the faculties and graduates of sister institutions, the representatives of the other liberal professions, and your friends of every name and calling here assembled, congratulate you on this auspicious anniversary, and pay you the tribute of our grateful love."

In his reply, while defining the life-long principles of his senior colleagues, and of himself, he said: "When I was about leaving Berlin on my return to America, the friends whom God had given me in that city were kind enough to send me an album, in which they had severally written their names, and a few lines as remarks. What Neander wrote

His motto for
Princeton.

was in Greek, and included these words: Οὐδέν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, *nothing in ourself*; ἐν Κυρίῳ πάντα, *all things in the Lord*; ᾧ μόνῳ δουλεύειν δόξα καὶ καύχημα, *whom alone to serve is a glory and a joy*. These words our old professors would have inscribed in letters of gold over the portals of this seminary, there to remain in undiminished brightness as long as the name of Princeton lingers in the memory of man."

The singular perfection of such a life-work is due to the remarkable combination of a variety of elements: natural endowments of intellect and conscience and affections, divine grace, great diligence and supreme moral courage, felicitous circumstances, eminent position, and length of days.

He died June 19, 1878, in his eighty-first year; his nervous system exhausted, his physical life ran gently out, while his mind was as clear and his spirit as free and strong as ever. He died with all his family around him, as the setting sun glorifying the lower heavens, with the peaceful brightness of his faith and love. To a weeping daughter he said, "Dearest, don't weep. To be absent from the body is to be with the Lord. To be with the Lord is to see Him. To see the Lord is to be like Him." — A. A. H.

LIFE XXVIII. ALBERT BARNES.

A. D. 1798—A. D. 1870. PRESBYTERIAN, — AMERICA.

ALBERT BARNES was born at Rome, New York, December 1, 1798. He died in the city of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 24, 1870. These two dates mark the earthly limits of ^{His birth.} an eminently useful and godly life. The life was begun in skepticism. It grew toward golden completeness under a profound conviction of the truth as revealed in the Word of God. It ended in full, unshaken faith. Its early years were uneventful. Its young and vigorous manhood was given to Christ. Its maturity marked a period of rare interest in the history of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, linked itself indissolubly with that history, gave to the church one of the truest and purest of her living epistles, and gave to the world "The People's Commentator." Its eventide was a beautiful sunset; the Christ-like spirit seemed bathed in the glory streaming through the open gates of the city of God, as if he stood just this side the river, looking into the other country, "beholding the King in his beauty," and "seeing Him as He is."

Doubtless the early skepticism of Albert Barnes gave him, ever afterwards, that characteristic of clearness in perceiving, and of fairness in stating, the difficulties and objections of the disbeliever, which in so marked a manner appears in his published works. He was accustomed to say that doubts and difficulties born of his own questioning and skeptical heart had seemed to him to be of far greater force and magnitude than any he had ever seen suggested by rationalism and infidelity. An article in the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, by Dr. Chalmers, entitled "Christianity," first commanded his assent to the truth and divine origin of the Christian religion. But he resolved to yield to its claims no further than thenceforward to keep aloof from its active opposers, and to lead a strictly moral life. One year later, in Hamilton College, at Clinton, New York, he experienced the deeper change ^{His conversion.} that set in entirely new channels the currents of his life. He became a Christian, gave up his fondly cherished plan of preparation for the legal profession, consecrated himself to the work of the ministry, and, upon graduating at Hamilton College in 1820, pursued a four years' course of theological study at Princeton, New Jersey, and was ordained and installed as pastor of the Presbyterian church at Morristown, New Jersey. After nearly five years in this pastorate, he was called to the charge of the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, with which church he retained official connection to the day of his death.

Upon the ministry of this man of God was set early and abundant

seal. A revival of remarkable extent and power occurred during his ministry at Morristown. The windows of heaven were opened over that place, and all the region round about was refreshed with the copious shower. His pulpit and pastoral ministrations were also greatly blessed of God in Philadelphia, and frequent revivals marked the history of that long pastorate. These seasons of special interest were never superficial excitements. While always marked by deep feeling, it was rational emotion, born of profound conviction by the truth. For throughout his entire ministry, this Scriptural preacher held firmly to the persuasion, publicly avowed and acted upon in his first charge, "that injury is not done in a revival by a full exhibition of God's plan of saving men, according to his sovereign will and pleasure." The pulpit ministrations of Mr. Barnes were characterized by Scripturalness, clearness, fullness of treatment, fairness in dealing with objections, and thoughtful spiritual power.

There were four great movements that either originated or were brought to prominent public notice about the time of Albert Barnes's opening ministry. Upon each of these he left a powerful impress. The history of two of them cannot be written without conspicuous reference to his influence.

Of these four great movements, the temperance reformation was one. Promptly and decisively Mr. Barnes sprang to the advocacy of its great leading principle, entire abstinence from all intoxicating beverages. There were nineteen distilleries within the limits of his first parish when he began to preach. Liquor was extensively manufactured and sold in the region of country about Morristown. Drinking customs widely prevailed. What Mr. Barnes understood to be the truth of God on this subject, he fearlessly preached, and with such bold fidelity and persuasiveness as to effect a complete revolution in some of the most cherished and most fortifying habits of social life; while in nearly every one of the distilleries within his influence the fires were put out, to be rekindled no more.

To the principles thus early avowed, he adhered unswervingly, giving them public advocacy on all suitable occasions till he died.

Another of the great movements that came to conspicuity in the first half of the present century, and which at last culminated in civil war and emancipation, was the antislavery movement. Mr. Barnes's first critical study of the New Testament, there in the quiet of his home at Morristown, led him to feel and to say that the gospel was an epistle of deliverance to the captives; that to give liberty to the slave and restore him to freedom was to confer the highest benefit and impart the richest favor; and that by the freedom of the truth all prison doors would finally be opened and all chains of slavery broken. From that time onward he never hesitated, from the pulpit and by the press,

in the clearest and most unmistakable terms to express his convictions on the evils, the crimes, the wrongs of slavery. He was no enthusiast or fanatic in this matter. He was not in anything. Behind his boldest and freest and most radical utterances there was no passionate excess of feeling, — only the calm, sober conviction of a truth-loving, earnest, conscientious man of God; and to give that conviction embodiment in speech on fit occasion, at whatever risk and at whatever cost, was as much a matter of course, with him, as to eat his daily bread. He never uttered a word in public or in private in favor of any illegal interference with the institution where it existed. What he did and all that he did, beyond endeavoring to secure a constitutional change of the laws, was done as a preacher and a commentator, by a candid and thoughtful exposition of the Word of God in its application to the duties and the rights of man. In his pulpit and in his notes, he never sought popularity by silence. Turn to any page of his commentary, where there is a passage regarded as bearing upon the subject of slavery, and there it will be seen that he ever consistently entered a calm but vigorous Christian protest against this at that time strongly buttressed and gospel defended, but in his judgment most abominable, institutional iniquity.

He lived to see America without a slave, and he entered heartily into the work of educating and elevating the long-enthralled race.

A third great movement, assuming importance in the early years of Mr. Barnes's ministry, was the Sabbath-school. His discerning mind saw that an emergency had arisen in the es-
The Sabbath-school.
tablishment and rapid spread of this new institution. He was struck with the need of a plain and simple commentary on the gospels, which could be put into the hands of teachers, furnishing them an easy explanation of the sacred text. He at once, while still at Morristown, entered upon those Scripture studies, the fruits of which
First Commen-
tary.
were subsequently given in "Notes Explanatory and Practical on the Gospels, designed for Sunday-School Teachers and Bible Classes." This first venture bore date, Philadelphia, August 25, 1832. It is perfectly safe to say that no single book has gone into so many hands as a help to the understanding of God's Word in the instruction of the Sabbath-school. He little dreamed then that the purpose thus formed, and upon the prosecution of which he thus early entered, would make his name a household word wherever the English tongue is spoken. He had no thought, in the unambitious effort to give simply the results of the critical study of the gospels, and by avoiding all abstruse and scholastic discussion to afford a useful interpreter to the young and the unlearned, that he was to place himself foremost among Bible commentators in the number of his readers, and to go around the world like the beautiful feet of morning, publishing in various languages his exposition of the word and work of Christ. He gave the early

hours of morning to this work of exposition. Promptly at nine o'clock every day, he left it and turned to his more direct pulpit and pastoral duties. By the preparation of these first notes, the steps of this good man were established in that quiet path where he "prevented the dawning of the morning" in communion with God and in the careful and prayerful study of his holy Word for well-nigh forty years.

The habit of spending a small portion of each day in annotating the Scriptures grew to be a pleasure and a preference, and he continued it until in 1834 appeared his "Notes Explanatory and Practical on the Acts of the Apostles," and on the Epistle to the Romans. One book after another followed, as this man of method persevered year by year in his study of the Word, until, to his own surprise, he found himself at the end of the New Testament. During these years he had also written his annotations successively on Isaiah, Job, and Daniel. Subsequently his "Notes on the Psalms" appeared. Meanwhile other works, in the line of his ministerial labors were given to the press. His pen was never idle. Among his more important published works are, "The Way of Salvation," "The Atonement," "Lectures on the Evidences," and "Life of St. Paul." He lived to see edition after edition of his

Circulation of
commentaries.

commentaries exhausted, until more than half a million of volumes were sold in his own country, and perhaps even a greater number in England, Scotland, and Ireland, while translations of many of his notes were made into the languages of France, Wales, India, and China. This remarkable result is the fullest proof that the life-labor of Mr. Barnes met a wide necessity. The man needs no other monument commemorative of his faithful toil. Without any original design on his part, when no eyes were turned to him in expectation of any grand achievement, an overruling Providence selected the instrumentality, prompted to the conception of the early task, inspired a love for its enlarging way, guided the steps of the faithful expositor, and led to the completion of a work which, in extent and fidelity and beneficent influence, is one rarely allotted to man. He ended his exposition of the Book of God, February, 1868, with these memorable words: "I cannot close this work without emotion. I cannot lay down my pen at the end of this long task, without feeling that with me the work of life is nearly over. Yet I could close it at no better place than in finishing the exposition of this book; and the language with which the book of Psalms itself closes seems to be eminently appropriate to all that I have experienced. All that is past, all in the prospect of what is to come, calls for a long, a joyful, a triumphant *Hallelujah!*"

It was indeed a long task, and the Christian world, with one voice, says it was well done.

His commentaries are adapted to the people. They meet, as they were designed to meet, the common mind. They are charged with com-

mon sense. They are free from the processes of critical study, yet they furnish ample proof of it in its results. They are eminently spiritual and practical. With faithful exposition of the letter of the Word is woven a happy discerning of the mind of the Spirit. They bear abundant witness to that true communion with God which, their author testified, if he ever had it in his life, was closely connected with those calm and quiet morning hours when his mind was brought into close contact with the truth inspired by the Holy Ghost. They are pervaded by those qualities, and they possess those characteristics which made them the best — as they were deservedly the most widely appreciated and most generally used — Scriptural expositions in any language for the ordinary reader.

A fourth great movement, with which Mr. Barnes's whole ministerial life was influentially connected, was that which led to the division, and at last to the reunion, of the Presbyterian Church. It looked toward such an adjustment of human liberty and divine sovereignty as would secure for personal responsibility a profound emphasis, while still exhibitiv of man's absolute dependence upon God's sovereign will and pleasure for salvation. It was aggressive and yet conservative. It involved a change in the methods of presenting gospel truth, and a change in traditional terminology.

Some men saw in it a grave peril to sound theology, threatening the integrity of the entire Calvinistic system. Others viewed it as a wholesome effort so to state the great doctrines of grace as to be loyal to the truth on the divine side, while giving the human will a more responsible activity. Beyond a doubt, the extreme of the movement as seen in New England, and possibly in other quarters, swept men to an assertion of human ability, and of related truths, out of all harmony with the recognized teaching of Calvinistic theology.

The controversy within the Presbyterian Church was long and bitter, culminating in the division of the church in 1837. These were painful years to Albert Barnes. But through them all he bore himself with a firmness that never passed by its excess into obstinacy; with a gentleness that never degenerated into weakness; and with a patience that was never ruffled. Tenaciously holding to what he believed to be the truth, expressing with no "bated breath" his own convictions, condemned by a lower judicatory, but acquitted at last by the highest court known in the church, he came out of the conflict as he had entered it, with a character untarnished and a name above suspicion or reproach. However men may have differed as to the soundness of some of his doctrinal statements and positions, they did not differ as to the purity of his motives and the guilelessness of his spirit.

Mr. Barnes remained conspicuously connected with what was known as the New School Branch of the Presbyterian Church, until in 1869

the separate bodies came together again, in substantial and catholic unity, on the basis of the common standards — the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Catechism. With pen and tongue, through press and pulpit, this laborious and able man of God unquestionably contributed largely, by his temperate and balanced presentation of the agency of God and man in redemption, to that state of things which made the reunion of the Presbyterian Church possible, and which so happily characterizes the union as actually accomplished. And whether or not all would express themselves as in accord with his "views" and terminology, all will most certainly believe this public avowal

Fidelity to
truth.

which he made late in life: "I have aimed in my ministry to declare the whole counsel of God. I have embraced the Trinitarian system of religion and the Calvinistic system, and have not concealed the features of these systems from the world. I have endeavored to set forth the doctrines of human depravity and of the atonement and of the necessity of regeneration by the Holy Ghost. I have defended the doctrine of decrees, of election, of justification by faith, and of future retribution. I have endeavored to show to men that they could be saved by no merit of their own, and that their own works will avail them nothing in the matter of justification before God." Surely, he not only "fought a good fight," but he "kept the faith."

As he approached the close of his life, his own testimony was that "the objects of eternity became overpoweringly bright and grand." Yet he did not lose his interest in this world, as the scene of the development of the great plans of God. He cherished to the last the cheerfullest views of the world, of the certain progress of the race, of the destiny of man. "Never," said he in his seventieth year, "never in the history of the world, did young men enter on their career with so much to cheer them, to animate them, to inspire them with hope, to call forth their highest powers for the promotion of the great objects which enter into the civilization, the progress, and the happiness of man. The opinions of a man at seventy years of age have been long maturing, and he is not likely materially to change them. I shall cherish these views till I die, and I shall close my eyes in death with bright and glorious hopes in regard to my native land, to the church, and to the world."

He was full of years and full of honors when God called him to the higher honors of the skies. What shall we say of such a man? He was distinguished by a rare balance of faculties. He had also a rare command of his faculties. He was "conscience incarnate," a man for the stake, if need be, but not for a compromise of what he believed to be the truth. Yet his heart was full of charities withal. His affectionateness and childlikeness won for him a peculiarly tender regard. As a friend he knew no guile, there being deep-rooted in his heart every ten

der and sympathetic virtue. As a man, he was singularly regardful of the rights of man, and was always the champion of all that were oppressed and that were of low degree. As a patriot he loved his country too well to defend her in wrong. As a pastor he won and kept his people's hearts. As a reasoner he was calm, comprehensive, logical. As a commentator he was remarkable for simplicity, clearness, and fidelity. As a preacher he was instructive, convincing, balanced, and bold, never breaking faith with truth. As a man of God he witnessed a good confession, and dying the death of the righteous, he passed into "the better country." The fragrance of his name fills the whole earth. — H. J.

LIFE XXIX. THOMAS HEWLINGS STOCKTON.

A. D. 1808—A. D. 1868. METHODIST PROTESTANT, — AMERICA.

THIS eminent Christian was born at Mount Holly, Burlington County, New Jersey, June 4, 1808. His ancestry was respectable, intelligent, pious. His religious views were decidedly Methodistic, his inclinations and preferences having been influenced by his social surroundings, as his grandfather's family, his father's family, and his early associates were connected with that denomination of Christians, himself uniting in that church fellowship in early life. His attachment to the Wesleyan doctrines and means of grace was ardent, unflinching, throughout his life; nor did his dissent from the Methodist Episcopal Church order ever dull his affection for the denomination, or interfere with his pure love for those who preferred and sustained its ecclesiastical arrangement.

His opinions of church order, that led him into dissent from the ecclesiasticism in which he was trained, grew out of the peculiarity of his mind, and his close observance of the Scripture history, impressed as he was with the evident facts that our divine Lord forbade ^{His father} mastery, requiring brotherhood, rejecting hierarchy, and demanding ministry, service. Accordingly, when "his father, William S. Stockton, son of two of the earliest Methodists in the State of New Jersey, — 'a simple-hearted, active-minded, observant, thoughtful, honest, earnest, zealous, sanguine American freeman and Christian, desiring and aiming only to do good, and setting so much value on all great rights and interests as to be willing to toil and make sacrifices in their behalf,' — originated in 1821 the 'Wesleyan Repository,' open to the discussion of such reforms as were deemed desirable in the ecclesiastical polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at a time when the son was of an age to become deeply interested in such matters, this publication and the controversy growing out of it led to radical views by Thomas Stockton on church government."¹

¹ *Memorial Discourse*, by Rev. J. G. Wilson.

In the same tender, loving, excellent discourse from which we have just quoted, we have the views of Stockton as to the comparative merits of spiritual and ecclesiastical Methodism. "Primitive Methodism appears to have been the purest and most useful revival of the truth as it is in Jesus, ever known in the history of the church. Even in its present numerous and diverse forms, I think it may be said of it, with entire propriety, at least in relation to our own country, that, if Providence should decree that only one of the existing systems of Christian agency should remain in existence after this night, there is reason to desire that it might be, and to believe that it would be, the great Methodist system; the most hopeful of all, by far, in view of the salvation of the people at large. But originally Methodism was only spiritual. Since then it has become ecclesiastical. Its spiritual character has always been its glory. Its ecclesiastical character has always been its shame. From the beginning, its government has been an intermitting volcano, starting, at various intervals, into flaming eruption, and filling the circuit of its power with saddest devastations. Alas, for all man's governments! Alas, for all over-government; all unyielding government, all idolized government! Would to God that Christ might be confessed all in all, that the time might be hastened in which 'the government shall be upon his shoulder' and nowhere else, in which his people shall be 'not without law to God, but under the law to Christ,' and to no one else."¹

He was no partisan; party spirit, machinery, schemes, he held in utter abhorrence. His mind, his heart, he knew to be open to the eye of God, and he never concealed them from the eye of man; any one who wished might know his aims and desires. Honestly endeavoring to be instructed by the divine word, he was never ashamed of what he had learned, but was ever ready to impart the sacred lessons to others, in the firm faith that true wisdom was to be derived from no other than the holy, copious source of all truth.

Having selected medicine as a profession, he commenced the study of it under Dr. Thomas Dunn, of Philadelphia, where he was then residing, but Providence had made a different selection; for the "Wesleyan Repository" having attracted the attention of Revs. N. Snethen, Asa Shinn, Samuel K. Jennings, Alexander McCaine, John S. Reese, and many others of the Methodist Episcopal ministry and laity, a reform in the government, so as to admit lay representation, in connection with the previous demand for an elective presiding eldership, and diminution of the episcopal prerogative, was insisted upon; terminating in the expulsion of some of the reformers in Baltimore and elsewhere, and compelling a distinct organization of another church, known as the Methodist Protestant Church, with lay representation and elective presidency, and without bishops.

Forming of the
Methodist Prot-
estant Church.

¹ *Memorial Discourse*, page 21.

This movement involved William Stockton and his son, of course, and they identified themselves with and took part in the moulding and outset of the new organization, of which they were sincere and self-sacrificing supporters, their pens, purses, and persons surrendered in hearty allegiance, as might have been expected of men of their integrity and piety. Young Stockton, after preaching a few times in Philadelphia, in 1829, was received as an itinerant into the Maryland annual conference of the Methodist Protestant Church, and appointed to a circuit on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, where his deep piety, his innate gentleness of manner, his extraordinary eloquence, and his inimitable style of preaching, secured the affection, admiration, confidence of the crowded audiences who attended his wonderful ministry of the glorious gospel of Christ. His pure Christian character, his exact truthfulness and integrity, his affectionate disposition and fraternal bearing, with his transcendent ability in the pulpit, — in connection with the prudence, talents, and marked ability of the superintendent of the circuit, Rev. Dr. John S. Reese, of sainted memory, and the meekness, pious deportment, learning, and ample ministerial endowments of their youngest colleague, the so much regretted Rev. Charles W. Jacobs, — fixed the eyes of very many upon the young church in which these excellent and gifted men ministered, and won for it popularity and support. The public saw that these ministers were true Christians, true Methodists, differing from others of that name not at all in doctrine, but only in ecclesiastical order, and gave them respect and support.

In 1830, Stockton, then but twenty-two years of age, was appointed a delegate to the convention which formed the constitution and discipline of the Methodist Protestant Church, and was stationed in Baltimore, superintendent of the two churches there comprising the station; his ministry drawing crowds of intelligent, appreciative auditors, and occasioning the conversion of many, and their adhesion to the young denomination. In 1832 he was returned to the Eastern Shore, and made his home in Easton, Talbot County, where his memory is still cherished by his surviving contemporaries. In 1833-1834 he was stationed in Georgetown, District of Columbia, and elected chaplain to Congress, where vast multitudes attested his popularity and unsurpassed power as a proclaimer of the gospel, which glowed in his heart and gushed in wondrous sweetness from his lips. He was pronounced to be nature's orator, and his gifts were regarded as extraordinarily eminent.

He was again stationed, 1836-37, in Baltimore, at St. John's, which had become a distinct charge. It was thought at this time by the best medical skill that his lungs were so much diseased that his stay upon earth would be limited to a few months. It is remarkable that when this opinion was communicated to him by his sympathizing and faithful physician, he could not credit it; he appearing to feel within him a

decided contradiction, an instinctive assurance that more days would be allotted him; and this remarkable experience re-occurred twice in other cities.

The general conference of 1828 elected him editor of "The Methodist Protestant," the official paper of the church, published weekly (as at this day) in Baltimore; but he could not consent to certain rules of publication established by the book committee, the controlling authority, and he declined the position, resigning his superintendency of St. John's, and removing with his family to Philadelphia. Here he preached in the hall of the Philadelphia Institute, Filbert Street, with his accustomed power and success; organized the First Methodist Protestant Church, 1839; dedicated their house of worship, a fine structure built at the corner of Wood and Eleventh streets; and ministered therein with great popularity and usefulness, until 1847, when he was invited to the Sixth Street Methodist Protestant Church, Cincinnati, where he remained the greater part of three years, exerting his usual commanding influence. Early in 1849 he was elected president of Miami University; but, while that position was very desirable for many reasons, he decided that duty required him to decline it, which he did, and remained at his post. Certain great plans for extending his influence beyond the limits of the specific church he was serving, and the Methodist Protestant Church generally, occasioning dissatisfaction, he resigned his superintendency December 24, 1849, and commenced services in the Unitarian chapel, where, though known to be a clearly pronounced Trinitarian, he was treated with a kindness that he ever after spoke of with grateful recognition. He next occupied the Masonic Hall, where he had more space, and for the use of which he had cause to express his sense of obligation; for he was the open opposer of all secret associations, although some of them embraced many of his most esteemed and beloved brethren and friends.

In the midst of his efforts in these unusual pulpits and engagements with the press, he received an invitation from St. John's, Baltimore, then an independent Methodist Protestant church, under the pastorate of Rev. A. Webster, D. D., to the position of co-pastor, with no other obligation than to preach in the evening of each Sabbath. He accepted, went on, commencing his labors to crowded congregations, and continued among those loving, admiring friends, with much usefulness, until 1856; when, after having aided in sustaining the pulpit of the Fayette Street Reformed Presbyterian Church, after the death of Rev. John M. Duncan, D. D., until they could find a pastor, he again returned to Philadelphia, where he continued to try to be useful, preaching and publishing, until 1860; when he was once more elected chaplain to Congress, and reelected in 1862.

In 1865, after a happy union of thirty-seven years, he was separated by death from his beloved, faithful wife, the mother of his eleven chil

dren; to which last fact he thus alluded, upon presenting her with a copy of Mrs. Welby's Poems: "Your poems, my dear Anna, are in *eleven* volumes. *Two* of them the Lord was so pleased with that He has put them, in gold binding, on a pearl shelf in his own library in heaven. The other *nine* are yet with us, awaiting his approval. May I stand by your side when you see them *there*, in one complete and beautiful collection."

The few years of his own further earthly stay were passed in great physical debility, but with no failure of his intellectual force or brilliancy. He bore clear testimony to the excellency of the gospel and the power of divine grace; conversing with his children and Christian friends, in his usual serene and instructive manner, until October 9, 1868, when he departed to his rest.

His intellectual endowments were wonderful; equally so were his oratorical gifts; the exact sympathy between his soul and body constituting him the most graphic and overpowering of preachers. His imagination was apparently inexhaustible; equal, as his auditors felt, to any demand upon it: from any high point, from which it might be supposed further ascent was impossible, he gracefully rose with the ease and freshness of an incipient flight. The same might be said of his logic and rhetoric; and to use those great powers, he had the most suitable instrumentality, in his tall form, dignity of manner, large expressive eye, clear voice of wonderful compass and force, perfect enunciation, the most pliable facial muscles, and such angelic sweetness of expression in his countenance, that at times he seemed to be unearthly.

The church in whose organization he took the deepest interest contains the elements that he approved, and in its communion he continued throughout life. Methodistic in its doctrines, means of grace, and modes; but in its order, non-episcopal, with an elective presidency, a regular itinerancy, balanced by a full lay representation; so that both the lay and ministerial delegates to the general conference, the legislative body, are elected by the votes of the ministers and laymen of the annual conferences, voting by order; a majority of each order being necessary to the election of any delegate, lay or ministerial. The progress of the church was embarrassed awhile, as in the case of others, by the slavery agitation, causing a serious division from the Southern conferences; but since the war this has been all harmoniously adjusted, and the several sections are once more acting in happy and prosperous union; their statistics entitling them to rank among the leading denominations of American Christendom. This result Dr. Stockton did not live to see; but though the Methodist Protestant Church was never just what he, or any of its founders, desired, yet he deemed it the most liberal form of Methodism, and continued his identification with it to the close. His heart longed for a union of all the

Characteristics
of the Meth-
odist Protestant
Church.

denominations of Christians, that the unity of spirit might be manifested in a unity of form; sectarianism disappearing, vanishing out of sight, substituted by blessed Christian unity; "that they all might be one;" the one Church of the one Lord; Christ the Master, Christians brethren: as it will be in the end, and as is now the tendency, evidenced by the mutual attraction of all evangelical denominations, as they pleasantly and efficiently coöperate in active exertions for the spread of the gospel, at home and abroad. — A. W.

LIFE XXX. JOHN TAYLOR PRESSLY.

A. D. 1795—A. D. 1870. UNITED PRESBYTERIAN, — AMERICA.

THE United Presbyterian Church of North America represents a type of Calvinistic Presbyterianism in close resemblance to that of the earlier history of the Church of Scotland. It was formed by a union of elements of secession from that church whose aim it had been to preserve some of its best attainments. The Reformed Church of Scotland, or, as sometimes called, the Covenanter, was constituted of those who refused to acquiesce in the Religious Settlement of 1688, mainly because of its annulling some of the covenant obligations of the church and kingdom of Scotland. The Associate Church of Scotland, sometimes called the Seceder, came into existence by the secession of 1733, in maintenance of the rights of congregations and the interests of the "marrow doctrines" of the gospel as endangered by the patronage and moderatism of the times. Men of both these churches appeared in this country before our Revolutionary War. After the independence of our nation had been secured, most of the ministers and members of these churches entered into the union which gave origin to what became known as the Associate Reformed Church of North America. Two ministers and several congregations of the Associate Church did not enter this union, but kept up its continued organization. They were soon strengthened by large accessions from the mother church in Scotland, and speedily grew into a strong and influential body. Both of these churches prospered — the Associate and the Associate Reformed — and worked each by the side of the other, sometimes talking and negotiating for union, but without avail until 1858, when they united on the basis of the Westminster standards in connection with a specific testimony for such doctrines of them as had suffered perversion or neglect, and against some of the more flagrant errors and evils of the times.

Thus came into existence what is now known as the United Presbyterian Church of North America. And nothing more is needed to indicate its distinctive character than the brief statement made of its origin

and the ecclesiastical elements from which it was formed. It is stoutly Calvinistic in faith and Presbyterian in order of govern-
 ment. The Psalms of the Bible, in the best possible version, United Presbyterians. are its authorized system of praise. Its laws of fellowship guard carefully the purity and good order of the church. In old-fashioned fortitude it arrays itself against all flagrant immoralities and evils, of whatever form and however formidable. It is uncompromisingly antislavery, and was so when slavery so dominated the land as to make even churches foster and defend it. And now it arrays itself with like faithfulness and fortitude against the scarcely less formidable evil of oath-bound secret societies, the great social evil of the times, demoralizing the church as well as society at large. In all respects it seeks to maintain the claims of God, the supremacy of his law and authority in all the relations of life.

Among those who acted a leading part in organizing this church, and in maintaining the principles it represents, no one was more conspicuous than John Taylor Pressly. He was born in Pressly's family Abbeville District, South Carolina, March 28, 1795. His ancestors were among the best people and most influential in the early history of his native State. It has been truly said of him, "He was an honored member of an honored family." In a large connection of such families his father and mother, David and Jane Pressly, were distinguished for intelligence and godliness. Their home was one in which the Lord dwelt and in which his name was honored. In such a home, where Christian instruction and Christian example were combined in forming the best home influence, the subject of this memoir was born and grew up to manhood. Every member of the family, including three brothers who became ministers of the gospel and two others who became distinguished physicians, and two sisters, one of whom became the wife of a minister and the other of a physician, gave to the world a useful and honored Christian life.

John, however, was the central figure of the family, and became the most distinguished. In early life he gave promise of his after eminence in piety and learning. He made a profession of religion while quite young, and as early manifested a love of study. His first church membership was in the Cedar Spring congregation, in connection with the Associate Reformed Synod of the South. He began his studies in an academy in the immediate neighborhood of his home. Afterwards he entered Transylvania University, Kentucky, where he was graduated in 1812, in the eighteenth year of his age. Long before this his mind had been turned to the ministry of the gospel. Determined to have the best theological training then to be had in this country, he repaired to the seminary in New York, at the time under charge of the famous Dr. John Mitchell Mason [see Life XXV.]. There he completed a full course of

three years' study, and returning home in the spring of 1815, he was licensed by the Second Associate Reformed Presbytery of South Carolina, as a probationer for the ministry.

For a year he devoted himself to missionary work, traveling on horse-
His work in the back through several of the Southern States, and so far
South. north as Pennsylvania and New York. On his return home, in the early summer of 1816, a call awaited him to take pastoral charge of the congregation in which he was born and was baptized, and in which he had made a profession of religion. This he accepted, and on the 3d of July of that year was ordained and installed as its pastor.

His pastorate of this Cedarville congregation continued for fifteen years, peaceful, pleasant, and prosperous. He had done his work as a preacher and pastor in a way to bind his people to him in the strongest and tenderest bonds of respect and affection. His heart was bound just as strongly to them. God had blessed his relation to them, and blessed his work among them. He would have been satisfied and glad to close his life in their service. But God had other work for him of more importance, and with a wider range of influence, and made the call to it so clear and conclusive as to be imperative. Hard as it was for him to be separated from a people endeared by so many precious associations, he could but obey.

He had become widely known, not only as a great preacher himself, but as one eminently qualified to educate preachers. The brethren of his own synod had recognized this, and had invited him to become their theological professor. He did not see his way clear to give consent. Soon after the Associate Reformed Synod of the West had its attention turned to him for a similar work. It had established a theological seminary at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 1825, that had begun a work of great promise. Its chair of theology had been made vacant by the death of its first professor, Dr. Joseph Kerr. After searching diligently and prayerfully for one to fill this vacancy, the synod with entire unanimity elected this rising man of the Synod of the South. In all the proceedings which resulted in his election, and in the manner of it, the leadings of Providence were manifest. Deeply impressed with a sense of the divine call to this work he obeyed, and at once began his preparations to engage in it. He was elected on the 10th of October, 1831, and at the opening of
Begins his work the next year, the 5th of January, 1832, appeared in Pitts-
in Western burgh, and the week after entered on the duties of his pro-
Pennsylvania. fessorship. His singular fitness for the work was soon recognized and widely known, and added a new and great attraction to the seminary. Students were drawn to it from all parts of the church, North and South.

His powers as a preacher were as soon and as generally felt, and caused no little rivalry among the vacant congregations in the vicinity of the

seminary for his pastoral services. A congregation recently organized in the neighboring city of Allegheny was the most convenient, and, although at the time among the youngest and feeblest of the congregations seeking his services, was preferred. Its call, made October 15, 1832, was accepted. At the next meeting of the synod the seminary was located in Allegheny, instead of Pittsburgh.

The pastorate now begun was one of the most successful of modern times. The audiences increased week by week. The membership multiplied correspondingly. In a short time, the little congregation had grown into one of the largest and most influential of its denomination, or indeed of any denomination, in the vicinity. A new and larger church building was soon required to accommodate the swelling numbers; and still another, larger and more commodious, with the finest auditorium in the twin cities, was built before Pressly's death. His pastorate of this congregation, covering thirty-eight years, was remarkable for an unbroken confidence and affection between pastor and people. They were a mutual joy and rejoicing to each other. To his people there was no preaching like his, or deportment so truly and nobly Christian. His influence over them seemed unbounded. We cannot wonder at the success of his ministry among them. So strong in the hearts of his people, so strong in his own character, so mighty in the Scriptures as he proved himself to be, and withal so watchful, faithful, and tender as a pastor, the wonder would have been if the results had been less. And not in his own congregation merely did the effects of his work appear.

While it so prospered, other congregations by overflows from it were gathered around it, which have since become large and influential. The present strength of his denomination in and around the two cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny is largely due to the power he put forth for it. And it is, perhaps, not claiming too much to say that other evangelical denominations owe much to the influence of his life and work. He impressed himself on the whole religious community in which he lived. When he died people of all the denominations felt that a great man had fallen in Israel.

He died on the 13th of August, 1870, in the seventy-sixth year of his age and the fifty-fifth of his ministry, leaving a memorial in his work and a fragrance in his name through which his memory has been made dear to countless hearts.

A man of such prominence among his brethren and such usefulness in the church, it must be believed, had some uncommon elements of power. Everything in him and about him as he stood among men, and in every sphere in which he moved, marked him as a ^{His personal appearance.} man above the general average of men. He had a commanding personal appearance. He was blessed with great bodily strength in stately form, and moved with a dignity, even majesty, that commanded attention

and admiration wherever he appeared. In social life his presence was always felt as that of a great man, above all as a man of God.

His mind seemed to be formed on a corresponding scale, and capable, with ease, of an amount of work under which most men would have sunk. The magnitude of the mental work through which he went, without any apparent difficulty, was wonderful. For sixteen years he had the whole work of the seminary in connection with the most arduous pastoral labors. Part of this time he edited a religious newspaper. And all this time he had a leading part to act in the councils and the management of the general work of his church. And with all this, done with scrupulous punctuality and completeness, he found time to contribute largely to the periodical literature of the times, and to prepare several volumes on disputed points in theology. The man who could do with ease all this work must have had no ordinary power. Something, it is true, must be credited to his order of working, so systematic as to have a time and place for every part of it, each part receiving the needed attention at the proper time. This was a mental habit with him, into which his naturally strong and facile mind readily fell. It shows the value of system, but it also shows the greatness of the mind that so worked and to such grand results.

His preaching was of the best style of the pulpit, that which threw its whole force into the exposition and application of the Word of God. There was nothing of the sensational or rhapsodical in his style. It made no pretense of meeting the ideals of those who think of pulpit powers as made up of dazzling human thought set in the forms of a fastidious rhetoric and delivered with the studied arts of oratory. It was the simple, clear, earnest preaching of a man who knew and felt that it was the truth of God that was the means of saving souls, and who gave all his power to explain and impress this truth on the minds and hearts of his hearers. He was remarkable for clearness of conception and expression. Here, perhaps, was his great power as a preacher. But he had also a good delivery. His fine personal appearance, his strong, sonorous, and well modulated voice, and his action, always dignified and solemn, gave to his delivery power approaching the magisterial. He excelled in expository preaching. While no man knew better than he how a sermon should be constructed to best bring out the truth and force of a text, he delighted in explaining the Word of God in its connection and continuity, and much of his preaching was of this kind. He has left rich products of his expository studies, which, it is hoped, will yet be given to the public.

As a professor of theology he had few if any superiors. It was here that his clear, comprehensive, richly furnished, and finely disciplined mind appeared at its best. He was a master in every department of the course of study, and made his instruction so

His work as
professor.

clear that only the veriest dullard could fail to understand him. The great principles of theology, as taught by him, appeared as verities not to be questioned. So they were seen, at least, by his students; with them he was oracular. They venerated him as a teacher, and loved him as a father. Some among them have finished their work and have gone to the reward of the labors for which he trained them. But hundreds of them still live, holding his name in most affectionate remembrance, and showing in their work the impress of his teaching. Through them he being dead yet speaketh. It is as if his voice were still sounding in the church. It is more. It is the influence of his life and work going out in varied and multiplied channels in the interest of sound doctrine and the saving power of the gospel.

It is not for us to know now how far that influence will yet reach; how many, in its widening circle, it will bring into the kingdom as the ages pass; or how many will be in the world of glory as the grand result. All that must be left to the revealings of eternity. It is enough now that we have the instruction and animation of the example of a man who lived such a life and left such a living memorial of himself. — D. R. K.

LIFE XXXI. JOHN EGEDE.

A. D. 1686—A. D. 1758. LUTHERAN, — GREENLAND.

WHENEVER anything notable has been done for the kingdom of God, it will be found that the task has been performed through a single individual. Some one person has conceived the enterprise, having been equipped and prepared for the work in some peculiar way. This is true of the mission in Greenland. Its never-to-be-forgotten leader, like Von Westen, the pioneer of the mission to Lapland, was a Norwegian.

In the southern part of Seeland island, a region noted for its beautiful forests, green coves, and glassy lakes, lived in the sixteenth century, in the parish of Egede, a preacher of some note, ^{Egede's family.} named Hans Colling. His descendants adopted the name Egede (from Eich, or oak) from the village in which the family resided. A son of the house, Paul Egede, moved at a later period to Norway. He was a civil officer in the Nordland district, and the parish of Tenjen. His wife bore him a daughter and three sons. The eldest one was the renowned John Egede, born January 31, 1686.

As a youth, John studied in Copenhagen. When twenty-one (1707) he preached in Waagen, in the parish of Salten, and in Nordland. He there married his excellent wife, Gertrude Rask, who has won with him an immortal name. He now first heard of the settlement in earlier days of Greenland by emigrants from Iceland, of the establishment there of

a church with bishops, and that for centuries the country had been separated from the civilized world and had sunk back into heathenism. Egede supposed that the present inhabitants were descendants of Norwegians or Icelanders. He was filled with the thought of rekindling in Greenland the quenched flame. He could not rest. This was the day of the new dawning of mission activity in the evangelical church. Frederick Fourth, of Denmark, had sent missionaries to Tranquebar, to lead the heathen there to Christianity. Thomas von Westen had begun his blessed work in Lapland. The Moravians had been awakened to think of missions through the visit of Zinzendorf to Copenhagen. Mission efforts, it is true, were detached, and in a measure unintelligent. Yet the seeds which were to grow to the great tree had already been planted in the soil of the church.

How long Egede carried in his heart the thought of his enterprise, what obstacles he met in his home or in his neighborhood, how often his hopes were frustrated and himself laughed at as a fanatic or dreamer, how often doubts entered his own heart whether his burning zeal for the reviving of dead souls in Greenland was not a device of the devil, and how frequently he went for support to the Word of God, there is not time to tell. The sweetest victory which God gave him was in his wife, Gertrude Rask, who had detained him from his enterprise through considerations such as flesh and blood had presented to her. Her will was changed so that she was filled with as great longing to go to Greenland as was her husband. She grew to be his staff, arousing his courage; his comrade, never desponding, never fainting even in the sorest of life's emergencies.

At last we find Egede, after ten years of enduring trials, oppositions, and disappointed expectations, with his wife and four little children setting sail, May 2, 1721, from the harbor of Bergen. Three vessels and forty-six persons now, after hard enough effort, accompanied him to the land of his desire. The 12th of June they could descry the coasts of Greenland, but they were surrounded by fearful icebergs which threatened to crush their ships, nor could they find any way through. The shipmasters lost courage. The sailors wanted to turn and go home, the peril was so great. It seemed, even to Egede, that God had forsaken him. In this hour of need Egede appropriated the promise of the one hundred and seventh Psalm to those "that go down to the sea in ships." He got comfort too from the story of Paul's shipwreck. His prayers were answered. The vessels found their way through. The land of his heart and his prayer was reached. They landed July 12th, on the island of Imeriksok, at the west extremity of the district of Baals. He named the place Good Hope (Godthaab).

With what eyes must Egede have looked upon the poor inhabitants of this ice-encircled coast, in whom he had expected to find the descendants

After ten years
sails for Green-
land.

of the old heroic Northmen! For he had before him an entirely strange race, with a peculiar language, of a construction different from every other known tongue. There is not space here to describe the Esquimaux. Subsisting upon the coasts of Greenland and Labrador by the taking of seals and of fish, and by hunting, they, happy in their conceit, called themselves men (Inuit), all others aliens (Kablunät). Their conceptions of things spiritual were very limited. They had few names for all that could not be seen by the eye. Their "Angekokks," or "medicine-men," shrewder than the others, wielded a kind of rule over them. Other government was unknown. Communism in earnings and enjoyments was everywhere the rule. Their dwellings were low huts of mud in the winter, and tents of skin in the summer.

Egede, with the untiring industry which had distinguished him at home, labored for the poor souls for whose sake he had left his fatherland and his office. With immense labor he mastered the Greenland tongue. He brought his children up with the Greenlanders that they might acquire the language and the accomplishments upon which the people prided themselves. He found an especial helper in his son Paul, who was afterward his successor, and the maintainer of the mission. There is something very affecting in the way in which he dealt with the Greenlanders in reference to divine truths. He had his son draw pictures of Bible personages and events. He would then explain them as well as he could to the attentive listeners. He received Esquimaux children into his family to gain through them the language and the affection of their parents. He did not shrink from staying in the fearfully stinking huts of the people. He and his faithful wife knew nothing save love and patience, the fruit of their faith in Him who had loved and called them. What trials of faith did Egede not have to undergo! His circumstances at home had compelled him to seek the support of the Bergen trading company, and of the Danish government. This connection of trade with the mission, of an established church authority with a work of Christian love, became a scandal from which the mission in Greenland has even now hardly recovered. When business was unprosperous, the merchants threatened to withdraw their support. At last this actually came to pass. Commerce had no thought of promoting Christianity, and often sent to Greenland immoral, depraved people, who tore down by their scandalous lives what Egede had builded up. The government had undertaken both the Greenland commerce and the Greenland mission. It knew as little about one as about the other. One grand plan of colonization after another, unsuitable every way, was projected, and soon came to an end. The colonists sent over were men and women from houses of correction, who soon put an end to themselves. King Frederick Fourth dying (1731), his successor Christian the Sixth, seeing no material returns from Greenland, at the commence-

An Esquimaux
to the Esqui-
maux.

ment of his reign issued the strict command that all the colonists should be withdrawn, and that all Europeans should come home. This was to Egede a fearful blow. The germs and blossoms which even now were appearing would all be destroyed! He could not bring himself to agree to forsake Greenland, neither could his dear wife. Lying upon a bed of sickness, she strengthened her husband, and persuaded from eight to twelve persons to remain with him. Resting on God, who is rich to all who call upon Him, Egede's faith was not put to shame, though it had many a trial. Terrible inward struggles came upon him; his soul was beset with anguish. He thought that he was forsaken of God. Though comforted by his comrades and children, he could not find repose "till his God pitied him, rescuing him from hell, and bringing him again to life." It was a misfortune too that the king, again inclining to the mission (1733), gave permission, at the entreaty of Count Zinzendorf, to the Moravian Brethren to settle in Greenland. Their coming was a blunder, not only because the ways of the Moravians, who gather the people about them in one spot, were ill suited to the Greenlanders, who as nomads must go from place to place in order to get a living, for which cause the Moravian colonies are still the very poorest; but also because Egede, who at first welcomed the Brethren, became suspicious of the orthodoxy of the Moravians, as did many in that day. Out of this grew an unedifying correspondence between Egede and the Moravians, the latter taking his well-meant words angrily. Even till to-day there is no hearty union of the Danish and Moravian missions in Greenland. They labor not with each other, but alongside of each other.

Still God's Word made quiet progress. Many souls were won by the Great Fisher of Men through the hand of his faithful servant. Two losses, however, affected Egede's heart very painfully. A Greenland boy, the only survivor of six who had been sent (1731) to Copenhagen, came back, alas, bringing with him the small-pox. One of Egede's darlings, Christian Frederick, sickened and died, as did the boy. Quickly the disease spread, raging fearfully among the natives, who had never known such a plague. There died at Good Hope five hundred within a few months. Those infected hurried from place to place, in spite of every entreaty and warning, and carried the pestilence north and south. From two to three thousand were sacrificed to sickness, despair, and ill ways of living. At this period of fearful trial, the love and patience of Egede and his wife shone forth in the clearest light. Who can avoid being amazed, seeing husband and wife nursing the sick, taking them into their home, seeking out everywhere the poor, giving them bodily help and Christian consolation, and putting the dead in their graves? Egede lived as it were in a graveyard. "Was he right in not leaving the country in 1731? Was not the trial a divine chastisement?" This question came to him when he beheld the great desolation which the

Gertrude Egede's
great faith.

sickness had produced. The sorrowing laborer was comforted of God by finding so many of the dying who in their last hours thanked him for their souls' salvation, and so many of the living who now opened their stubborn hearts to the gospel. Thus this sorrow was made a door through which many entered into the kingdom of God.

A still severer trial came to Egede before he was able to lay down his pastorate in Greenland. His faithful companion in joy and in sorrow, Gertrude Rask, succumbed to the fatigues of the hard life and the seasons of severe sickness. She fell asleep in the arms of her dear ones, happy in her faith in her Saviour. Egede felt deeply her loss. He knew what she had been to him in times of struggle and of want, of suffering and of trial. He was thankful though afflicted, for he comforted himself in the departure of his wife by the sure hope of their joyful reunion.

Meantime his son Paul had finished his studies in Copenhagen, had been ordained, and had come back to Greenland (1734).

Egede could commit the work into his hands. The govern-^{Egede's son takes up the work.}ment granted leave to the weary wayfarer to lay down his office and come back to Denmark. He gave a farewell address (from Isaiah xlix. 4), under which the hearts of the Greenlanders, who flocked from all sides, grew warm. He felt that he could do something at home for his cherished field, and with his weakened strength could do nothing more in Greenland. With the remains of his wife, of one son, and of two daughters, he left the scene of his care and sorrow on August 9, 1736, and reached Copenhagen September 9th, where in the Nicolai Church he found his faithful companion a grave.

He toiled in Copenhagen for the Greenlanders in many ways. Laborers for the mission were needed. At his motion a Greenland seminary was begun, in which those who would go to that land as missionaries could be instructed especially in its language. He was given the oversight of the mission. The mission college was supported by the state. We will not here consider how little his enterprise was promoted by this college. The dear old Egede found his labor in it repugnant. He asked and received his dismissal (1747), and settled in Stubbekjøbing, on the Island of Falster, with his married daughter. He there spent the evening of his life, till upon November 5, 1758, he was called to his Master. He was buried in Copenhagen by the side of his first wife, for he had married a second time (in 1740). His funeral discourse was preached by pastor Dorph from the significant words, "There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. The same came for a witness to bear witness of the light, that all men through him might believe." Egede had labored for half a century, and at his death was seventy-two years of age.

The memory of the just is blessed. Egede's children labored in

Greenland a long time. We find among them Paul Egede, a name never to be forgotten, John Egede Saaby, Henry Christopher Glohn, and others. In the closing decade of the last century and the first of the present, the love felt to the people so far away was chilled by the cold wind of rationalism. The mission college slowly died. With few exceptions, the men sent out were youths who had passed their examinations in Copenhagen only tolerably, and went to Greenland to establish a claim to some place at home. The indestructible power of the gospel is shown in that Christianity which was preserved and advanced in Greenland chiefly by simple native catechists, who united fishing and hunting with their work, yet struck its roots deep into the soil. The population has not diminished, but increased. There are from nine thousand to ten thousand souls, who through God have become a changed people. When life was reawakened in the church at home, it sent fresh germs of life to Greenland. The laborers there, now, according to the judgment of the present writer, who knows them well, are faithful servants. At eight stations, four in North Greenland (Upernivik, Omanak, Jacobshavn, Egedesminde) and four in South Greenland (Holsteinborg, Godthaab, Frederikshaab, and Julianehaab), there are ten ordained Danish ministers, and about forty native catechists. The Moravians also have five stations. Though the mistakes may have been many, yet the faithful founder of the mission shall join one day with a great multitude, saved in Greenland, to sing, "Unto Him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father; to Him be glory and dominion forever and ever. Amen." — C. H. K.

LIFE XXXII. DAVID ZEISBERGER.

A. D. 1721—A. D. 1808. MORAVIAN,—INDIANS OF AMERICA.

CHRISTIAN missions seem most successful when they raise a strong nation out of savagery, giving it new life and Christian civilization, thus introducing it to history. Yet they deserve our sympathy as well when they turn their love to a people near extinction, though they achieve little save to brighten at least its life evening by the trust and love of the gospel.

Such a people are the various tribes of American Indians. To Germany, to the brotherhood of Herrnhut, especially, accrues the merit of having shown them the kindness of Christ. This mission had, however, to contend with peculiar difficulties. These sprang far less from unsusceptibility or opposition on the side of the Indians, than from the feuds which prevailed in the period of which we have to speak. For not only

a constant strife existed between French and English for the mastery in America, but there arose also the great war in which the colonies struck for independence. In addition came the intrigues of European traders, who found that the conversion of the Indians hurt their business, and took advantage of military disturbances to calumniate the Moravians and to make them suspected by the English government. Thus on their missions there came frequent storms ever and again, wasting their field of toil when it stood out in fairest bloom. Such was the scene of the activity of the remarkable man of whom our story tells.

David Zeisberger was the son of a wealthy and pious farmer in the village of Zauchtenthal, in Moravia, where he was born April 11, 1721. Like many of their faith, his parents sought escape from the persecutions then waged by the Romanists of Bohemia and Moravia. They found refuge and welcome in Herrnhut, the newly founded colony of Count Zinzendorf [see page 472]. Soon, however, they journeyed on to America, whither many of their country people had gone before them. Their little son David they left behind under the care of the brethren in Herrnhut. When he was fifteen years old, Zinzendorf took him upon a journey with himself to Holland and placed him in the Moravian settlement of Herrndyk. The boy felt hampered by the strict discipline prevailing. He ran away, accompanied by ^{A runaway boy.} a youthful relative of like feeling, and embarked for America, the captain of a vessel giving him his passage. He gave his parents a surprise, not wholly pleasant, by his unexpected arrival.

The Brotherhood, engaged since 1733 in evangelizing the Indians, had in 1743 established a colony named Nazareth, some sixty or seventy miles to the north of Philadelphia. Two years earlier (1741) they had founded Bethlehem, on the Lehigh, a tributary of the Delaware. Thither David traveled, little impelled by that holy trait of love to the Master which so characterized his people. Yet even there, being asked if he would not be a Christian, he answered decidedly, "It will come, and all shall see that I am a converted person." But in his twenty-second year he gave no evidence of conversion. He was counted of no use for the purpose of the mission.

When, therefore, Zinzendorf, who had visited the Brotherhood in Pennsylvania, was returning to Europe (1743), it seemed advisable to let Zeisberger go also. He was moved to accompany the count; already the travelers were on board; the anchor was weighed. A companion of the count, David Nitschmann, asked Zeisberger if he were glad that he was going to Europe. "No," was the decided answer, joined with the confession that nothing was such a heart-desire to him as to be a Christian. "Then stay," was the advice of the kind brother. Zeisberger at once left the ship and returned to Bethlehem to remain in the forests of America.

Not long was it till the glimmering spark in the heart of the youth was kindled into a glow. Once there was sung in a meeting of the Brethren, —

"Abyss of love! eternal, blest, revealed in Jesus Christ profound!
How burns, how flames each fiery crest, whose measure mind has never found!
What lov'st Thou? Race of sin and shame. What sav'st Thou? Sons who curse thy name."

The words vanquished the young man's heart. Tears of penitence and gratitude rolled from his eyes. The love of God to sinners made on him a living indelible impress, turning his soul newly and powerfully to Christ.

His resolve was quickly taken. He would carry the gospel to the savages. To them — poor, hopeless, despairing heathen — he would announce the comforting message of God's grace, which blesses all who by faith embrace the Crucified. In an incredibly short time he acquired, with help given him by a missionary, the language of the Mohegans. With a little trouble he learned, by going among the Iroquois, the dialect of that widespread and powerful nation. Thus prepared, and full of the courage, perseverance, and patience of one whom Christ's love constrains, he began the work which he had made his life's task. It was not his design to take a settled station. His view was a broad one. He would labor among the tribes as such, and thus give his work permanence. He had found that the Indian races, especially the Delawares and the Iroquois, or "Six Nations," though frequently hostile to the whites, maintained treaties and friendly relations among themselves, and showed to missionaries living with them toleration and kindness.

Zeisberger was fitted, by his knowledge of the languages and customs of the Indians, for dwelling among them. In his love for them he adopted their way of life. In the hunt he killed the game with ready and skillful hand. He applied himself to their household arrangements and to Indian architecture. He thus gained everywhere among them immense regard and peculiar influence.

The mightiest among their tribes was the Iroquois, whose national affairs were treated in a gathering of chiefs held in Onondaga, on the south bank of Lake Oneida. There was the council-house, an edifice reared of lofty forest trunks, interlaced with bark of trees. In this, around a blazing fire, the chieftains gathered for consideration of their public matters after certain solemn forms. Thither we see Zeisberger journey oft repeated times, in the first period of his activity, through pathless wildernesses without inhabitants, going through a thousand dangers to mediate treaties and alliances by the council fires of Onondaga. He was assigned a place of honor among the chiefs, and as he knew by his mighty gift of language how to touch their hearts, his judicious counsels usually prevailed.

Zeisberger by
Lake Oneida.

His first journey to Onondaga was with Bishop Spangenberg, who in 1745 visited the Moravians in America. One day, all means of subsistence in the forests failed the pilgrims. They were exhausted by hunger and fatigue. Spangenberg turned to Zeisberger, and said affectionately, "My dear David, get your fishing tackle ready, and catch us a mess of fish." The other declined, since there could be no fish in such clear water, especially at that time of year. Spangenberg said, "Inasmuch as I ask it, my dear David, fish! Do it this once, if only out of obedience." "Well, I will do it," he said, but thought in his heart, "The dear brother knows just nothing about fish; and, indeed, it is out of his line of business." But when he cast his net, how was he surprised at once to find it full of a multitude of great fishes! The hungry men not only supplied their hunger, but by drying the rest at the fire made quite a provision for their further journey. "Did I not say to thee," Spangenberg asked with a smile, "that we have a good heavenly Father?"

Zeisberger strove with untiring zeal to Christianize some Indians whom he had gathered into a flourishing settlement. Telling them of God's love in Christ, and supporting his words by his love, he found his way to the hearts of the poor children of the forest. They heard their teacher's voice, even when it scourged them. They obeyed it as it called them, as was sometimes necessary, from relapse into their former mode of living. Once as he thus spoke, "as fathers talk to their children," a chieftain owned his instant overwhelming power, and said, "My brother, I feel subdued even as a little child." The glowing apostle-like fervor of Zeisberger forced him into the deepest forests and remotest wilds. Thus he reached Goshgoschink on the distant Ohio. The people were credited with having no equals in blood-thirstiness and wickedness. They put captives to death by the most refined cruelties. But even over them Zeisberger, through Christ's love, gained an influence. True, his counsels were at first little heeded. His life was sought. He had to dwell, his adherents with him, one whole winter in a blockhouse to escape their attacks, and at last was driven from this also. But the seed of the gospel which he had sown rooted itself even in such soil as this. The Goshgoschink council in solemn assembly agreed that every one in the village should be allowed to hear the gospel; that Zeisberger's pardon should be asked for the injuries inflicted on him, and that he should be assured of all friendship. They said, proud, blood-thirsty warriors, that they were his brethren; his God should be their God; they were ready, too, whithersoever he would go, to go with him.

Zeisberger's quiet labors in converting and training the Indians were often hindered. Through traders from Europe hostile tribes were stirred up against the mission settlements. Attacks occurred more than once, ending in horrible massacres. Calumnies against the missionaries were

carried to the government, bringing on them legal persecution. More than once Zeisberger felt constrained to flee with his newly won church, like a second Moses, through endless wildernesses, deep into the densest forests of America. He would save his people from perdition at the hands of Christian civilization. The hardships of such journeys were unspeakable. The wanderers press through pathless wilds, climb mountain ridges, cross rushing rivers, often exposed to sore dangers from hostile Indians. Victuals failing, the adults allay hunger by ill-tasting roots, the children by the peeled-off bark of the slippery elm. They obtain help of God even in these extremities. Often they are strangely delivered. At last the wanderers reach a resting-place, under Zeisberger's leadership; a new settlement is made by the industry of his flock. Neat cabins, fields, and gardens, with a little church, meet the gaze. Leisure is granted the preacher to train the community, instructing them by Scriptural selections, and by hymns in the Delaware and the Mohegan. Thus, for more than a quarter of a century, Zeisberger labors, with unspeakable efforts and invincible energy of mind, to plant Christianity, by means of love, among the poor natives, and to guard it when planted from growing dangers.

In 1771 Zeisberger met Netawatmis, chief of the Delawares, a remarkable man, of strong and decided character, and was invited by him to form a new settlement on the Muskingum, far beyond the Ohio. The invitation was accepted. The colony of Schönbrunn rose (1772) and thrived splendidly. Netawatmis then invited the Indian communities elsewhere established, of which some stood in rich bloom, to join Schönbrunn. So under Zeisberger's lead a little Christian state was erected in the deepest forest, an oasis in the spiritual waste of Indian heathendom. The number of converted Indians reached four hundred and fourteen. A new and joyous life of faith and love prevailed. The chief's family became Christian. Netawatmis himself, although he attended divine worship constantly, to his sorrow could not decide to acknowledge Christ. Another chief of the Delawares, Killbuck, also called White-Eyes, resembling his comrade in valor, magnanimity, judgment, and moral character, was won to the gospel side. The new converts grew in spirit, in knowledge, and in strength of believing. Zeisberger was and continued the soul of all, flourishing among these sons of the forest as a patriarch in the midst of his family, respected, loved, and revered by all. He was wont to name these the golden days of his life.

They were of short duration. Netawatmis died in 1777. When he felt his end near, he summoned the chiefs and counselors of the Delawares. He expressed to them his wish that all the Delawares receive the gospel, and suffer not the name of Christ to perish from their nation. They promised him to fulfill, as far as possible, his desire. Then he called

Zeisberger settles
in what is now
Ohio.

Zeisberger, and begged him to tell something more of the love of Christ. In the midst of the missionary's prayers, offered with tears and deep groans, the old man closed his eyes. All the chieftains stood tremblingly about the couch of their dead leader ; then White-Eyes spoke, the Bible in his hand : —

“My friends, you have just heard the last wish of our dead chief. Let us obey him. We will kneel down before God who created us, and pray Him that He will be gracious to us and reveal his will. As we cannot tell to those yet unborn the holy covenant which we have sworn by this corpse, we will pray the Lord our God that He will make it known to our children and children's children.”

To the funeral of the chief came a numerous embassy of the Iroquois. Tribe jealousy was forgotten. Iroquois and Hurons approached with Delawares in silent grief the place of burial. The chief of the Iroquois embassy wrapped the body in clean buckskin, and strewed the grave with oak leaves. Zeisberger was among the mourners, wearing a Delaware dress. As the earth covered his friend's body he wept bitterly, before the eyes of all, an outburst of feeling to which the others by their rules were strictly forbidden to give way.

After this the war of American independence broke out. The missionaries, led by Zeisberger, employed every means to keep the Indians neutral. Nevertheless parties rose among them, creating variance between the tribes. An English governor at Detroit, below Lake Huron, incited the Indians against the Americans. Thus the missions were in danger from different sides.

Zeisberger, with his people, quitted the sweetly flourishing Schönbrunn, having first destroyed the dwellings and the church to save them from pagan outrage. For a time he dwelt in a settlement near by. His life was threatened, and was saved as by miracle. He made a journey to Bethlehem with this result, that at the desire and request of the brethren, he took in his sixtieth year a wife, Susanna Lekron. Returning, he and two helpers were taken by a British agent, named Eliot, and were put in chains. All the villages of the Christian communities were destroyed, their churches thrown down, and the dwellings burned. Only on the pledge that they would promptly emigrate with the Christian Indians to the Sandusky River, were the missionaries set at liberty. With sorrowful hearts the little persecuted band looked back at the wasting of their dwelling-place on the Muskingum, where the grace of God had been so richly shown them, and the gospel had made so blessed a progress, and arrived after an endlessly painful and perilous roaming of four weeks on the southwest bank of Lake Erie. Here a place of dwelling Zeisberger by Lake Erie. had been assigned them by the British commandant. It was sterile and inhospitable. Winter was at the door. Yet the persecuted band did not lose courage or cast away hope.

Soon the missionaries were summoned to Detroit before the British governor to answer accusations. With three associates Zeisberger, in this inclement season, had to undertake the laborious journey. Benumbed by cold, tormented by hunger, with clothing rent and soiled, carrying their luggage upon their backs, the messengers of Christ entered Detroit. They had to wait for hours before the governor's door. They were then directed to a French family, by whom they were kindly entertained.

An Indian chief named Pipe was set up by the governor as Zeisberger's accuser. He came into court, carrying in his left hand a stake, upon which were two human scalps all bloody; but he and his comrades failed in the work of accusation. He explained rather that the missionaries were good men. The father (the governor) should speak good words to them. The missionaries were acquitted by the governor, and assured by him that their Christian labors pleased him. They were allowed to return to their people, were supplied with clothes and other necessities, and told that a door of welcome would ever be open to them.

The much-trying men gladly turned to their abode on Lake Erie. Deep distress was soon after experienced. The cold had greatly increased. Their provisions were almost exhausted. They were in danger of dying from the rigors of the climate. Some of their number were sent off to their former home on the Muskingum to collect some grain left there, and to bring it. They fulfilled their errand, and were returning when an American scouting party of several hundred white men made their appearance. The Indians, since they were peaceful, thought that they had nothing to fear. The whites seeming friendly, the Indians joined their ranks. But scarcely had they approached when the others claimed them as prisoners, and bade them prepare within a few hours to die. In Christian resignation the Indians asked one another's forgiveness for wrongs which they perchance had done; then kneeled down and prayed fervently together. Resolutely they said to the inhuman mob, "We have commended our spirits to God, and He has given us firm confidence of heart that He by his grace will receive us into his heavenly kingdom." Thereupon a daring villain snatched up a heavy hammer, and dashed in the skulls of fourteen of them. He reached the hammer to another with the words, "My arm gives out, do you make haste." And so were miserably slain ninety poor victims, reddening with their martyr-blood the earth. A few only escaped to carry the news of this act of infamy to their brethren. The heathen Indians, stirred deeply by this horrible murder, swore bloody revenge, which they also took. To Zeisberger it was the heaviest blow that ever befell him.

Meantime the British governor had assigned the missionaries a suitable tract of land on Lake Huron, for their settlement. The Zeisberger lives in Michigan. gospel there found an entrance into the surrounding tribes, the savage Hurons and Chippewas. The hostility of the Huron chiefs

prevented, however, the secure carrying on of these mission efforts. When, therefore, the American Congress, at the making of peace with the Indians, expressly reserved for the Christian converts the lands on the Muskingum possessed by them before, Zeisberger with his entire community, which had again increased to the number of three hundred or four hundred souls, decided to emigrate to the old loved residence. Twelve years lasted the journey, which was hindered now by the fury of the elements, now by disturbances breaking out anew. At last it was permitted our hero, the old man of seventy-six, after seventeen years' absence to set foot again upon the place of his love and his longing. He now called it Goshen, because he viewed it as the preparation place for his heavenly Canaan. There, in unbroken peace, he lived from this time on, honored and beloved of the poor Indians whose souls he had won for Christ, a teacher and model also for the younger missionaries.

Gently, yet perceptibly, the marks of an advanced old age came upon him. First, his feet refused him service, a sore trial to one who was accustomed by their help to carry about the bread of life. He yet had strength at eighty-seven to exchange letters with distant friends, and to undertake corrections of his writings upon the Onondaga and Delaware languages. At last he could not do even this. He became blind. Now he could only from his adoring heart exercise his mind upon the manifold grace of God which he had experienced in his eventful pilgrimage.

In October of 1808 he felt that the end was nigh. His sickness was painless. But one thing caused him unrest, the spiritual condition of the Indians. His children in Christ, clinging to him so fervently, entered in small companies to his couch. "Father," they said, "forgive us everything whereby we have caused thee pain. We will yield our hearts to the Saviour, and live for Him only in the world." The venerable man believed, exhorted, and blessed them. "I now depart to rest from all my labor, and to be at home with the Lord. He has never yet left me in need, and now, too, He will not fail me. I have reviewed my whole course of life, and have found that there is much here to be forgiven." After a silent prayer, he exclaimed, "The Saviour is near. He will speedily come to bear me home." In the midst of the singing of spiritual melodies which the Indians began, he gave up his spirit.

*Closing days in
East Ohio.*

Zeisberger lived to almost eighty-eight. Sixty-seven years he devoted with marvelous love, perseverance, and power to his ministry among the Indians. By his natural gifts, by his acquirements in the speech of the Indians, by the great influence he gained among them, by his decided and energetic disposition, fitting him to rule, he could easily have controlled the Indian tribes, and, by taking part in the war, have won fame and power. He preferred the quiet triumphs of the gospel, amid peculiar poverty and obscurity.

By the love of Christ which moved him, by the power of the Word, by zeal and courage, by self-denial and endurance, he became a truly apostolic character. As we look over the results of his preaching the gospel to the unfortunate Indian folk, the sorrowful question forces itself upon us: Were these poor aborigines of the New World so utterly unfitted for civilization through Christianity and religious training? Or weighs not their destruction as a sore crime on the soul of European Christian humanity? — K. F.

LIFE XXXIII. CHRISTIAN FREDERIC SCHWARTZ.

A. D. 1726—A. D. 1798. LUTHERAN, — INDIA.

THIS German name, with its memories, takes us away to the East Indies, that ancient land of wonders in nature and in art. Since the year 1000, its allurements and treasures have stirred blood-stained conquerors and greedy merchants from western lands to every art of deceit and violence. It was also to learn from those lands how beautiful upon its noble mountains and over its fertile valleys “are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace; that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth.” The Apostle Thomas, Christian tradition says, was the first apostle of the Indies. From him the “Syrian” Christians, who were found by the Portuguese explorers upon the coast of Malabar, traced their descent. It appears certain, that for more than fifteen hundred years there existed along the coast, from the northern extremity of India up to Malabar, a Christian church in the midst of the heathen. It received its bishops from the patriarchs of Babylon and Antioch, until the Portuguese and Jesuits (1599) brought them by their artifices under the Church of Rome, which was before unknown to them. Christian Armenians, too, were early found doing business as merchants in India. Rome and her Jesuits, led by Francis Xavier, a great man of his kind, “converted” the Hindoos by hundreds of thousands, to the papal church. They adopted the garments, manners, and customs of the pagan priests in order to achieve their end the more easily. The Portuguese were compelled to give way to the Dutch. But these, too, used secular means to make Protestants of the people rapidly and superficially. The seed of the life everlasting was not sown.

A genuine gospel mission was begun in India for the first time through the agency of Frederick Fourth, king of Denmark, when that nation obtained from the rajah of Tanjore the city of Tranquebar, upon the eastern coast. Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, a German, was recommended by August Francke, of Halle, to conduct a mission

*Modern missions
in India.*

in that territory. Supported by Denmark, Halle, and England, he performed great labors there from 1706 until 1718. His work was further carried on by Schultz, who completed a translation of the Bible into Tamil, which had been commenced by Ziegenbalg. After 1740 it was aided by Fabricius. Between 1706 and 1750 some eight thousand souls — Hindoo, Moslem, and Romanist — were brought to the evangelical faith. This success gave encouragement for pushing the work forward. A new instrument for this end was already chosen of God in Germany. By him the object sacred to the friends of Christianity in England, Denmark, and Germany was to be promoted in a most blessed way through almost half a century, and through the period of the first triumphant advance of the British flag in that large population of one hundred and twenty millions. His name was Christian Frederic Schwartz.

He was born October 26, 1726, at Sonnenburg, in Prussia. His parents were persons of estimation. His mother, dying when he was a child, consecrated him to the service of God. The excellent teacher of the Latin school in his town trained the boy early to the fear of God, and to silent prayer. Christian would often go away from his comrades to a solitary place to seek of God the forgiveness of his sins. The father, an intelligent and devout man, strictly exhorting his son to be sincere and self-denying, went with him on foot to the high school at Küstrin, where Christian became a diligent student, though chiefly with a view to secular ends. The impressive sermons of Pastor Stegmann counterbalanced the influence of frivolous companions. The family, especially the daughters, of a lawyer who was a friend of the leaders of the University of Halle, directed the youth to religion and to reading of a beneficial kind. He was attracted especially to August Francke's "Blessed Footprints of the Living and Almighty Creator" (as these were seen in the work of his famous Orphan House in Halle. See page 464). At two different times, when attacked by serious illness, Christian resolved to give himself entirely to God. His good resolutions were, however, not yet firmly established. When twenty years old he went to Halle University. Elected as a teacher of the Orphan House, he was strengthened in mind by the evening prayers which he was asked to conduct, and by the devotional meetings, led by Pastor Weiss. He now was enabled, with help from Francke, to resolve to live wholly for God. The text of his first sermon, "Master, . . . at thy word I will let down the net," was in harmony with the profound humility of soul and childlike trust in God's Word which he afterwards exhibited.

The youth was at this time led by Schultz, the missionary, who was then putting through the press at Halle the Bible in Tamil, to engage in the study of this southern Indian language. Little by little Christian entertained the thought of becoming a missionary. He heard with pleasure that Francke was looking

Schwartz at
Halle; becomes
a missionary.

about among the students for new recruits for the Indian mission. The resolve was awakened within him to offer himself for the work, if he could gain his father's consent. The elder Schwartz had different plans for his first-born. Yet after brief reflection he yielded, contrary to general expectation, and gave to his son, who had come to entreat him, his blessing, bidding him in God's name to forget the father's house and the fatherland, and to go and bring souls to Christ in the far-off country.

Schwartz came back with joy to Halle, having resigned magnanimously all claim to his patrimony in favor of his brothers and sisters. A few days after this he was offered a lucrative pastorate in Germany. But he had put his hand to the plow, and would not look back. He was ordained in September, 1749, with two others, in the Lutheran consistory at Copenhagen. In December, he went over to London, and by February 1, 1750, was ready to sail. For a whole month his ship was kept in the harbor of Falmouth by adverse winds. Other ships, which were at that time on the open sea, were in many cases wrecked. Schwartz recognized the first of his deliverances from danger. He was enabled to overcome seasickness and a severe attack of fever. He passed the months in study of the Scriptures, in other useful studies, and in prayer, till, on July 17th, he saw the coast of Cuddalore lying before him in all its glory. Not long after he had landed, his ship went down in a tempest. Schwartz and his comrades, in excellent health, reached Tranquebar July 30th, and were heartily received by the brethren. He there acquired the Tamil so rapidly that he was able in four months to preach his first sermon in the language in the church of Ziegenbalg. He plunged into his work. He began simple catechetical lessons with the youngest children in the Tamil and Portuguese schools. He carefully instructed two classes of candidates for church membership. The same year he introduced four hundred of these inquirers into the church through baptism. He addressed himself immediately afterwards to those journeyings which he so long continued throughout all southeast India as far as Ceylon. He published the glad tidings of salvation among Hindoos, Moslems, and Christians, in city and in country, to friend and to foe, in cold and in heat, in war and in peace, day and night, with a thousand-fold return of blessed results.

There we behold Schwartz sitting and teaching one day under the shadow of a majestic banyan of seventy paces circumference; another day under a little hut builded by himself of the leaves of the palm-tree; now upon a turf seat by the wayside, now in front of a pagoda, chafing in spirit at the wild excesses of superstition, while he addresses the deluded devotees in friendly way, adjuring them, "not as contemned, but as brothers, children of a common Father," to think upon making their peace with God! Again we hear him speaking upon the rampart of a fortress, amid the whirling clouds of dust, of repentance and of belief in the Lord, or singing in the palace of a mighty prince, whom he wins by

his Christian friendliness and frankness of address, the German hymn, "My God, to Thee my heart I give." Again he is standing at a threshing-floor, speaking to the natives busied in threshing out their rice, or is teaching the keeper of a garden to cultivate spiritual fruit, or he is in the hospital with the sick, or with the Brahmins on the bank of the sacred river, in the city gate, in front of the great mosque of the Moslems, or among the wounded in the English camp, where he hears an English soldier, who has followed his flag thirty-two years, in reply to the question, "How long hast thou followed the Lord Jesus Christ?" answer, "I have not yet entered his service." To-day Schwartz is on shipboard, and Moslem sailors listen to his stories of the life of Christ. To-morrow he is among Romanists, and they lend an ear to the man of peace. A prominent Hindoo, in conversing with him, said, "Thou art a priest of God to all kinds of people." He did indeed contrive, as did Paul, to be made all things to all men, that he might by all means save some.

The talents of Schwartz for mission work were so evident from the beginning that he was soon intrusted with the oversight and leadership of all the Christian congregations and schools south of the River Carery. Amid the noise of the war that was raging between England and France, he pushed on his work in and around Tranquebar. The pagans in many places received him with marked respect, and of their own accord contributed toward his support. But the Danish colony of Tranquebar was too narrow a place for his efforts. He went on foot, a friend with him, to the populous city of Tanjore, and there obtained leave to preach the gospel in the palace of the prince. Aided by British officers he builded in the great city of Trichinopoli a chapel and a school as the beginning of a station. In the year 1766 this charming and well-situated place was made his especial field of labor. Only eternity can unfold all the work done by him here or from here as a centre, all that he became to natives and Europeans, from Madura and Madras, even to Tinnevely, attracting co-laborers to him and imparting blessing to all ages and classes. His cordial nature, his affable address, his stores of information, his eloquence upon both religious and worldly matters, was for decades afterwards a delightful remembrance in the minds of those who met him. One man, who had been greatly prejudiced against Schwartz, furnished, after years of acquaintance and friendship, the following description: "The very first sight of the man made it necessary to lay aside prejudices. His clothing was generally pretty well worn, and out of the fashion. His form was above the average in height, well built, erect, and unassuming in its carriage; his complexion dark but wholesome, his hair black and curly, his look full of strength and manliness, gleaming with sincere modesty, straightforwardness, and benevolence. You may conceive the impression which even the first sight of Schwartz would make upon the

Becomes leader
of missions in
India.

minds of strangers." When he had fully mastered the copious, difficult language of the ancient intellectual and wealthy Tamil folk, he for five years studied thoroughly their entire mythology and literature, which proved incalculably useful to him in instructing and convincing the people of Malabar. He also acquired the Portuguese at Tranquebar, so that he might approach the large numbers of this nation scattered over India. In Trichinopoli, where Schwartz was cut off from all outside society, except for a time that of the missionary Dame in Tanjore, he accomplished a great deal with but very small means. Content with an apartment in an old Hindoo edifice, in which there was enough room for himself and his bed, he accepted with a cheerful countenance as his daily bill of fare a dish of boiled rice with a few vegetables. A piece of dark cotton cloth, woven and cut after the fashion of the country, was the clothing of his body the year through. Free from every care of earth, his only wish was to do the work of an evangelist among the poor Hindoos. The catechists, whom he raised up from among them, ate at his table, supported out of his yearly income of six hundred guilders. The great English garrison of Trichinopoli having no religious instruction or worship, Schwartz became interested in them. It must astonish every one who knows the English soldiery in India, to know that the missionary succeeded in winning over the entire force to the side of the gospel. At first he gathered them to public worship in an old out-building. But they soon decided that they could afford a part of their pay to erect a church edifice. Only a man like Schwartz could, with the small sum given him, have erected a beautiful, lofty, roomy structure. Besides, he builded a mission-house and an English and Tamil school, to which he applied the year's pay given him as chaplain of the garrison by the government of Madras. He declined a considerable legacy left him by an officer to whom he had imparted religious instruction. He refused the presents of the prince of Tanjore. For a missionary must show under all circumstances that selfish ends do not control him in his labors for the gospel.

Schwartz enjoyed good health the most of the time in this torrid country. The peace of heart which won him no boisterous delights, but a quiet, profound, constant joy, upheld and strengthened his body as it grew old. Under the Almighty's protection, he again and again was saved from great peril. Once, for example, when he had risen before daylight, he sat down near a very venomous serpent, but was not touched by it. At another time (1772), when the powder magazine of the fortress blew up and the ground was strewn with ruins and with dead bodies, he with his catechists, pupils, and church members remained unharmed. It was to be expected that Schwartz should turn to Christ thousands of people, tender children, rough soldiers, gentle youths, and hoary old men. He was found everywhere with comfort and aid, hastening to the wounded

and sick in body or in soul, and that in trying times and amid the terrible devastations of war. In Trichinopoli he lived to see how first twenty and then thirty soldiers covenanted to give themselves truly to Christ, and then supported their spiritual father by visits to the sick, but especially by an upright life among the heathen. After the year 1778, Schwartz made his permanent residence in Tanjore. His abode in Tanjore.

This city, built on what was counted holy ground, was a favorite abode of Hindoos, and was adorned with the most splendid pagoda in India, as well as with the wealthiest pagan institutions. Before this period Schwartz, from his knowledge of the language and public affairs of the country, and also from his disinterestedness and courage, had been made a mediator between the English government and the pagan princes. He was now most respectfully solicited by the English to go (1779) on an embassy to the rude conqueror, Hyder Ali of Mysore. Schwartz turned the journey to Seringapatam to account everywhere, preaching peace through Jesus Christ. At the court of the terrible foe of the English, he immediately won the public confidence. When, upon his return, a present of money was forced upon him by Hyder Ali, he gave it to the English government. When he was bidden keep it, he asked that it should be appropriated to the building of an English orphan asylum in Tanjore. He also builded a church in that city for the Tamil congregation. When Hyder Ali, deceived and enraged by the British, ravaged with an army of one hundred thousand men the province of the Carnatik, bringing all the horrors of war, famine, and death upon the field of Schwartz's labors, the latter proved himself an angel of deliverance to both soldiers and citizens. For seventeen months more than eight hundred hungry people came every day to his door. He collected money, prepared and distributed provisions to both Europeans and Hindoos, at the same time seeking to administer to them spiritual consolation. Such an impression had been made by him personally upon the terrible Hyder Ali, that the latter, amid his bloody victories, gave the strictest orders to his officers "to suffer the venerable Father Schwartz to go about everywhere without hindrance, and to show him all kindness, since he is a holy man, and will not injure me." Thus "the good father," as the pagans called him, could continue his peaceful seed-sowing among the hostile camps which had spread over the whole country. It was his intercession which protected the city of Cuddalore, in the face of the savage hosts of the enemy.

Schwartz was chosen by the English government (1785) a member of the council of administration for Tanjore. For his noble services in this office he was granted a British pension of one hundred pounds annually. When the old prince of Tanjore was given an heir to his crown, Schwartz was proffered the guardianship of the prince. He declined, naming instead the father's brother, Ameer Sing. The latter, in acknowledgment, gave him the revenues of a village for his Christian schools and orphan

children. When Ameer Sing behaved badly towards Sersudscha, the crown prince, Schwartz was obliged to become guardian, and to take a large share in the unsettled affairs of the state. He brought about an improvement in the administration of law and of finance, and an increase of the revenues. He was surrounded from morning till night by natives of every condition, whose disputes he settled; by needy widows, whom he employed in spinning and in other labor; by poor girls, who did knitting while he instructed them; by young catechists and missionaries, to whom he gave wise counsels. Besides all this, he engaged in preaching and in founding and conducting the schools of the province, the means for which he received from the old rajah of Tanjore, whose confidence he retained undiminished through a space of thirty years.

Thus Schwartz at seventy years of age remained in his full strength, a German oak in the land of the palm. His position grew ever more lonely; his old friends were gone; he was forewarned of his departure through a disease of the feet. Schwartz had remained unmarried (would that other missionaries could consent to forego marriage, at least at the start), and yet was most thoroughly adapted by his social, loving nature to enjoy the married life. He was prostrated for three months by a painful sickness connected with the trouble in his feet, and was thus prepared for the end of life. Still he was able to join with strong voice in the hymn, "Christ is my Life," and to say that he was ready either for further labor or for a speedy departure. He submitted everything to the will of God. He commended his spirit to Him who had redeemed him. Then singing, in concert with his brethren about him, the hymn, "O Sacred Head now Wounded," with head erect and lips open, he expired in the arms of a faithful and affectionate native assistant, at four o'clock on the morning of February 13, 1798. The court of his home resounded with loud weeping, when the people gathered there heard of the death of their comforter and father. Prince Sersudscha hastened thither to behold the form of his loved guardian. At the grave the sobs of the multitude hindered the singing of the burial hymn. The prince erected in the city where he lived a marble monument "to the revered Father Schwartz." Upon a granite tablet in the chapel of the mission he placed also an inscription in English verses, praising his "father" and expressing a desire to be worthy of him. In later years the prince, though lacking courage to become a Christian, endeavored to honor the memory of the deceased missionary by pious institutions for the young and the sick. The East India Company in 1807 erected a monument to the patriarch of Christian missions in Hindostan, in St. Mary's Church of Fort George at Madras. But the most precious memorial of his work for the missions in Southern India, to which he left all his property, was the multitude whom he led to a Christian life, and the company of valiant men whom he trained to carry on the work.

Guardian of the
prince of Tan-
jore.

Dies while sing-
ing.

When Gericke as missionary went to South India in 1803, he saw the fruits of the seeds sown by Schwartz. Whole villages came to him for instruction. He baptized thirteen hundred pagans, while his catechists formed eighteen churches, and baptized twenty-seven hundred persons. There have since been found, in sixty-two villages surrounding a church erected by a Hindoo woman whom Schwartz baptized, more than four thousand Hindoo Christians. — H. V'M.

LIFE XXXIV. JOHN THEODOSIUS VANDERKEMP.

A. D. 1747—A. D. 1811. REFORMED, — AFRICA.

In the latter part of the last century great interest began to be awakened in England in mission work among the heathen. This led to the forming of the London Missionary Society in 1795. Their first efforts were directed to one of the South Sea Islands. Their attention, however, was soon turned to South Africa. But how and where could they find a suitable man to lead the way into those trackless wilds, and undertake to introduce the gospel to the most barbarous and degraded of human beings? While the directors of the society were asking this question, the Lord was preparing an answer by raising up for them, in the person of John Theodosius Vanderkemp, of Holland, a pioneer who should be worthy of the grand and Christlike enterprise they had in mind.

He was born in 1747, at Rotterdam, where his father was a minister of the Reformed Dutch Church. For the first five years of a liberal training, John went to the university in Leyden. He then entered the army, where he served for sixteen years, and rose to be captain of horse and lieutenant of the dragoon guards. Leaving this service, he went to Edinburgh to pursue his studies in the university there. Thus helped he became distinguished in the study of philosophy, chemistry, indeed in all the sciences, and made himself acquainted not only with the ancient classics but also with many of the best languages of modern Europe. Returning from Scotland, he entered upon the practice of medicine, wherein he rose to great repute and esteem. From this time on, the hand of the Lord becomes more manifest in preparing the way for his entering upon one of the most arduous and self-denying enterprises to which, in those days, man could be called.

During his studies, though a member of the church of his fathers, he became much tinctured in mind with infidelity. Having come now to maturity of years, he retired with his wife and only child to a residence in the country, where he sometimes amused himself in sailing with his family on the river. On one of these occasions a sudden storm burst upon them, upset the boat, and left only himself to be barely rescued

from the watery grave into which his two nearest relatives sunk to rise no more. His faith in infidel sentiments was now shaken; he got new views of Christ, and heartily embraced the entire gospel system.

Being now called to the charge of a large hospital, during a war with France, he ministered alike to the bodies and the souls of his patients, with great acceptance and success. The sick esteemed him as their father, and the servants obeyed as children. The hospital closing at the end of the war, he began to lead a retired life and devote himself to his Oriental studies, and to the completing of a commentary he was writing on the Epistle of Paul to the Romans.

In this way was the Lord raising up one who, by great firmness of character, distinguished talents, much knowledge of human nature, and eminent attainments in general culture and religious experience, should have his soul kindled to a glow with a desire to raise the standard of the cross in one of the wildest, darkest parts of the earth. Reading an address which the London Missionary Society had put out, he became deeply interested

At fifty called to his life-work. in the subject of missions. Parts of the address made such an impression upon his mind that he fell upon his knees and cried, "Here am I, Lord Jesus; Thou knowest that I have no will of my own, since I gave myself to Thee." And again he says: "I heard the voice of the Lord saying, 'Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?' Then said I, 'Here am I, Lord, send me.'"

He wrote to the directors of the society in London, offered his services, was examined and at once accepted, and on November 3, 1797, was ordained a missionary to South Africa. Returning to Holland to settle his affairs, he was the means of forming two missionary societies in his own country, — one at Rotterdam, called the Netherland Missionary Society, and another at Friesland, both to coöperate with the society in London in the cause of African evangelization. Meantime, three other men, Messrs. Kicherer, Edmond, and Edwards, became interested in the subject, offered themselves, and were accepted and appointed as fellow laborers with Dr. Vanderkemp.

On the 23d of December, 1798, all embarked for Africa. The Hillsboro, in which they took their passage, was a convict ship, and chosen by them for this reason, that they might have opportunity to render humane and Christlike service to some of the most wretched and abandoned of men, on their way to their mission field. And for such service there was much occasion. When a pestilent fever broke out among the convicts, this man of God and friend of humanity, with his intrepid brethren, ceased not, day or night, to minister to their wants and distresses, both temporal and spiritual, exposing themselves to all the dangers of infectious and putrid disease to alleviate distress, and pluck, if possible, the perishing as brands from the burning. Nor were the prayers and labors vain, for ere they reached the Cape several gave evidence of a saving change,

while some who died on the passage went hence in the hope of a blessed immortality.

March 31, 1799, Dr. Vanderkemp landed at Cape Town, and was kindly received by the governor and the other Europeans whom he found there. During his stay at the Cape, a ^{Lands at the Cape.} deep interest was awakened in mission work, and a society, called the South African Society for Promoting the Spread of Christ's Kingdom at the Cape of Good Hope, was formed. Here, too, the doctor gave a portion of almost every day to Christian work among the slaves, Mohammedans and Hottentots, "some of whose hearts," says he, "were evidently baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire, though the customs and rules of this country did not allow them to be baptized with water."

The London society had committed the direction of the mission to the doctor himself; but his good sense, humility, and generous nature soon led him to ask to be released from this distinction and exclusive responsibility, as he believed that the cause which was to him most precious could be best served by having a perfect equality established between himself and the brethren associated with him.

Having procured the needed oxen, wagon, driver, leader, and other outfit for a long journey and continued abode in a wild and barbarous region, received the presents and best of benedictions from the slaves who had enjoyed his ministry, and been encouraged and strengthened by the prayers of all the good whose acquaintance he had made, on the 22d of May, 1799, the doctor took a tender and gracious leave of the Cape. For a few days, the route of the four missionaries was the same, and took them through a most delightful region. But coming to Rodezand, Messrs. Kicherer and Edwards went to the Bushmen, while the doctor and his coadjutor, Edmond, set off anew and alone, May 29th. for Caffraria. They soon entered the Carrow, where, for eight days, journeying through a dismal wilderness without ever seeing a human habitation, they were exposed to a great variety of perils; now from the straitness and roughness of the passage between mountain ridges, now from the savage Bushmen who lived by plunder, and now from the wild beasts that often disturbed their slumbers and kept them on the alert at night.

Arriving at Gamka River, June 12th, they passed a restful night and joyous day with a Mr. De Beer. Their journey from this place onward was very fatiguing, and fraught, too, with no little danger. The weather was cold, the country was infested with wild beasts, and their lives were often imperiled by pillaging men, Bushmen equipped with poisoned arrows, and more to be feared than the leopard and lion. They reached Graaf Reinet June 29th, and had a most hearty welcome. And here, too, as in every place, they failed not to reward the hospitality shown them by earnest, loving labor in preaching Jesus Christ, day by day, publicly and from house to house.

The shorter the pendulum, the quicker and stronger the beat; so the nearer the doctor drew to his long-sought field, the more his zeal and courage enlarged. And well it was so, else the now rapidly increasing difficulties and dangers had been too great for his triumph over them. Having spent a few days of delightful intercourse and labor with Christian friends at Graaf Reinet, on the 10th of July he set forward for the dark places that lay beyond, which, just now, were overflowing with deeds of cruelty. Colonists, Hottentots, and Caffres were in a state of anarchy and strife, so that the danger of the missionary's being waylaid, robbed, and murdered was constant, often imminent. Yet nothing daunted, he pursued his journey with the utmost diligence, and took every opportunity to preach the gospel to the different races and classes he met, sometimes in crowds, along the way. Ten days' travel brought him to the Great Fish River, which at that time was the southern limit of Caffre land.

From this point he sent a delegation of three men to ask permission of the Caffre king, Geika, to come and visit him. After a week's absence the messengers returned with a favorable reply, bringing the king's tobacco-box for a passport to him. But such were the hostile movements of the rebel Caffres, stealing the doctor's oxen, and threatening his life and the lives of all his company, that he was compelled to wait for more peaceful times. After a month's delay he started again, though the perils of the way still remained. "But," says the doctor, "the more the difficulties and dangers were mentioned, the more I was excited in mind to go forward, and found my faith increased." Three weeks of eventful and wearisome travel brought him to Geika's residence. After some delay his Caffrarian majesty made his appearance, having his ministers of state by his side. His lips and cheeks were painted red, his body covered with a long robe of leopard skins; in his hand he held an iron kiri, while on his head he wore two diadems, one of copper and one of beads. Receiving the tobacco-box, which had been sent for a passport, now filled with beads, he gave it to his attendants, but spoke not a word, and hardly winked an eye. After half an hour's mute audience, an interpreter appeared, and the king, taking his seat upon the ground, with his captains by his side, deigned to open his mouth. Dr. Vanderkemp stated to him the object of his mission. Geika replied that the time of his coming was very unfavorable, as all the country was in a state of confusion, and advised the missionary not to think of remaining with him, yet gave him permission to unyoke his oxen and pitch his tent. The king had been prejudiced against the missionaries, being told that they were spies and assassins, and had enchanted wine with which to kill him. For more than a fortnight they waited in suspense and pressed their suit, but got no permission to remain. Indeed everything seemed forbidding, and violence began to be feared. "But," says the doctor, "I found my rest and strength in the Lord, and got much comfort from his Word."

Meets the king
of the Caffres.

One more attempt being made, the king yielded, confessed his neglect, said he was at fault, but had been very much occupied with the festivals of his marriage; adding that he was glad that God had put it into the hearts of these men to come into his country. "So then," said he, "let Tinkana [Dr. Vanderkemp] take the field on the other side of the Keis Kammer River, and be free to go and come in my country as he may please." The missionaries immediately set off for the station assigned them, and reached it October 20, 1799. Having selected a spot for a house, felled a few trees, and cut some thatch for building, "I kneeled down on the grass," says the doctor, "thanking the Lord Jesus that He had provided me a resting-place before the face of our enemies and Satan, praying that from under this roof the seed of the gospel might spread northward through all Africa."

The doctor soon opened a school in which he taught the English and Dutch languages to eleven pupils of various nations. And now, early in December, just as he is beginning to get fairly settled in his work, a deputy from the governor at the Cape arrives at Geika's, sends for the doctor, and begs him to withdraw from Caffre land till more peaceful times can be restored. But Geika will not consent to his leaving, and is so offended with the messenger from the Cape that he is barely prevented by his mother and uncle from killing him on the spot.

Soon after this, December 29th, the doctor's colleague, Edmond, took his departure and went to the Cape for the purpose of prosecuting a design he had long cherished of going to India, Alone in Caffre land. thus leaving Dr. Vanderkemp to struggle alone with the many difficulties that beset his work. The parting was very fraternal and tender. Having gone together over the river, they knelt and wrestled for a time with God, in prayers and tears, after which Mr. Edmond departed; while the doctor, having given him his last and best benediction, went upon a hill, and with a lingering eye followed his wagon for about half an hour, till, as he says, "It sunk behind the mountains, and I lost sight of him to see him no more."

The doctor returned to his cheerless home with a sad yet resolute and hopeful heart. His labors and dangers during the succeeding year were many; but his faith and courage were set in God, by whose watchful providence he was saved more than once from impending death, and through whose gracious aid he was joyously permitted to see his labors blessed. Teaching school and preaching the gospel continued to engage his time and strength. The king himself sometimes expressed a desire to be instructed, and once remarked that "he imagined one time or another he should be a Christian," adding also that "his mother and another woman wished to be instructed in the Christian religion." For a time he put himself under mission teaching, and attended school with the children. But he was still the slave of superstition, ignorance, and caprice, so that,

in April, after the doctor's situation had come to be somewhat comfortable, and his labors more apparently effective, he ordered him to remove. This broke up the school, and interrupted important plans, but was in some respects overruled for good.

His attendants and pupils now included the three races of Hottentots, Caffres, and colonists. At length, one of the former, a Hottentot woman, named Sarah, began to give evidence of a work of grace in her heart, and was in due time baptized, together with three children. "And oh," says Dr. Vanderkemp, "how did my soul rejoice that the Lord had given me in this wilderness, among tigers and wolves, and at such a distance from Christians, a poor heathen woman with whom I could converse confidently of the mysteries of the hidden communion with Christ. Oh, that I may not be deceived! Lo, my winter is past; the voice of the turtle is heard in the land." Others expressed an interest in the Christian faith, and some gave such evidence of a change of heart as greatly encouraged him in his work.

But this development of interest in the gospel seemed to arouse all the greater opposition and prejudice against the missionary and his work. More than once did Geika determine on the doctor's death; and it was known that, on one occasion, he actually came with an armed force to murder him and his people. Forbearing, however, to narrate the accounts we have of the bloody deeds which the cruel and freakish king and his servants were instigating and perpetrating, it is enough to say that the lives of all who indicated attachment to Dr. Vanderkemp, or had taken up their abode near his station, whether native or European, were so much endangered that at the close of the year they determined to leave the country and seek a place of more security. As there was reason to doubt if this could be safely done by any open or direct move, those who had the enterprise in charge resolved to go out privately, Hunts elephants to save his life. or under the guise of hunting elephants. They invited the doctor to accompany them. To this he was at first opposed; but seeing all his people bent on leaving, he finally consented to go with them, and so continue his labors among them. The company numbered some sixty souls, all more or less under instruction, besides many of the wild yet well-disposed Caffres, who, however, eventually turned back to the old homes.

This wandering mode of life, men and women, flocks and herds, being generally on the move during the day, and passing their nights, if possible, where grass, woods, and water could be found, continued for more than four months. But the doctor rested not from his mission work; nor did he fail to find repeated manifestations of religious interest among the people of his charge. And now, as ever, the doctor showed himself no respecter of persons, having under instruction men, women, and children from some four or five tribes and nationalities, — English, Hottentot, Caffre, Tambookee, and some of a mixed blood, Dutch and native. In

this and in other ways, during these wanderings, the doctor had the best of opportunity for prosecuting his study of the natural, social, and civil history of that new and hitherto unexplored field,—the soil, climate, animal and vegetable life of the country, as also his study of the language, religion, manners and customs, population, and government of the people. For broad and valuable research in these fields, his taste, genius, and varied learning gave assurance of eminent fitness, while the rich results achieved gave proof of great industry and perseverance.

Arriving at length at Graaf Reinet, May 14, 1801, the doctor had a cordial reception, and was rejoiced to meet several missionaries, among whom was Mr. Read, who had just been sent out from London to assist him. The doctor was soon invited by the elders of the church in this place to settle over them in the ministry. But he declined the call and continued to give himself to mission work, especially among the wretched Hottentots, many of whom, in constant danger of being seized in their defenseless and secluded homes and held as slaves by the Dutch colonists, had fled thither for protection. The doctor's congregation soon came to number about two hundred. But his attention to this class of heathen roused a spirit of speedy and violent opposition among the colonists in the vicinity, many of them resorting to arms and threatening to burn and destroy the town, unless the government would put a stop to the proceedings of the missionaries. The doctor promptly interposed his conciliatory offices, and was at length instrumental in having the rebellion brought to an end.

His congregation of Hottentots kept up and continued "to increase in number, knowledge, and grace." The school which he was teaching increased also, so that by September it had come to number sixty-two. The situation was now so promising that the missionaries resolved to erect the buildings necessary for making this a permanent station. The government gave a piece of land for the purpose, and the buildings were erected. But another rebellion being set on foot because of the privileges afforded the natives at Graaf Reinet, Dr. Vanderkemp proposed to have some new place selected for a Hottentot settlement, to which this wretched and persecuted people might be removed, where they could be effectually shielded from the wrongs which the envious and wicked Boers were continually practicing upon them, and where, too, they could be not only educated and Christianized, but also taught industrial habits and useful pursuits which would procure a better means of subsistence and make life more comfortable. This plan was approved by the government of the colony, which granted for the settlement a piece of ground near Algoa Bay. So hearty and generous was the approval which Governor Dundas gave the plan, that he sent a shipload of articles from Cape Town, to be used in laying the foundation of the institution, and in support of the people for a time on their first arrival at the new settlement.

On the 20th of February, 1802, Dr. Vanderkemp and Mr. Read took their departure from Graaf Reinet, with a part of their congregation, which, as they journeyed on, was somewhat increased, so that when they arrived at the chosen settlement, "Bota's Place," March 5th, it numbered one hundred and sixty Hottentots. The station, or farm, was about three miles from the bay and seven from Fort Frederick. It combined many advantages, and the buildings were such as to allow of the missionaries entering at once upon the work of instruction. Very soon, however, it was found that the stagnant water of the place was injurious to health. Dr. Vanderkemp was so affected by this and by a severe rheumatism as to be laid aside from active service and confined much of the time to his bed for nearly a year. The principal care of the station now devolved upon his faithful and indefatigable coadjutor, Mr. Read.

But this new settlement, like the former, was subject to much hardship and peril from the malice and assaults of the colonists. Such were the tumults and injurious reports raised, that Governor Dundas eventually forbade the missionaries receiving any more natives into the institution. In September, the governor visited them, and was so much impressed with the good they were doing and the danger they were incurring, that he advised them to take quarters in Fort Frederick, from which he was just then removing the garrison. They at first declined; but having been repeatedly attacked by their enemies, and had many of their cattle stolen and some of their people killed, they retreated, with their people, into the fortress, and remained there for some months. Yet the work of the Lord went on, so that from September to April the missionaries reckoned more than twenty hopeful conversions among the Hottentots, some of whom Dr. Vanderkemp baptized sitting in his bed. At the time they were compelled to take up their abode in the fort, the institution had increased to three hundred souls; but this number was somewhat diminished by the removal.

About this time the colony passed from the rule of the English into the hands of the Dutch again, and the new governor, Jan-
Founds Bethels-
dorp. sens, went through the country, inquiring into the causes of its calamities. On this tour his mind was much prejudiced against the missionaries, but on meeting them and seeing their work, he became at once convinced of the utility of their labors, and proffered assistance in the way of forming a new station. The place chosen was about seven miles north of the bay, and took the name "Bethelsdorp," or village of Bethel. The missionaries and their people took possession of their new station about the 1st of June, 1803, and now for the first time after his long sickness, the doctor began to enter upon active duties and take charge of public worship. The station was laid out in the form of a parallelogram, and the borders were marked off into squares for Hottentot dwellings. In the centre they built a church, to which were attached

four wings for the use of the mission families. On the 2d of July, just a month from their entering upon the new field, the church was ready for religious service and for the school. Much success attended their efforts, so that at the close of the year the missionaries say, "The Lord's work, to the glory of his name, has this year been conspicuous. Heathen darkness has fled before the gospel light, and the power of converting grace has triumphed over the power of Satan, in the hearts of these pagans to whom we have been called to preach the gospel of Christ."

During the next year, 1804, the work went on with less of interruption, yet the malignant opposition of the Boers, though restrained, was not much abated. Under date of April 2d, the doctor writes, "The congregation of our church increases continually, also the power of grace, by which the Lord from above gives evidence that our preaching is not in vain." And again, under date of November 1st, "The work of converting grace still continues, and now and then, as we trust, a pearl is added to the crown of Jesus. In the course of this year, I have baptized twenty-two adults and fourteen children. The whole number of our church members is forty-three." The number of people at Bethelsdorp, at this time, was three hundred and twenty.

The following year, the loud and long-continued clamor of the Boers against the mission was such that early in March the doctor was summoned to the Cape, and there detained till it seemed probable that the missionaries would be compelled to leave the colony. For this they had begun to make preparation, purposing to go to Mozambique or Madagascar; when early in January, 1806, the colony came back into the hands of the English. The missionaries were now allowed to remain and resume their labors, and the doctor was sent back to Bethelsdorp, in one of the wagons which the English general, Sir David Baird, had taken from Governor Jansens. Arriving at the institution, "We find," says the doctor, "to our joy and comfort, the work of converting grace going on prosperously and with power."

Some of the more advanced of the Hottentots now began to go out and labor, as mission helpers, among their countrymen in the colony, and in so doing were much blessed of God. In 1807 a good religious interest began to be manifest among the Caffres, who had now been brought under the teaching of the missionaries at Bethelsdorp. The following year, 1808, an outstation was formed at Stuurman's Kraal, and put under Mr. Read's care. The population at Bethelsdorp had gradually increased until a second and now a third square had been carried round the first. The fields were covered with cattle, which numbered some twelve hundred head, besides sheep and goats. The number of houses in the squares was between seventy and eighty, each house averaging not less than ten souls. The people, men and women, became industrious, the children were trained to diligence and to useful habits, the girls were

taught knitting, among other things, and in one year earned in this way no less than two hundred and seven dollars. In short, the institution now attained to such a growth, solidity, and strength, that the doctor began to consider the question of leaving it soon to the care of some other missionary, that he might devote the remainder of his own days to the work of the Lord in some nation as yet ignorant of the way of life. One plan he had in mind was to make a tour to the northeast, beyond the limits of Caffraria, for the purpose of commencing a chain of mission settlements, which should extend along the east coast of Africa, the first of which, after Bethelsdorp, should be among the Tambookees, on the north of the Caffres. Or, failing to find the way open in this direction, his desire was to attempt a mission in Madagascar.

Waiting instructions from England, Dr. Vanderkemp continued his work at Bethelsdorp, meantime projecting a plan for an asylum where neglected children might be cared for in a proper manner. During the year he made a visit to Stuurman's Kraal, when many were deeply affected by his preaching, and gathered to hear him in such numbers that the meetings had to be held in the open air. The population at Bethelsdorp had now become a thousand, and many who had been enemies to the missionaries now came to receive instruction at their lips. The governor of the colony, Lord Caledon, also took a deep interest in the work and offered every possible assistance.

In 1810 Mr. Read made a journey into Caffraria, where the people gave him a joyous reception, and asked him to send them a missionary. Kind inquiries were made concerning "Tinkana," and a strong desire expressed to see him. To the discerning, reflecting Caffre, still untaught as he was, the doctor's good name seemed all the more fresh and fragrant for the years that had passed.

In one of Mr. Read's letters to the directors in London, he refers to the great cruelty which the Hottentots are continually suffering at the hands of the Boers, and tells how Dr. Vanderkemp had been so affected by a knowledge of it, in several instances, that within a period of three years he had paid about five thousand dollars out of his own pocket to redeem some of these wronged and wretched creatures from bondage. In this and in every other possible and proper way did the doctor give his voice so eloquently against oppression, and so earnestly did he plead the cause of humanity, as to inaugurate a struggle which, though long continued, yet, through the subsequent persevering efforts of Dr. Philip and others, finally culminated triumphantly in the Hottentots' effectual deliverance from their chains. When a committee was appointed by Lord Caledon to investigate the numerous charges of cruelty and murder brought against the colonists in the vicinity of Bethelsdorp, Dr. Vanderkemp was summoned to the Cape to testify as to what he knew of the matter. The result was that his excellency

A deliverer of
the oppressed.

had no doubt as to the truth of the charges, and appointed commissioners to visit the several districts where the bloody crimes had been perpetrated, and bring the guilty to the punishment they deserved. This effective exposure of the grievous wrongs so long practiced upon the Hottentot race was one of the last public services which the doctor was able to render that people, whose deliverance from thralldom, both temporal and spiritual, had now been the object of his solicitude for more than a decade of years.

Missionaries having arrived from England to take charge of the work at Bethelsdorp, Dr. Vanderkemp began to prepare for the new mission he had long had in mind, and was directed to the choice of Madagascar as the more open of the two or three fields to which his thoughts had been turned. But while he was waiting an opportunity to engage a passage thither, the great Head of the Church accepted the will for the deed, and turned his thoughts to another region. Having had about a week's intimation that his end was drawing near, on the 15th of December, 1811, after having briefly testified to the assurance of his faith in the grace and providence of God by saying, "All is well," he went to enjoy the eternal rest and bliss the Lord had prepared for him in heaven. The number of his years was about sixty-four, the last thirteen of which he had devoted with great fidelity to the service of his Master, in one of the most self-denying fields within the knowledge and reach of God's people at that day.

Doubtless it would be saying too much—more than can be said of any man in this life—to claim that in the memorable subject of this narrative the critical eye could never have seen any imperfection. To err is human; the sun itself has its spots. On the other hand, who will question the opinion which one well acquainted with his life, character, and labors has expressed, that, "for combining natural talents, extensive learning, elevated piety, ardent zeal, disinterested benevolence, unshaken perseverance, unfeigned humility, and primitive simplicity, Dr. Vanderkemp has, perhaps, never been equaled since the days of the Apostles"? Well does the venerable Moffatt say of him: "He came from a university, to stoop to teach the alphabet to the poor naked Hottentot and Caffre; from the society of nobles, to associate with beings of the lowest grade in the scale of humanity; from stately mansions to the filthy hovel of the greasy African; from the army, to instruct the fierce savage in the tactics of a heavenly warfare under the banner of the Prince of Peace; from the study of medicine to become a guide to the balm in Gilead and the physician there; and, finally, from a life of earthly honor and ease, to be exposed to perils of waters, of robbers, of his own countrymen, of the heathen, in the city, in the wilderness."

Thus lived, wrought, prayed, and prevailed the untiring, unselfish Vanderkemp, the great apostolic pioneer in African missions. — L. G.

LIFE XXXV. HENRY MARTYN.

A. D. 1781—A. D. 1812. EPISCOPAL, — PERSIA.

“BEHOLD an Israelite indeed in whom is no guile” is a description in few words of Henry Martyn, one of God’s soldiers, who was made perfect through suffering, and now shines forth as one of the noblest and most lovable characters in the whole missionary history of the church in modern times. Nature and grace combined to make his character beautifully symmetrical, and to stamp it with a completeness such as is rarely seen. He was an acute mathematician, and yet a great lover of poetry; an accomplished scholar, and yet a simple Mary-like spirit; thoroughly versed in the master-works of Greece and Rome, and yet more thoroughly a master of the Holy Scriptures; a loftily soaring, and yet a deeply penetrating mind; at ease in his work, yet always pressing forward; earnest, yet cheerful; withdrawn from the world, yet delighting in existence; extremely conscientious, yet not painfully so; of ardent affections, and yet chaste; a man of thought, but just as truly a man of action! After he had once found the peace of God which passeth understanding, he lived every day penitently and prayerfully studying the Scriptures, devoted to the honor of his Redeemer and the salvation of his fellows, rejoicing with them that rejoiced, weeping with them that wept, harmless and simple as a child, high-spirited and strong as a man complete in Christ Jesus. He therefore lived a precious life within a few years; filled not with deeds outwardly dazzling, but with labor the glory of which is hid with Christ in God, and will be revealed in his own good time.

Henry Martyn was born in 1781, at Truro, in the county of Cornwall, England. Of hopeful promise, he was set apart to be a scholar. He acquired learning with great facility and with an increasing ambition. Boasting himself, as a youth, of having never lost an hour, he was disposed to be jealous and quarrelsome whenever he failed of the principal prize. The gentle endeavors of a Christian sister were of no avail. The reminder of a friend that we must learn first of all to honor God seemed to him mere foolishness. Invitations to repentance and humility only vexed him, until the sudden announcement of the death of his loved father came upon him like lightning out of a clear sky. His sister wrote him that the last words of the dying man were, “All is vanity; the only excellence is humbleness and child-like belief upon God’s grace in Christ Jesus.” She told him how their father had thought especially of his absent son, and had implored for him a humble heart and the favor of God. The lightning entered Henry’s soul, and burned up with clear flame the wood, hay, and stubble, heaped together in the mind of the youth so full of worldly knowledge. In his humility he began to cry to God. His open Bible

presented to him the command, "Enter in at the strait gate." His soul in fear resolved from that day onward to seek life along the narrow path.

When not twenty years old he passed his public examinations with great credit, especially in mathematics. He was kept of God from enslaving himself anew to his wicked foe, selfish ambition. He retired from school, and entered the higher school of prayer and of study of the Scriptures, in the quiet of his home, under one of his father's friends, with a few excellent young men as his companions. He resolved to be a clergyman. But he was not content to labor as such at home. Through descriptions of the apostolic zeal of Brainerd, the valiant American missionary, of the achievements of Schwartz, of Germany, in the East Indies, in near half a century of effort, and of the deeds of Carey, who rose from a shoemaker's bench to be a doctor of divinity, Martyn came to feel that he too must enter upon the work of foreign missions. Through conflict of soul and fervent prayer he became assured that Martyn becomes a missionary. he was appointed of God to this labor. He placed himself under the society recently established in the Church of England for missions in Africa and in the East. In the mean time, by devoting himself to the work of preaching, he gained experience in the care and comfort of souls, and in the relief of the poor. He filled his places of preaching to overflowing. He was kept from self-exaltation not only by prayer, to which he gave half his nights, and by meditation, to which he gave all his Sabbaths, but also by temptation, which Martin Luther once called the third fountain of strength to a disciple. He, with his sisters, lost their patrimony, so that his heart's desire to be a missionary seemed overthrown. Yet his prayer was, "Not as I will, O Lord, but as Thou wilt." At last he saw the longed-for yet trying hour when he was to leave his fatherland and his friends, to go to the land which God should show him.

He received ordination in London, being in his twenty-fourth year. With deep emotion and holy purposes he took leave of his parish. He used the time at his disposal to acquire the necessary foreign languages. When he embarked at Portsmouth his people gave him a compass as a keepsake. On his knees he prayed that the Word of God might be their guide and his through the wilderness of earth to the home in heaven. He spoke a last farewell, having formed his purpose to live and to die on distant shores. He did not forget upon the voyage his obligations to his fellow-voyagers. In the face of contempt and indifference he gathered about him every day a little company whom he awakened and strengthened. In tempest and in pestilence he stood by his post. At the Cape of Good Hope the troops landing had to go to meet the enemy. Martyn joined himself to one of the divisions, to tend and to comfort the wounded. The unfortunate ones were helped by his encouragements and prayers. Having remained for a time with loved companions in Cape Town, now held by the British, he sailed on to India. He went to work

in Madras, glad in God, though deeply burdened by the condition of the people. "Oh that one soul might be led by my agency to Christ," was his single request. The rays of the Indian sun, to which he was not used, and the deep death shadows in which the people of the beautiful land were reposing, tried Martyn severely. Only his faith, overcoming the world, could have upheld him in soul and in body. Madras was not to be his abiding home. He had to go to Calcutta. After a stormy passage he was received by friends there gladly. They gave him shelter in a forsaken idol temple, which was turned by Martyn into a chapel. He was called to pay his tribute to the hot climate in a severe sickness. Afterwards he began his work of preaching, with courage. The story of the cross made him both friends and foes. He got encouragement from the former and discipline from the latter. He soon removed to his own especial field of labor, Dinapore, a city of forty thousand inhabitants.

Martyn made use of every opportunity to acquire the living language of India and also the old Sanskrit, intending, with the help of a native, to prepare a version of the Bible. His first effort in Dinapore was for setting up schools for the Hindoos. He soon had five schools, attended by a great number of children. Four times every Sunday he taught Europeans and natives the Bible, either in public or in private. The free feast was loathed by "cultivated" Christians and Moslems. Among the poor and the sick of the hospitals was there some longing for the bread of life. The Hindoos seemed dull and almost unfitted for a pure Christianity through the erroneous lessons of Romanist missionaries. These beginnings in hope and in fear were very arduous. The far-away, solitary man rarely heard from his friends. From home came distressing news. His best loved sister, his helper in Christian attainments, had died. A young lady, very dear to him, whom he with the advice of friends sought for his life's companion, did not yield to his desire. Yet he now only the more completely and exclusively gave himself to think of God, forgetting all beside, and to conform his life wholly to the dying of the Lord Jesus.

The finishing of his translation of the New Testament into Hindoo gave Martyn great delight. He at once devoted himself with all his might to the Persian and Arabic, in order to translate the Bible into these languages. He read the Koran in company with an Arabian scholar. He wished to fight Islam with its own weapon, for which there was abundant opportunity.

Though frail in body, he listened to a call to a field yet farther removed. He journeyed thither day and night even in the exceeding heat. He had little bodily strength left him. But the strength of God was made perfect in his weakness. He began his labors without wearying. His time was filled up with preaching, praying, Bible exposition and translation, and visits to the hospitals. His first public sermon to hea-

thens was delivered at the close of the year 1809. A crowd of begging Hindoos had gathered about him. Martyn read the first part of Genesis to them in his Hindoo version. Speaking to them simply of God, the Almighty Father, Creator, and future Judge, he was received with loud approbation. At times as many as eight hundred persons would gather about his door. One time they were deeply moved by a sermon on repentance, which he based upon the destruction of the city of Sodom.

The translation of the Bible into Persian, made under Martyn's directions, did not satisfy those who were judges. He therefore resolved to go to Persia and to Arabia, in order to subject his Persian version which was finished, and his Arabian

To Persia to
finish the Per-
sian Bible.

which approached completion, to a thorough revision, and to correct mistakes in accordance with the judgment of learned natives of the two countries. With his weak frame holding his stout soul, he took leave of India in his longing to carry the gospel to the Persians and Arabians. Upon June 9, 1811, he arrived at Shiraz, the Persian literary capital. Hardly recovered from the exceeding fatigues of the journey, he began a new translation of the Bible into Persian. He was lent assistance in this by Said Ali, a member of the self-deifying sect of Mohammedans, known as the Sofis. With him and his comrades Martyn held many discussions upon grace and truth. He reached Ali's heart especially when they were going through the twelfth chapter of John. The Persian involuntarily exclaimed in wonder at Jesus loving his disciples so dearly. Tears filled his eyes as to him — a seeker, as he said, "from his youth up" — Martyn imparted the true religion, and bade him yield his soul to his dear Lord and Redeemer. Beneath the budding vines, by the clear river, under the shade of the citron, Martyn, in the stillness of the Sabbath, meditating upon the Scripture and singing holy songs, withdrew himself from the cares and toils of his witness-bearing, which he purposed continuing as long as his tongue could move. His presence in Shiraz excited great noise. The scholars resorted to him, and he received them. He was at hand for a public discussion with the most noted masters of the Koran and the leader of the Sofis. His noble character, his fearless frankness, his profound and clear replies, left abiding marks in the souls of many of his hearers. His words exerted quiet power even at banquets. When the chief of a Persian school wrote a work in defense of Mohammed, Martyn met him at once with a bold reply. The impressions made by this and others of his writings cannot be described. Long after, it became evident for the first time how many had been led by Martyn to direct their thoughts to Christ.

As soon as his translation of the New Testament was sufficiently advanced, Martyn began to turn the Psalms into Persian. After he had succeeded in this he went from Shiraz by way of Ispahan to the court of the Persian sovereign, to present to him the two volumes. On the

way some stout conflicts arose with learned Mollahs. Martyn bore witness fearlessly. Not a hair of his head was hurt, although the others cried in rage, "See, he has blasphemed God." Sick in body he reached Tabriz and found the English ambassador. The latter presented the translations to the Shah, by whom they were well received, and afterwards carried them to St. Petersburg. Printed in that city, the books came back to Persia in a thousand streams of life and blessing.

The Shah receives Martyn's Bible.

It was Martyn's choice to live and to die among the pagans for whom he labored. But his frame, shattered by toil and by the climate, refused to serve him. He therefore resolved to build himself up in his native air, and afterwards with new strength to go preparing the way of God among the heathen. With great difficulty summoning up his energies, he left Tabriz for Constantinople and far-off England. Passing Mount Ararat robed in green, he thought, as he looked upon its sides, of Noah, and prayed for a propitious voyage through life's rude storms, and for a happy landing upon the everlasting hills. He reached Erivan. In the Armenian cloister of Etschmiadschin, he strove to stir one brother, Serafino, to a reform of the church in Armenia. He passed by Kars in the land of the rude Koords, and came to populous Erzeroum. As he journeyed he sent touching letters home. His cherished diary, also, was a silent witness to his precious spiritual life and aspiration. When oppressed by disease in Erzeroum, he heard the flying news that the plague was in Constantinople, and in the cities on his way. With death in front of him, and death behind him, he cried, "God, thy will be done, be it life or death, if Thou only remember me!" He could not remain still. When racked by fever he was obliged to follow his merciless guide in a rapid ride through forests and swamps, mountains and vales, not a soul near him, in that strange land, in whom he could put confidence. In a little village where the horses were changed, he took a seat in a garden, thinking quietly and joyfully of his God, his companion in loneliness, his friend and comforter. "Ah, when will time make place for eternity! When will appear the new heavens and the new earth, in which dwelleth righteousness! There nothing unclean shall enter. No evil such as has made men lower than wild beasts. There shall be seen or heard none of those vicious things which increase and embitter here below the sorrow of one who is dying." These were the last words which he wrote in the diary which he left behind him. Reaching Tokat, near Sinope, he had to lay down his pilgrim staff in the midst of his days and of his journey. He died October 16, 1812, when not thirty-two years old. His lonely grave is marked by a simple stone with an inscription. More enduring than stone or bronze is the memorial which he established in hearts — how many they were! — which he led in the way to heaven. Every New Testament and every Psalter

His lonely death in Tokat.

which the Hindoo or the Persian reads in his own language is a remembrancer of the confessor and faithful witness, who spared not himself nor counted his life dear to him as he stood true to his Master until death. Evangelical missions, when asked for martyrs, can quietly and securely point to the hero whose bones whiten in Tokat. — H. V.M.

LIFE XXXVI. ROBERT MORRISON.

A. D. 1782—A. D. 1833. UNITED PRESBYTERIAN, — CHINA.

THE scattered notices found in the writings of the peoples in Western Asia concerning the civilization, numbers, power, and arts of the Chinese are too fragmentary to enable us to gather a clear idea of the real knowledge which was undoubtedly possessed of that race up to the time of Christ. The distance between the valleys of the Euphrates and the Yangtse was so enormous that the difficulties of travel by land or sea prevented direct trade and intercourse between their inhabitants; and hence vague and absurd rumors and notions of each other's manners and resources came to be received as authentic history. These notices on the part of the Occidentals generally indicate a high ideal of the Chinese, while the few records extant in their books show a profound ignorance of the Caucasian nations. It is with this exalted conception in mind, therefore, that the remarkable prophecy respecting the land of Sinim, found in Isaiah xlix. 12, foretelling the introduction of the gospel into China, should be read. It seems meet and proper, too, when we reflect on the antiquity, populousness, and institutions of this land, that this earliest certain mention of it should be a promise of its belonging one day to the Redeemer's kingdom.

In the earliest days of the Christian Church, the labors of the Apostles and their near disciples were directed to the lands lying beyond Parthia, into Bactria and India, if we may trust the early Syrian records collected by Assemanius; but it was not until the Nestorian Church had separated from the Eastern as a distinct branch, in the fifth century and afterwards, that any systematic efforts to preach the gospel among the Chinese were commenced. What plans those churches adopted to maintain the missionary societies, select or train their agents, support and guide them when in the field, and keep up that mutual knowledge and sympathy in themselves and their missionaries, without which both would become disheartened and fail, we have no satisfactory records. The probabilities are that the risks of travel through Central Asia, along the valley of the river Tarim, and across the Desert of Gobi into the regions of the Yellow River, interfered with regular intercourse, and compelled the missionaries to depend chiefly upon their own resources and converts to

keep up their work. Yet it is a little strange that the records and results of the labors of the Nestorian missionaries among the Chinese for a period of nearly eight hundred years, between the sixth and fourteenth centuries, should be confined to a single tablet, erected at Si-ngan fu in A. D. 781, containing a few thousand characters; and to scattered notices by Marco Polo, Abu Said, and Carpini, of some weak churches in Peking, Chinkiang, and Hangchau. No translations of any part of the Scriptures, no tracts, apologies, hymns, or creeds used by them, and few or no quotations by native heathen authors from such writings, have yet been met with in China. No ruins of churches or monasteries, nor any vestiges of tombs of eminent men, have yet been pointed out as having once belonged to the *King Kiao*, or Illustrious Religion, as this faith was called. The most reasonable explanation is that both priest and people gradually fell away into the form, from having lost the power, of the Cross. Possessing no version of the Bible from which they could learn their duty and their hopes, they relapsed into idolatry.

The extent of the missions commenced in Northern China by the Roman Catholics under Corvino and his successors, A. D. 1300-1369, during the Mongol dynasty, need not be detailed; for their churches seem to have been swept away amidst the troubles ensuing on its destruction by Hungwu, founder of the Ming dynasty. The meagre accounts left to us indicate that their work was chiefly confined to the Mongols, into whose language the New Testament was translated; but no permanent traces existed when Matthew Ricci and his associates arrived in Canton, in 1581, and resumed the work. That work has been carried on since Ricci reached Peking, in 1601, to the present time, with the skill, energy, and perseverance which characterize the papal church, and the number of the converts is now to be reckoned by hundreds of thousands. Their cathedrals, churches, convents, chapels, schools, asylums, and workshops, suitable to their plans and needs, are scattered throughout the eighteen provinces of China.

But with our ideas of what constitutes the essential elements of the mission enterprise as commanded by Christ, we cannot select Ricci as the typical name to be associated as leader with the church of God among the Chinese. In all the human qualifications of a leader, he will bear comparison with any name which can be mentioned as connected with the cause of Christianity in China; but neither he nor his associates or successors have distinctly preached the evangel of a free salvation through faith in Christ. They have never prepared and systematically given the Word of God to the people in their own language; have never put it in front as the revelation of God to man, which he must read and obey, because it contains the only and sufficient law, guide, and sanctions for his conduct here, and the foundation of his hopes hereafter. Besides this initial defect in their plan of missions, the Roman Catholics there,

as elsewhere, have put forward the names of Mary and various canonized saints so prominently that the converts hear and think more of them and their virtues than they do of Jesus; and this misplacement is further strengthened in ignorant minds by the images and pictures set up in all places of worship. The second commandment having been expurgated, the converts know no prohibition restraining them from paying the same worship to these new images which they had paid to their old idols; and this notion of the essential likeness between the two is confirmed by the similar ceremonies conducted by the Buddhist priest in his pagoda to the foreign priest in his church.

Notwithstanding the inculcation by the Roman Catholics of most of the great truths of revelation, we must still decline to look upon them as having laid the foundations of the church of Christ in China. They had the field wholly to themselves up to about 1845, and during nearly two hundred and fifty years spread themselves over the land, acquiring power, wealth, and official position, to a degree which alarmed the government, and often led it to adopt harsh measures to repress their schemes and diminish their converts. Judged by their fruits, however, they have all along, in a few most vital points, laid aside the commandments of God to hold the traditions of men; and their work must therefore be tested by that righteous trial to which God will bring it at last, and show whether it has a place in the living temple of his redeemed.

It is for these reasons that we have selected the name of Robert Morrison to lead this notice of the foundation of the church of Christ in China. Though he died only a comparatively short time ago, the interval is long enough to judge his life-work candidly; for the subsequent changes there have been so great as to throw his life and times back into the past almost as much as if he had lived a century ago. He landed at Canton when the restrictive policy of the Chinese government was in its full strength, and its spirit of seclusion was upheld by the equally restrictive system of the British East India Company. The open propagandism of Christianity was impossible at that date, and its profession entailed suspicion, imprisonment, perhaps death, on a native. The *simulacrum* of imperial power at Peking began at that date to show in every part of its organization that the energetic hand of the Emperor Kienlung no longer guided and strengthened the showy bark of state, which, in the next generation, would collide disastrously with the successor of that same East India Company. It was time for the preparatory work of making translations and dictionaries to begin, and for proof to be given that the Chinese language could be made to convey the message of God to that race.

The true leader
of the church in
China.

Robert Morrison, the son of James and Hannah Morrison, was born January 5, 1782, at Buller's Green, Morpeth, in Northumberland, and was the youngest of eight children. His youth was spent at Newcastle-upon-

Tyne, and he was early apprenticed to his father in the trade of a last and boot-tree maker, until he began his regular studies for the ministry. He enjoyed the counsel, example, and constant nurture of godly parents while at home, and was a favorite of his mother, who looked to him for her support in declining years, and whom he dutifully served until her death in 1802. His parents were not numbered among the learned or honorable, but they taught him the Holy Scriptures from a child, and his pastor explained their truths, and catechised him in his knowledge of them. On one occasion, in his thirteenth year, Mr. Hutton tried him on the Scottish version of the one hundred and nineteenth Psalm, which Robert repeated throughout without making a mistake, although not allowed to do this at one effort. A memory so retentive was well adapted for acquiring the Chinese language.

In 1798, at the age of sixteen, he joined himself with the church in which his father was an elder, and soon after turned his thoughts toward the ministry. His opportunities at that time for study were very limited. His daily labors in the shop were continued from six in the morning till the same hour in the evening, in order to gain an hour in the forenoon for recitations in the classical languages. His tutor, Mr. Laidler, a minister of the town, so cordially seconded his efforts to fit himself for his work that eighteen months after he was able to enter Hoxton Academy with creditable preparation.

A youth spent in such an uneventful manner furnishes no striking incidents for the biographer. It is like the natural and steady growth of an oak, which by and by endures and resists the storms and winters because its roots have struck deep in the earth. During the time young Morrison was at this academy, his purpose matured to become a missionary; and the record of his feelings and hopes shows how honest and earnest he was in his studies and devotions, all bringing him to one conclusion. His offer was accepted by the directors of the London Missionary Society in May, 1804, and the next month he was taken into their training institution at Gosport.

An extract or two from his letter to them is worth quoting: "About

His account of
his call. seven years ago, I was brought to rest my soul on Jesus Christ for eternal salvation. I should say that about two years after I was filled with an ardent desire to serve the Lord Jesus and the spiritual interests of my fellow-men in any way, however humble. It was then I formed the design of engaging as a missionary. I can scarcely call it a design; it was only a wish, an ardent desire. I was then in an obscure situation, nearly three hundred miles from town, and had no one to encourage or second me. For a long time I thought of it; the crying necessity for missionaries dwelt upon my mind. I prayed to the Lord to dispose me to that which was well-pleasing in his sight, and if agreeable to his will to fulfill the desire of my heart. I conceived

that nothing could be done without learning. I therefore saved a little money from what my father gave me, to pay a teacher of Latin, which I learned in the mornings before six o'clock, and in the evenings after seven or eight. . . .

"I am afraid I should sin were I to keep back. I do not consider it as good and laudable only, but as my duty. Knowing that Jesus wills that his gospel shall be preached in all the world, and that the redeemed of the Lord are to be gathered out of every kindred and tongue and people; recollecting, moreover, the command of Jesus to go into all the world to preach the gospel to every creature, I conceive it my duty, as a candidate for the holy ministry, to stand candidate for a station where laborers are most needed."

It was true in Morrison's case, as it has been with so many other men, that the power of principle can sustain, and the obligations of duty can impel, the human will to form and carry out high purposes, irrespective of religion; but when a filial fear and ardent love for Christ are super-added, the highest stimulus to action is found. One radical difference between ancient and modern civilization springs from the harmonious co-operation of these three elements working in human society; and the missionary cause aims to apply the love of Christ as a renovating power to all phases of pagan, Moslem, and papal civilization by putting God's law and truth underneath the elementary principle and sense of duty already in them, but which are too weak alone to elevate them.

Soon after Morrison's acceptance, two of the lay directors of the society, Messrs. Hardcastle and Reyner, proposed that a mission to China should be begun, limiting its immediate objects to ^{Appointed to China.} acquiring the language and translating the Bible. Their proposal was agreed to, and Mr. Morrison was designated as their agent to commence it. A version of the Word of God appeared to these men all-important in their scheme; and they justly saw in that initial work the basis and assurance of everything requisite to the evangelization of China. We may fairly ask the advocates of all other plans of missionary labor to show that any of them have ever succeeded in saving souls or elevating human society.

During his course at Gosport, Mr. Morrison endeavored to learn something of the spoken Chinese language from a Cantonese named Yong Sam-tak, then in London; and of the written language by copying a manuscript Latin and Chinese dictionary, and a version of the New Testament as far as Hebrews. Both these manuscripts proved of great assistance in his future labors. If we could ever learn who had made this translation, his name and labors would deservedly be held in esteem; but we can recognize a providence in placing the manuscript where it came into good use, and thereby honoring the work of the unknown scholar, who was probably a Roman Catholic.

In addition to the usual studies, Mr. Morrison took a course in medicine, and also acquired some insight into astronomy, with a view to their future use. It is not surprising that he wished to seek and intermeddle with all wisdom, as he surveyed the vast field he was about to enter, of which so little accurate knowledge for his guidance was at hand. At this time the East India Company was so strongly opposed to the residence and work of missionaries throughout their dominions that they not only refused them a passage to India, but, as in the case of Mr. Morrison, would not even take them as passengers to a country like China, in which they had no territory. It is hard, at this distance of time, to appreciate the force of their sordid fears, and still less to sympathize with the unsound, selfish arguments which they urged to fortify their unchristian position,—a position from which they were not finally dislodged until the mutiny of 1857 swept them and their policy away like chaff on the threshing-floor when driven by a winter's wind. It was in vain to ask them for a passage to Canton, and the society sent Mr. Morrison to New York, hoping there to find a ship to take him to his destination.

He was ordained in London, January 8, 1807, in company with Messrs. Gordon and Lee, two missionaries going to India by way of New York. On the 26th Mr. Morrison received a letter of instructions, signed by Joseph Hardcastle and George Burder, the secretary and treasurer of the society, in which they gave an outline of their purpose in sending him forth, and stated the two great objects to be kept in view after he had learned the language. "When this is done," they remark, "you may, probably, soon afterwards begin to turn this attainment into a direction which may be of extensive use to the world. Perhaps you may have the honor of forming a Chinese dictionary, more comprehensive and correct than any preceding one, or the still greater honor of translating the sacred Scriptures into a language spoken by a third part of the human race. . . . We hope that you will experience all the beneficial effects that can be expected to flow from a course of action which is unblamable, discreet, and conciliating. We confide with much cheerfulness in your conduct as the representative of our institution, the character and reputation of which depend greatly on the disposition and proceedings of the persons to whom its countenance is afforded."

With these high objects in view, and a heart full of zeal and patience, Robert Morrison left England January 31, 1807, the first Protestant missionary to the Chinese. More than a thousand years before, the Nestorians had preached the outlines of Christianity to them; and so had their successors in the Papal and Greek churches. The Jews and Mohammedans had likewise both declared the existence and power of the one true God. Their teachings and example had all failed to turn the Chinese from idolatry, for neither of them had yet put forth the Book, the revelation of God's law and salvation, and based all their teachings

on its sanctions and promises, as they pointed erring souls to the cross of Christ.

On arriving in New York, after a rough passage of eighty days, Mr. Morrison and his companions were received by Divie Bethune, Rev. Dr. Mason, Robert Ralston, and other friends ^{Is in New York city.} of missions, who assisted them all in getting other ships, and courteously entreated them during their stay in America. Mr. Morrison was favored by a letter from James Madison, then secretary of state, to Mr. Carrington, the United States consul at Canton; and the agreeable acquaintances whom he made during his sojourn did not forget him when in China. He obtained a passage in the *Trident*, whose captain charged him only for his proportion of the stores. An anecdote is recorded of him on the day of his departure, which exhibits the view generally taken of his enterprise by worldly men, and his own sense of it. "When he was going down to the wharf to embark, he stopped in at the counting-house of the ship-owner. After all business matters were arranged, the latter turned to Morrison with a sardonic smile, saying, 'And so, Mr. Morrison, you really expect that you will make an impression on the idolatry of the great Chinese empire?' 'No, sir,' said Morrison, with more than his usual sternness, 'I expect God will.'"

He sailed on the 12th of May, and the leisure of the long voyage allowed him opportunity to progress in Chinese, with the help of Yong Sam-tak; so that he arrived in Canton, September 7th, with rather more knowledge of that language, probably, than any of his successors. His coming in an American ship enabled him to land there as an ^{Lands in China as an American.} American; and his friend. Sir George Staunton, advised him, under the circumstances, to remain where he was in the American factory of Messrs. Milnor and Bull, on the terms they offered him. This was partly to avoid the notice of the Chinese officials and Hong-merchants, and also to relieve the British authorities in the East India Company of the duty (as they thought it) of immediately inquiring into his objects; for no British subject was allowed to stay there but on account of trade.

Mr. Carrington also gave him valuable assistance and good counsel as to his course. Thus both Great Britain and the United States aided him from the time he left home till he settled down in his own lodgings at Canton; and through them he was enabled to begin his work in peace, and secure such countenance in it that he had no fears of being immediately sent out of the country. These two nations have ever since coöperated in their direct efforts to promote the same good end.

At that time Chinese officials put many obstacles in the way of learning the language, and a native scholar who ventured to assist a foreigner in doing so ran the risk of being branded as a *han kien*, or traitor, and exposed to heavy exactions. Mr. Morrison's ability to talk a little Latin

served him in good stead, and he obtained the aid of two or three scholars, one of whom spoke Latin fluently; but their high charges and other great expenses of living were a source of anxiety, lest it should discourage his friends in England. The Romish clergy in Macao would not permit him to reside there to carry on his work. He therefore lived for three months very quietly in two rooms on the ground-floor of Messrs. Milnor and Bull's factory, in Canton, dressed in the native costume, associated almost entirely with the natives, ate with his teacher, and devoted himself so assiduously to his studies that his health began to suffer. His good sense, however, soon taught him that such things were more likely to attract unpleasant attention than to promote his object, and he laid them aside. The propriety of adopting the Chinese dress has since been often discussed. The Roman Catholics are all required to put it on, and many of the German Protestant missionaries prefer it; but now that foreigners openly travel over the country, it rather attracts than eludes popular observation, and has simply its cheapness and convenience to recommend it.

Morrison now obtained rooms of his own above the ground-floor, and was freed from anxiety about the adverse action of the company's committee in respect to his being allowed to live at Canton, of the propriety of which they claimed to be the sole judges. At this time, and for nearly forty years after, all foreigners residing there were restricted by the Chinese authorities to certain houses along the river-side, called collectively the *Shih-san Hang*, or Thirteen Factories; so that he had no choice of getting cheaper lodgings among the natives in the city or suburbs. The chief and members of the company aided him with books, and in many ways individually showed their sympathy with his objects; procured rooms for him at Macao during the summer months, when he had become so weak that he could hardly walk, and intimated their willingness to ask for aid in printing his contemplated dictionary. He was further actuated by a desire not to implicate his servants or teachers with their own officials, and thus carried his habits of economy and seclusion to such a degree as to hazard his mission and life by his extreme privacy.

In October, after having settled himself for the winter on his return from Macao, he was obliged suddenly to leave Canton, owing to the proceedings of Admiral Drury in his attempt to protect Macao as a Portuguese colony against the expected attacks of the French fleet, which irritated the Chinese rulers, and led to the Committee ordering all British subjects away from Canton to Macao as a precautionary measure. His disappointment was great at this interruption, but he found opportunity still to continue his labors, keep up his Sabbath services with his servants, and take better care of his health. He became acquainted also with the family of John Morton, from India, whose daughter Mary he

married on the 20th of February, 1809. On that day, too, he received and accepted the offer made by the East India Company to become their official interpreter at Canton on a yearly stipend of five hundred pounds. Interpreter of the East India Company.

These two events changed the whole aspect of his life, and relieved him from the harassing uncertainty as to his ability to remain in China, or commence his mission anew in Penang or Malacca, to which he was even then looking. His lonely life was now enlivened by the comforts and company of a household; his honest fears of involving the society in expense were removed by a liberal allowance; and his anxiety lest his native assistants should leave him, or become implicated by helping him, was abated by his position as official translator to the company.

His unsolicited appointment to this responsible position within eighteen months after his arrival is the best possible testimony to his scholarship, prudence, and consistent character. He himself thought that his acceptance of the post might tend to remove any aversion of the directors of the company to missionaries, when they found that they were ready to serve their interests; but in this he was quite mistaken. The same policy which in India led them to uphold idolatry actuated them against all missionary efforts, and no favor was ever shown Morrison or his associates in China; nor was he himself ever rated as a covenanted servant of the company, but kept in the inferior grade of a hired translator. He was once curtly dismissed, in 1815, without the least chance being given of explaining his conduct, on the charge of having printed and published in China the New Testament, together with several religious tracts, which, being effected in defiance of an edict of the emperor of China, might, they apprehended, give rise to serious mischief (!) to the British trade in China. However, the order was not carried into effect in China till he had defended his course, when it was silently withdrawn. He continued to serve the company for twenty-five years, till their Chinese establishment was dissolved. At this time, and ever after, this same company was doing all it could to introduce opium into China, in contempt of repeated edicts of successive emperors, by raising and preparing it in India for smugglers to take out.

Mr. Morrison's subsequent course showed the same diligence, prudence, and piety which we have already seen to characterize him; and in this way he was daily preaching to the natives around him in a practical manner most intelligible to them. The moral habits of most foreigners there exhibited great disregard of the precepts which he was inculcating; but his example had its influence, while he himself lamented the little success of his labors. It should be stated that he was not by nature calculated to win and interest the skeptical or the fastidious; for he had no sprightliness or pleasantry, no versatility or wide acquaintance with letters, and was respected rather than beloved by those who cared little for the things nearest his heart.

Though now much occupied with official duties, he never ceased to explain and urge the claims of the gospel upon all natives who were in his employ, but even to the end of his life he had no opportunity to preach them publicly. These private ministrations gradually became well known throughout the limited circle of natives connected with foreigners, and during a course of years gave his household a religious character, the more noticeable from its peculiarity.

It is not easy to convey a just idea of the contemptuous treatment with which the officials of that day "managed" foreigners at Canton. They saw that one way to maintain their authority was to prevent them from learning the language by punishing all natives who assisted them in any way, sold them books, or cut blocks to print their translations. Even the bishop of Macao issued an anathema against those who should have intercourse with Morrison, or give him Chinese books; and the company's committee would not have hesitated to deport him, if the local authorities had complained against him for propagandism. The great object to be gained at first was to keep a footing in the country; and under such circumstances his faith and patience were best exhibited by proving in his conduct that he was "inoffensive and harmless," as he says, in a letter of December 4, 1809, he had been reported to be among the heathen.

The directors of the society, when alluding to his official position, remark, "We do not wish that honorable and even apparently advantageous connections of a political nature should be pursued and enjoyed by our missionaries, if they at all be found to interfere with their designation and proposed exertions for the spiritual good of the heathen among whom they dwell; but there appears to be a peculiarity in your situation and circumstances which makes a degree of political patronage and support almost essential to the existence of your mission, and to the facility and support of its operations."

This principle has been adopted by all missionary societies, and its propriety cannot be disputed. Mr. Morrison, about this time, printed one thousand copies of the Acts of the Apostles, followed by a version of Luke and some tracts to explain Christian truth. A grammar of the language was prepared in 1811, but not printed at Serampore until 1815, owing, among other things, to the want of Chinese type; and progress was made in the translation of the Bible and preparation of the dictionary. On the 4th of July, 1813, he was cheered by the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. William Milne, the only colleagues from Great Britain who ever joined him in China. Their arrival was reported to the Portuguese authorities, who in full senate decreed that they should not remain. The governor sent for Mr. Morrison, and announced that the court had ordered him to send Mr. Milne away, that it was contrary to their religion for him to stay in Macao, and that the East India Com

pany had requested the court not to allow Englishmen in the colony.¹ A written application to the chief of the company for Mr. Milne to be regarded as assistant translator for a limited time was rejected. He therefore set out for Canton sixteen days after landing, as the Chinese authorities were not so obstructive as the Portuguese or British. He remained there four months, when he started on a voyage through the Indian Archipelago to find the best place to establish a mission and carry on its work publicly and unopposed. He returned to China in September, 1814, and soon after settled at Malacca. This excellent man wore himself out, laboring beyond his strength, and shortening his life by attempting too many things. He died in June, 1822, leaving behind him an admirable *résumé* of the outlines of Christianity in a tract called "The Two Friends," through which he yet speaketh to myriads of Chinese.

In 1814, the first part of the Chinese and English Dictionary was in such a state of forwardness as to warrant Mr. Morrison to begin printing it, under Mr. Thom's superintendence, as soon as the necessary Chinese type could be made. This type was all cut by hand with chisels on small blocks of tin or type-metal cast in suitable sizes, and the font was added to as the work required. It was employed in many books, and gradually increased, till it contained nearly twenty-five thousand characters and about a hundred thousand separate types of two sizes. After constant use for forty-two years, half the time in possession of Mr. S. W. Williams, then printer of the American Board at Canton, to whom it had been given by the British superintendent of trade, it was burned there in December, 1856. It was by far the most expensive font of type ever made.

On the 16th of July, 1814, "at a spring of water issuing from the foot of a lofty hill by the sea-side in Macao, away from human observation," Morrison baptized Tsai Ako, the first convert to the Christian religion whom he had welcomed to the fellowship of the faith. He had this happiness only a few times afterwards. In the early part of that year he sent a copy of the New Testament in Chinese to the Bible Society in London, which made a grant of five hundred pounds for printing it. In his letter he fully acknowledges the aid he had received from the manuscript copied at the British Museum in translating the Acts and Pauline epistles, the other books being entirely his own work. At this time he was also occupied in superintending the printing of the dictionary, in addition to his official duties and mission labors on the Sabbath. His constraint in the latter branch led him to

Morrison baptizes the first convert.

¹ To show the change since that date, it may be stated that in 1857, when the clergy objected to the American missionaries opening chapels in the Bazaar, the governor replied that they had a perfect right to preach to the Chinese in any way they pleased, and he should not interfere. Many of the Portuguese dropped in from time to time at the services.

cast about for some means of enlarging their sphere, and in October, 1815, he issued proposals to Christians in Great Britain to establish by and by a college, a press, a missionary society, and a theological seminary at Malacca. There had been, at that date, no opportunity for the trial, and he could not understand, as we can now, that the basis of a Christian people was first wanted to furnish such institutions with a suitable soil for their natural growth.

On the 13th of July, 1816, he started for Peking as interpreter to Lord Amherst's embassy, in which the chief labor of the correspondence and interpreting devolved on him. On the return to Canton overland, he had an opportunity to see the Chinese people in their own country, and ascertain the views of the officials on many points connected with foreign countries. He resumed his varied labors on his return, January 1, 1817, and went on with them far removed from his wife, then in England for her health, and from his two children. He was this year honored by the University of Glasgow with the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

Mr. Milne was now able to assist him in the translation of the Old Testament, which was completed on the 29th of November, 1819; Milne translated ten books, and each revised the other's work. The Bible Society defrayed the cost of printing it, and then, as now, evinced a lively interest in aiding its distribution. In a long letter of this date to the directors of the London society, Morrison modestly recounted the difficulties of his work, described the principle he had adopted in rendering the original, and acknowledged his consciousness of its imperfections as a first translation. He ends his letter with an expression of his "trust that the gloomy darkness of pagan skepticism will be dispelled by the day-spring from on high, and that the gilded idols of Buddh and the numberless images which fill the land will one day assuredly fall to the ground before the force of God's Word, as the idol Dagon fell before the ark. These are my anticipations, although there appears not the least opening at present." His hopes were well founded; for since his death the distribution of the Word of God has reached the utmost bounds of the empire, and its truths are discussed by people of every rank and condition.

The dictionary was finished in November, 1823, at an expense of twelve thousand pounds for seven hundred copies, generously defrayed by the East India Company. It consists of six quarto volumes, numbering in all four thousand five hundred and ninety-five pages; it is arranged in three parts, namely, one Chinese-English part according to the radicals and one according to the syllables, and an English-Chinese part. The undertaking was commenced on too great a scale, and towards its close the author was obliged to hurry through his task; so that in fact the syllabic part proved to be the only really useful portion. This was reprinted in 1855 in one octavo volume at the mission-press in Shanghai.

Both these important objects had been proposed to him on his departure from England in 1807; and by the goodness of God in preserving his health, and the liberal aid of the Bible Society and the East India Company in printing the two books, he was enabled, on his return in 1824, to bring complete copies with him. Other minor publications in Chinese and English, issued during the same period of sixteen years, attested his industry and erudition.

While pursuing his own labors, he sought to interest his personal friends and the Christian public in his enterprise of establishing the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, under the supervision of the London Missionary Society and the personal care of Dr. Milne. The foundation was laid November 11, 1818, by Colonel Farquhar. Dr. Milne represented the founder of the college, delivering an appropriate speech, and mentioning the chief object in view in opening it to be the reciprocal cultivation of Chinese and European literature by students of either language, especially those designed for mission work. Malay was subsequently introduced to some extent. To this end Dr. Morrison gave liberally himself (he told his brother more than half of his property), and induced others to aid his philanthropic views. Buildings were put up, and a promising beginning was made; but a few years' experience proved that the project was premature in that region, and the institution never rose above a grammar-school up to the time of its dissolution and of the removal of the mission to Hongkong (1845). It accomplished enough, however, to reward its founders and teachers for their labors, and several works for aiding in the study of Chinese and Malay were printed by its professors. The number of native students seldom exceeded thirty, one of whom, named Show-teh, was afterwards employed at Peking as interpreter. In January, 1823, Dr. Morrison visited Singapore and Malacca, and coöperated with Sir Stamford Raffles, the governor of the former colony, in starting the Singapore Institution, which has existed with varying degrees of efficiency to the present time.

On reaching Malacca, he thus gives expression to his feelings: "The college and the native students gave me great satisfaction; the Chinese youths sang the one hundredth Psalm, which was composed in Chinese by my former assistant Koh. Finding the good use which had been made by my dear William of my Chinese books and my funds, and the freedom of worshipping the blessed God without mandarin interference, altogether produced on my mind a most pleasing effect. Oh, how grateful should I be! I hope this work will never cease till China be evangelized, and then it will be useless."

While at these two British colonies, he diligently aided in giving greater efficiency to the college by encouraging its officers and students, and preparing books for the latter. He also lifted up his voice with the governor for the abolition of licensing gambling shops and of the slave-trade, both

of which were upheld before that time. His return to China was to a lonely home, for Mrs. Morrison had died in June, 1821, and the two children had been sent to England. This induced him to find opportunity to visit his native land. Few missionaries have ever gone home who had better earned the respect and approval of the Christian world. The mission work in China was left in the hands of a newly ordained native evangelist, Liang Afah, a convert of Dr. Milne's, whose piety and zeal were proved during nearly thirty years of faithful service among his countrymen, sometimes at the risk of his life, preaching and itinerating, as well as composing, printing, and distributing tracts.

Dr. Morrison reached England in March, 1824, bringing with him ten thousand volumes of Chinese books, which were, after considerable detention, released from bond without duty, and finally placed in University College, London. He was honored by the court of directors with a public dinner, and soon after presented to the king, George Fourth, to whom he offered a copy of the Bible in Chinese and a map of Peking. The authorities of Newcastle gave a public dinner in honor of his visit; and his time, strength, and abilities were all taxed to the utmost, to reply to and satisfy the demands made on him. Before he left England he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and, what he regarded as more honorable, one of the directors of the London Missionary Society. It was at the annual religious anniversaries in London that the heartiest congratulations on the results of his labors were extended to him; and probably no missionary ever received so marked an ovation by all classes of his countrymen as did Robert Morrison in the year 1824, owing, no doubt, to the combined religious and political duties he had fulfilled in China. In Paris distinguished men paid him attention, and in Ireland and Scotland, too, he successfully advocated the cause of missions and the college at Malacca, to which Lord Kingsborough gave fifteen hundred pounds as a permanent fund. He also set forth the desirableness of establishing a professorship of Chinese in one of the universities, urging as one argument for it that as the British possessions in the East gradually approach the Chinese empire and CochinChina, a knowledge of the Chinese language seems desirable to his majesty's government.

In November, 1824, he was married to Miss Eliza Armstrong, and with his two children was preparing to return to Canton, when he was urged to remain in England another year in order to assist in starting a language institution, at which all the living languages were to be studied, in aid of the propagation of Christianity throughout the world, a project which met with favor among good men acquainted with India. The society was formed June 14, 1825; suitable buildings were rented in Holborn for students, and Dr. Morrison lectured and taught three months on the Chinese language to fourteen students. It did not, however, en-

ture, and within three years was given up. The objects were too general and vague to meet the wants of any one class, and it is better, on the whole, for a missionary to learn a language where he is to speak it. A special society for training and supporting women in mission work in pagan lands was advocated by him, and he taught three young ladies in Chinese while in London, to show his earnestness in the project, and to fit them for their life work. Such a society was formed a few years afterwards, and the example of these young ladies aided materially in encouraging its founders.

In such labors and others of a kindred sort two years passed away, when the time approached for him to embark on his return to China. His visit had aroused and increased the interest in the spiritual welfare of China throughout the Christian people of England, and at his departure he was assured by words of counsel and sympathy from public bodies and private individuals that his efforts had not been in vain. He sailed on the 5th of May, 1826, and reached Macao September 19th, having spent a fortnight at Singapore. Here he found that the buildings of the Singapore Institution were not so far finished as to admit of receiving pupils, that insufficient funds remained to complete them; and, what was worse, that little interest was taken in the object. He felt this failure deeply, as in it he saw the loss of five thousand nine hundred dollars which he had contributed to the establishment of the school. When he reached China, his colleague, Liang Afah, was glad to greet him, and showed him three publications prepared during his absence. After a few days he gathered around him those who had formerly served him; others known in earlier days also came to his services. He concluded, from what he could gather, that the influence of divine truth on their minds had deepened, and no serious obstacle had prevented Liang Afah from making known the truth. The members of the company, unsolicited, contributed five hundred pounds for the college at Malacca; and he soon found congenial work and society, though the old endeared friends had mostly departed. His official duties in the factory, his efforts to extend his missionary influence, correspondence with the brethren in other stations, and work on a projected commentary on the Scriptures and revision of his translation, together furnished occupation for all his time. His letters to his wife at Macao all indicate his sense of the paramount importance of the mission work, and he was happy in seeing its beginnings in Java, Siam, and Sumatra.

In February, 1830, he welcomed Messrs. Bridgman and Abeel as the first fellow-workers from the American churches, who were succeeded by Messrs. Stevens, Tracy, and Williams, before he died; his English colleagues were all distributed in the Archipelago. His reflections upon the arrival of the first two indicate the longing of his heart for congenial society: "My own health and

Welcomes the
first missiona-
ries from Amer-
ica.

strength begin to fail; but as I am going off the stage, I rejoice that it has pleased the Lord to send others to continue the work." His position in the factory had been made so irksome by his superiors that he wrote out his resignation as an alternative of relief from their interference. He had also recently lost six thousand dollars by a failure. Still he continued at his Chinese writings, and prepared a series of Scripture lessons as a compend of Biblical truth, and a miscellaneous compilation of knowledge called the "*Domestic Instructor*," the type of both being cut at Canton. He issued from the company's press a small English-Chinese vocabulary in the Canton dialect, which was of some use to the trading community. The commentary was never completed. He also aided Mr. Bridgman in filling the pages of the "*Chinese Repository*," a monthly magazine devoted to the diffusion of information about the far East, and wrote translations from the Chinese for newspapers at Canton and Malacca. These comprise all the important works he published during the eight years after his return.

As his strength declined, he was assisted in his translating labors by his oldest son, John Robert, whom he had trained for his successor, and cheered by the brightening prospects of the diffusion and reception of the gospel in China. The Bible, in whole or in part, and other books, had been distributed along the coasts of China and in the Indian Archipelago, and thus he saw that the field was gradually opening. His liberality was constant, and his plans for doing good found a few co-workers among the foreigners. One such plan was to open a coffee-shop in Canton for sailors coming up from the ships, to prevent them going to the Chinese grog-shops, where they were poisoned by the drugged samshoo offered them for drink. In reply to a letter from the treasurer of the London Missionary Society, inquiring how Christian knowledge could be diffused through the Chinese Archipelago, he details his scheme for the establishment of central and local mission stations, schools, and presses, with vessels, crews, and itinerating preachers to carry out the design. It was an impracticable and costly plan, and shows an earnest desire for the extension of the truth rather than much sagacity as to the practical details. A more encouraging paper was drawn up by him and Mr. Bridgman on the 4th of September, 1832, which day completed twenty-five years since he landed, stating the direct and indirect results of missionary labors during that period, and looking hopefully to a vast expansion of the work. The eleven foreign and native preachers, the ten converts and score of pupils, the Scriptures and tracts issued as mentioned in it, have, under God's blessing, since multiplied to hundreds, thousands, and millions.

One last exhibition of the petty spite of the company's committee in China against his missionary efforts appeared in June, 1833, when he was preemptorily ordered to "suspend the issue of any further publica-

tions from the printing-press in his house at Macao." This press had issued four numbers of a religious newspaper and a sermon preached at Whampoa, all in the English language, which the vicar-general there complained of to the governor as contrary to the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church; and he, in his turn, to the president of the committee, who willingly became their tool to suppress this publication. Dr. Morrison stopped it, therefore, protesting "against the whole proceeding as an act of usurped authority, tyranny, and oppression on the part of both Portuguese and English at the bidding of a popish priest."

In July, 1834, the arrival of Lord Napier as British superintendent of trade confirmed Dr. Morrison's appointment as Chinese interpreter to the crown, on the dissolution of the company, at a salary of one thousand three hundred pounds. He entered on his duties immediately, and prepared to accompany the commission to Canton. On the passage from Macao he was exposed to heat and rain during one night, and reached Canton completely exhausted. Sharp discussions arose between the Chinese and British authorities, as soon as the latter refused to call their dispatches *pin*, or petitions, and employ the Hong-merchants as their official medium of communication. Thus began a quarrel which has not yet altogether ceased. The controversy gave Dr. Morrison much anxious concern, and prevented his taking needed rest. On the Sabbath evening after his arrival he gathered his domestics and others for worship, and strained himself to conduct it. His son says, "A greater than usual degree of solemnity appeared to pervade the little congregation, as we received from those lips the words of everlasting life."

During the week, his feebleness increased so that he decided to return to Macao, where the heat was less oppressive. One who was with him the afternoon before his death says, "After his arrival, about a week before his decease, he left his house but two or three times, though he continued to attend to his official duties almost to the last hour. Though weak, he could walk into another room, talk feebly, and unite in supplicating the divine mercy. He said that he thought his life was in danger, but I did not, and I think he did not anticipate so speedy a change. I sat by him, and he repeated many passages of Scripture: 'I will never leave thee nor forsake thee,' 'We have a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens,' and such like. He then prayed aloud for all of us, if he should be taken away; that God would be merciful to Eliza and the dear children, and bless them with his protection and guardian care; that the Lord would sustain him, and forsake him not now in his feebleness; and for the Chinese mission, that grace and peace might rest on all the laborers. And having said these things, he lay down to rest."

That night, August 1, 1834, he was released from sickness and suffering, almost before his son and those standing around were aware of his

departure, and while they were devising restoratives preparatory to his sailing in the morning for Macao. He was fifty-two years six months old, and almost twenty-seven years had passed since he landed in Canton. His remains were buried beside those of his first wife, in Macao. Nine years afterwards those of his gifted son, John Robert, were laid near by. Whoever writes the history of Christianity in China must turn to the Protestant cemetery in Macao with reverence, for there are the graves of the Morrisons, of Samuel Dyer, Dr. Morrison's colleague and pupil, who came to China only to die, and of two or three American female laborers.

On my arrival in Canton, in October, 1833, I made the acquaintance of Dr. Morrison and his son, and saw him many times during the winter, where he mostly remained till February. He appeared prematurely old, and his person had become so corpulent that moving about was a great exertion to him. He was able, however, to keep at his desk, and was devising plans for work to the last. On his return from Macao, in August, he expressed more solicitude about the result of the negotiations then beginning with the Chinese than fears as to the condition of his health. It was a gratifying sight to me, who had so recently reached the field, to see this pioneer in mission work, after a lonely service commenced amid obscurity and doubt, cheerful in his daily duties, and ready for whatever the Master willed, whether life or death. As he had expressed himself when leaving New York, twenty-seven years before, sure that God would make an impression on the idolatry of the Chinese empire, he now saw that his hope had not been in vain; his work had indeed been far different in its details from what he had planned in his mind, but the aim had been unwavering and the results promising.

Dr. Morrison's writings attest his industry, care, and erudition. The list of his published works in Chinese amounts to twelve books, of which the translation of the Bible, the "Family Instructor," and a few geographical and religious tractates are the chief. In English there were nineteen separate works, including his dictionary, grammar, Canton vocabulary, and "View of China for Philological Purposes, for the Use of Chinese Students," a Life of W. Milne, four volumes of sermons, miscellaneous translations from the Chinese, and minor pamphlets called forth by passing events or discussions. All of them are now difficult to procure.

The dawn of China's regeneration was breaking as his eyes closed on the scene of his labors, and these labors contributed to advance the new era, and his example to inspire his successors to more and greater triumphs. His name, like those of Carey, Marshman, Judson, and Martyn, belongs to the heroic age of missions. Each of them was fitted for a peculiar field. Morrison was able to work alone, uncheered by congenial companions, and sustained by his energy and sense of duty, presenting to foreigners and natives alike an instance of a man diligent in business,

fervent in spirit, serving the Lord. His life was mostly passed in the midst of those who had no sympathy with his pursuits, but his zeal never abated, nor did he compromise his principles to advance his cause. His translations and his dictionary have been indeed superseded by better ones, built up on his foundations, and guided by his experience; but his was the work of a wise master-builder, and future generations in the Church of God in China will ever find reason to bless Him for the labors and example of Robert Morrison. — S. W. W.

LIFE XXXVII. ADONIRAM JUDSON.

A. D. 1788—A. D. 1849. BAPTIST, — BURMAH.

ADONIRAM JUDSON, the first American Baptist missionary to Burmah, was born in Malden, Massachusetts, August 9, 1788. As a child he gave promise of unusual ability, reading in the Bible at three years; at four, preaching to his little sister; at seven, found lying on the ground, with a hole in the hat which covered his eyes, proving by a method of his own the self-originated problem, "Does the earth or the sun move?" in his fourteenth year, prepared for college; in his sixteenth, entering Brown University a year in advance; in his nineteenth, graduating with the highest honors. Acute in intellect, with great powers of acquisition, and unflinching perseverance and persistence, the boy gave indications of the future man. Recognizing his own abilities, and assured by the confidence of his father in the future which was before him, his ambition was stimulated by the expectations of a brilliant career; but his attainments, thus early, as through life, were the result of unflagging diligence.

At the time of his leaving college, infidelity, like a black wave, was sweeping over the land. Free inquiry in matters of religion was regarded by the young man of independent thought as a part of education. Young Judson, like many another, cutting loose from the moorings of traditional faith, drifted, he knew not whither. But the Spirit of God, whose instrument he was to become, watched over him on the illusive waters, and saved him from the shipwreck which he courted.

The death, under peculiar circumstances, of a brilliant and talented young man, his companion in intellectual pursuits and religious doubts, forced back upon him the truths he had tried to abandon. Having no fixed faith, he was well-nigh in despair. Still clinging at heart to his deistical sentiments, and doubting the authenticity of revealed religion, he yet recognized his personal sinfulness and the need of some great moral renovation. His moral nature became thoroughly aroused, and he was deeply in earnest.

Deep spiritual
conflicts.

With this conflict going on in his heart and mind, he turned, with the candor which during his whole life marked his pursuit of truth, to a calm and careful examination of the grounds of Christian faith. To aid him in his investigations, he entered the theological seminary at Andover, then under the care of men eminent for learning and piety, and in its seclusion he gave himself up to undistracted attention to his spiritual interests. He opened all the doors of his soul to the light of truth, and it gradually came in. With his whole nature he surrendered himself to the will of God, recognizing Christ in his atoning character, and accepting Him as his Saviour. The change was so deep and radical that no shadow of misgiving or doubt ever clouded his future. From this time forth the trusting and appropriating "My Lord, and my God," was the expression of his unquestioning faith. His dreams of ambition vanished; his plans of life were changed; he simply asked, "How shall I so order my life as best to please God?" With earnest striving after personal holiness, he joyfully consecrated himself, all that he was and all that he was to be, to the service of Christ.

In December, 1808, a few weeks after going to Andover, he made a solemn dedication of himself to God. In May, 1809, he united with the Congregational church in Plymouth, of which his father was pastor, and decided to continue his studies at Andover. Almost without a question he had decided upon the ministry. When he saw Christ as the only way of salvation for his own soul, he accepted it as his obligation and choice to devote his life to the salvation of lost men.

In September of this year he read Buchanan's "Star in the East," which made so powerful an impression on his mind that after several months of serious consideration he gave himself, in enthusiastic but thoughtful consecration, to the evangelization of the heathen. At a later period the reading of Symes's "Embassy to Ava" fixed his desires on a mission to Burmah, which, in the providence of God, was to be his future field.

Almost simultaneously, the minds of three or four young men in Williams College and in Andover became similarly impressed with regard to their duties to the heathen in this and other lands. Their sentiments became known to each other, and the faith and purposes of each were strengthened.

This point in the history of American missions is a most interesting one. As years have passed since the beginning of the American foreign missionary enterprise, we see that this was a prepared time; we see the purposes of God running like a thread of light through the thoughts of men's minds and the tendencies of the times; and minds and times were shaped for the events which were to follow. God builded better than these young men knew.

Already the English missionary societies had made successful begin-

nings in India, but the spots of light were few and small. Drs. Ryland, Fuller, and Sutcliffe had kindled the flame of missionary zeal in England; and in this country, Drs. Worcester, Stoughton, and others, men of enlarged views and deep and earnest piety, were praying and eloquently preaching our duties to the heathen world. As has been said, "it was the sun on the mountain tops, which showed that the sun had risen," but the light was mostly on the mountain tops. Missionary societies of a limited character had been formed, but there was as yet no general organization uniting the churches of the country for supporting missions to the heathen. The churches were widely separated, communication was difficult, and they were ignorant of their strength. It wanted the occasion to call out, and call together, the scattered elements. This occasion was given when four young men of Andover, glowing with Christian ardor and love for souls, offered themselves, upon the 28th day of June, 1810, to go to the uttermost parts of the earth to tell of the love of Jesus.

One of four to
occasion the
founding of the
American
Board.

In this new emergency, which they had not anticipated and for which they were not prepared, the American churches naturally turned for direction and aid to the London society, with its larger experience, and would gladly have united with it in the support and conduct of the new mission.

Although regarding the proposition with the utmost kindness, the English society did not deem it practicable. Thus thrown back upon themselves, to meet the exigency the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was formed, which timidly but determinedly took up the support of its own missions.

In February, 1812, Judson married Miss Ann Hasseltine, the noble and heroic woman who shared with him, with a devotion and a faith equal to his own, the vicissitudes, the trials, and the self-denials of those early years of suffering and solitude in which the mission to Burmah was planted. They sailed soon after, with Rice, Nott, Newell, and others, — whose names have become household words, — the first American missionaries to India.

The hand of God led Judson on the water as on the land, preparing him in a peculiar manner for the execution of his purposes. On ship-board, the minds of himself and his wife were led to a reëxamination of the subject of baptism, as also of the Scriptural proofs. An earnest examination of these points led them to a change of views, and, on arriving at Calcutta, they requested immersion at the hands of the English Baptist missionaries. Their changed views necessitated a change in their future plans, and the separation in labor from their associates was painful in the extreme.

Alone in a heathen land, cut off from support by the board which sent them out, they turned to the Baptists in the United States, then a com-

paratively feeble body, with no adequate missionary organization, but with a deep interest in missions existing throughout the denomination. The appeal met with an enthusiastic response, and resulted in forming the American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, an organization which in 1845 assumed the present name of the Baptist Missionary Union. Thus were formed two noble institutions which have dotted with their missions almost the whole extent of heathendom, which have witnessed results the most sanguine could hardly have anticipated, and whose beneficent influences eternity alone can unfold.

The little company of the Caravan, which embarked at Salem for Calcutta, amidst the doubts of their friends and the sneers of those who were not, had hardly set foot on Indian shores when a barrier stronger than that of paganism opposed them. The East India Company, then in the flush of its power and intolerance, either from avarice or from antagonism to their object, peremptorily forbade their settling in any of the company's territory, and resisted, by every means in their power, the introduction of Christianity among the millions of its subjects in Bengal.

After many delays and dangers, while attempting to find a home in the Isle of France, they were driven by fresh persecutions and adverse seas to Rangoon, where, out of the reach of Christian power, they were permitted, but not by man, to teach the gospel of love and grace. From the intolerance of a nominally Christian, they had escaped to the intolerance of a truly heathen government.

The government of Burmah was an unmitigated despotism, and enmity to the spread of the new religion was bitter in the extreme. Forced to pursue their work secretly, Mr. Judson gave the first years to the acquisition of the language, a language rich in its sacred literature, but having no known affinities to any other Indian tongue, and, to the first foreigner attempting to acquire it, one of unusual difficulty.

His purpose was so to master its construction and peculiarities that he might think in it as in his vernacular; that he might thus be able to render with exactness, into the language of a people who had no knowledge of it, the word of the living God. So persistent was his assiduity, that he acquired in a few years such a knowledge of it that he was said to write and speak it with the familiarity of a native and the elegance of a cultivated scholar. Nothing but absolute mastery limited his desire for command over a language which was to be the vehicle of the lively oracles, and with which he was to assail an idolatry grown venerable by antiquity. Buddhism, the religion of Burmah, possessed a moral code remarkable for the purity of its precepts, and recognized the strictest system of future rewards and punishments. Reeking with law and penalty, it contained no allusion to repentance, no hint of forgiveness. How was he straitened within himself, till he could proclaim the holy

doctrines of forgiveness and peace, through an atoning Saviour, Jesus Christ, the Son of the only God!

During these years of silent labor, the churches at home became impatient of results. Doubtless the echoes of this impatience reached him when he penned those words of faith and trust, words as sublime in their trust and faith as were ever penned by the hand of man: "If they ask again, 'What prospect of ultimate success is there?' tell them, As much as that there is an almighty and faithful God, who will perform his promises, and no more. If this does not satisfy them, beg them to let me stay and try it, and to let you come, and to give us our *bread*; or if they are unwilling to risk their bread on such a forlorn hope as has nothing but the Word of God to sustain it, beg of them at least not to prevent others from giving us bread, and if we live some twenty or thirty years, they may hear from us again." He adds, further, after speaking of the degradation of the people, and the comfortless life of missionaries, — except what was found in each other and in their work, — "However, if a ship was lying in the river ready to convey me to any part of the world I should choose, and that too with the approbation of all my Christian friends, I should prefer dying to embarking." Such faith, such fidelity, such zeal, such holy devotion! Do we wonder that the windows of heaven were opened, and the blessing came down like a gracious rain on the seed-sowing?

Having acquired facility in the use of the language, he began what he would gladly have taken as the labor of his life, — the oral preaching of the gospel to the few inquirers he could gather round him. A *zayat* was opened by the road-side, and a few timid inquirers came stealthily to hear the strange new story. The thoughtful, cautious, philosophical Burmese heard such words as no Buddhist books contained. They heard of a God, eternal, unchangeable. They came again; they inquired; they pondered; they believed; they received the instantaneous pardon of repented sin. How beautiful the simple story of the cross became to those ears which had heard only of æons of hopeless suffering for unatonable sin! How satisfying the confidence in a God who could not change, in place of Guadama, the synonym of change! Such was his hope for the whole Burman people.

Few instances of clearer faith can be found than in those early converts in Burmah. Of Moungh Shuay-Pau he says, "He is a fair specimen of a cautious Burman, who turns a thing over ten thousand times before he takes it, but when he once takes it, he holds it forever." Of Moungh Bo, "He has relinquished Buddhism, and got through with Deism and Unitarianism, and now appears to be near the truth." Of Myat-Kyan, "He has been an inquirer after truth many years, and has diligently investigated the systems of Buddh, of Brahma, of Mohammed. At length he has embraced the religion of Jesus Christ,

The first Bur-
mese converts.

with all his mind and soul." A little church was gathered around them in Rangoon. The Burmese government had made one long step in progress. Foreigners were allowed to worship according to the dictates of their own conscience, undisturbed, but it sacredly guarded its own people from the proselytism of religious teachers, and the native Christians embraced the new faith in the face of persecution and death.

In the hope of obtaining tolerance and protection for them, Mr. Judson resolved upon a visit to Ava, the capital of the empire. He procured an interview with the king, but in his effort he was unsuccessful. Of this failure he says characteristically, "The result of our toils and travels has been the very best possible; a result which, if we could see the end from the beginning, would call forth our highest praise. O slow of heart to believe and trust in the constant presence and overruling care of our almighty Saviour!"

Still the work continued to spread, and prospects were brightening, when the alarming illness of his wife made it necessary for her to return to America. Left entirely alone Judson devoted himself with redoubled energy to the translation of the New Testament and the labors of the *zayat*. When persecution relaxed he employed most of his time in religious instruction; when the sky darkened, he turned with earnestness to the work of translation. The mission had been reinforced by Mr. Hough, a printer, and the press was beginning to do its work.

Two years later, 1832, his new associate, Dr. Price, was summoned by an imperial order to Ava, on account of his medical skill. Mr. Judson, regretfully leaving the few faithful disciples in Rangoon, accompanied him as interpreter at court, hoping, with better facilities, to continue his labors on the Testament. Both were favorably received by the king; they were recognized in their character as religious teachers, and a grant of land was given on which to build a "*kynung*." Mrs. Judson returned after a two years' absence, in improved health; the translation was near completion, and the long-indulged hope of a successful establishment in the capital of the empire seemed about to be realized.

There had been faint rumors of war, and while there was but a speck in the sky, the war-cloud burst upon them. The Burmese emperor had cherished the ambitious design of invading Bengal, and while Bandoola was on his march of conquest into Cambodia, Rangoon was unexpectedly taken possession of by the English. Amazement and dismay spread through the capital. All foreigners were under suspicion. Judson and Price were thrown into prison as spies.

We will not relate the heart-sickening sufferings of those twenty-one months of captivity, or the almost superhuman devotion and fortitude of that heroic woman who walked sublime amid the terrible scenes of Ava and Oung-pen-la; whose character rose to the height of the morally grand; whose heroism and heroic endurance drew

In prison in
Ava.

tears from the eyes of Christian soldiers and barbaric men ; whose eloquence softened hard hearts ; who, begirt with the power of her own moral atmosphere, beautiful in person and superior in intellect, walked unscathed amid the pollutions of barbarism, and became the "author of those eloquent and powerful appeals to the Burman government which prepared them by degrees for submission to terms of a sincere peace."

Success crowned the English arms, and those dark prisons were opened. After the order of release came, Judson was forcibly retained as interpreter in the Burman camp. Exposures threw him into a violent fever. Six weeks more of suffering and cruelty, and he was permitted to return to Ava and his home. What was his anguish, on entering that home, to find his little emaciated baby, born amid the horrors of those prison days, in the arms of a squalid Burmese nurse, and the wife who had followed him from prison to prison in noonday heat and midnight dews, lying as one dead, where she had fallen, the Burman neighbors saying, "She is dead, and if the king of angels should come in, he could not restore her." But the touch of lips and the sound of a voice dearer to her than any other on earth brought her back again, and they were permitted another brief period of suffering and service together.

The government had learned Judson's value, and it was with great difficulty that he was released from its service. The time came at length. Sir Archibald Campbell demanded it, and sent him and his family down the river surrounded by eight gilded boats. It was with reference to this that in later years he said to friends comparing the most exquisite joys they had experienced, "But what do you think of sailing down the Irrawaddy on a cool moonlight evening, with your wife by your side and your baby in your arms, free — all free? I can never regret my twenty-one months of misery when I recall that one ever delicious thrill."

On reaching Rangoon they found the little church scattered, the mission-house destroyed, and it was thought better to find another place of missionary labor. Amherst, in the Tenasserim district, under British protection, was selected, and thither they went to rebuild their hearthstones and their altars. They gathered some of the disciples and began teaching. An important treaty was to be concluded at Yendabo. At the earnest desire of the commissioner, and with the assurance that, if possible, the treaty should contain articles of toleration toward the native Christians, and with Mrs. Judson's added persuasions, he made it his duty, and went. Toleration was not secured, and what was the bitterness of his grief to find on his return that death had removed his wife, forever. A grave by the hopia tree, the precious memory of what she was, and the little emaciated Maria, were all that was left him of her love and loveliness.

Smitten to the earth, the bereaved husband turned to the source of strength that had never failed him, and labored on. The manuscript of

the New Testament, which Mrs. Judson had kept secreted in the prison at Ava, was saved to him. Dr. Bennet had arrived to take charge of the mission press at Maulmain, whither the mission had been removed soon after the death of Mrs. Judson in 1826. Still directing inquirers to the truth, and superintending the printing of the New Testament, he gave himself especially to the completion of the Old. Seven years more of labor, and on the 31st of January, 1834, he wrote that memorable "Thanks be to God, I can now say I have attained. I have knelt down with the last leaf in my hand, and imploring his forgiveness for all the sins which have polluted my labors in this department, and his aid in future efforts to remove errors and imperfections which may necessarily cleave to the work, I have commended it to his mercy and grace, I have dedicated it to his glory."

Completes the
Burman Bible.

"May He make his own inspired Word, now complete in the Burman tongue, the grand instrument of filling all Burmah with songs of praise to our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ."

Touching as were the records of his heart during these lonely years, we must pass them by.

The visit of Mrs. Judson to America, the sufferings through which they had passed, and their own faith had quickened the flame of missionary zeal throughout the American churches; money poured into the treasury; new missionaries were sent out; new fields were opening, near and distant; the Karens, a new people, were being gathered in; the East India Company, which at first drove them from its borders, covered them with its protecting wing; native converts were increasing; a native ministry was being raised up, of men strong in character and strong in faith; the Bible and other religious writings had been scattered broadcast, and carried or blown leaves of the tree of life, God knew whither; and these years had been to Dr. Judson years of unusual growth and ripening of Christian character.

Again, after years of loneliness, the fires were rekindled on his desolated hearthstone. Little Maria had long slept under the hopia tree. George Dana Boardman had entered upon and closed his brief but fruitful missionary labors. His widow had for years carried on his unfinished work in the Karen jungles, until a church of two hundred members crowned their seed-sowing. It was fitting that two such lives should be united, and in 1834, at Yarry, God gave his benediction on their marriage vows. In her new home Mrs. Judson aided, cheered, and strengthened her husband, the worthy successor, intellectually and morally, of Ann Judson.

In 1834 the churches in Burmah numbered six hundred and sixty-six members. The following year seven hundred and eighty-six were added; the next year eleven hundred and forty-four. The wilderness was blossoming.

It had been Dr. Judson's most intense desire during all the years of his missionary life to give himself to the preaching of the gospel, but the preparation of a Burman dictionary was urged upon him, and in 1843 he writes: "Several years were spent in translating the Bible, and several more in revising it and carrying the last edition through the press. After which, in May last, I commenced a dictionary of the language, a work which I had resolved and re-resolved I would never touch, but as the Board and my brethren urged it, and as Burmah continued shut against our labors, and there were several missionaries in this place, I concluded I could not do better than to comply.

"We are apt to magnify the importance of any undertaking in which we are warmly engaged. Perhaps it is from the influence of that principle that, notwithstanding my long-cherished aversion to the work, I have begun to think it very important; and that having seen the accomplishment of two objects on which I had set my heart when I first came out to the East, — the establishment of a church of converted natives, and the translation of the Bible into their language, — I now beguile my daily toil with the prospect of compassing a third, which may be compared to a causeway designed to facilitate the transmission of all knowledge, religious and scientific, from one people to the other."

Repeated and severe attacks of sickness had come to Dr. Judson, and to his laborious and faithful wife. Mrs. Judson's health, for some time declining, had been so thoroughly prostrated that there seemed to be no hope but in a journey beyond the tropics. Strong as were his domestic affections, tender as was his love for his wife, much as he longed to see his native land, nothing but an imperative duty would have drawn him from his post. Medical skill had been exhausted, and he embarked with his almost dying wife in July, 1845, for Boston. A temporary improvement raised the hope in both that he might return to his work, while she should pursue the homeward journey alone. But the disease returned with new violence, and as they were nearing St. Helena, her spirit passed away.

Again the light of his home had gone out, and a precious form was laid to sleep in a lonely grave in St. Helena, to await, with that other at Amherst, the resurrection of the just.

Mrs. Judson had given India twenty years of successful service. She had blessed the home and carried on the labors of the sainted Boardman; she had acquired the language in such perfection that Dr. Judson said of her, "There is scarcely an individual foreigner who speaks or writes the Burman language so acceptably as she does." She was the author of valuable books, tracts, and hymns, and in many ways had been a most efficient helper to her husband in their home, in their missionary labor, and in their Christian lives.

Her work was finished, and leaving the precious dust, he reëmbarked with his motherless children, and after an absence of thirty-three years

again set foot on his native shores. Hardly was his arrival known, when a spontaneous outburst of welcome from all denominations surprised and almost bewildered him. He who on shipboard had questioned where he would find lodgings, found a hundred homes opened to him as an honored guest, and the hearts of millions of American Christians did him reverence. The humble missionary who had labored on, heedless that any eye saw him but that of the One he served, could not recognize in himself the object of these demonstrations; he was surprised, humbled, almost offended at what was really the involuntary tribute of Christian hearts to Christian heroism. He seemed to himself to have done nothing, and he shrunk from public assemblies in his honor.

Dr. Wayland, whose guest he was while in Providence, thus recalls his spirit at family worship, which he conducted after a meeting of welcome in that city: "His prayer on that occasion can never be forgotten by those who heard it. So lowly abasement in the presence of unspotted holiness, such earnest pleadings for pardon for the imperfections of those services for which men praised him, so utter renunciation of all merit for anything he had ever done, so entire reliance for acceptance with God only on the merits and atonement of the gospel sacrifice for sins, I think it was never my happiness to hear. Such, I believe, was the habitual temper of his mind that the more his brethren were disposed to exalt him, the more deeply did he seem to feel his own deficiencies, and the more humble was his prostration at the foot of the cross."

The thirty-three years of absence had made great changes. Well might he say, "Where are the well-known faces of Spring, of Worcester, and Dwight? Where are Lyman and Huntington and Griffin? And where are those leaders of the baptized ranks who stretched out their hands to me across the waters and welcomed me to their communion? And where are my early associates, Newell and Hall and Rice and Richards and Mills? But why inquire for those so ancient? Where are the succeeding laborers, and those who succeeded them? And where are those who moved amid the dark scenes of Rangoon and Ava and Tavoy? Where those gentle yet firm spirits which tenanted forms delicate in structure, but careless of the storm, now broken and scattered and strewn?"

There were great changes, not only in the workers but in the work, which was making its beginnings well-nigh over the whole earth — Europe, Asia, Africa, the wilds of North America, and the islands of the seas.

Delightful as was much that he saw and felt and enjoyed at home, he turned to his little orphaned children left behind, to the native church in Maulmain, to his brethren over the water, and to his heavy work on the dictionary, with longing heart. He desired to be gone.

In July, 1846, he married Miss Emily Chubbuck, — Fanny Forrester

of literary fame, the gifted lady who cheered his last years with the gentle ministries of love and affection,—and sailed again for Burmah. Finding the work advancing in all departments in Maulmain, he determined to go to Rangoon, where he might avail himself of learned men and books in the prosecution of the dictionary, and might be in the way of new openings into the heart of the country. A new king was on the throne, more intolerant than his predecessors, and he was forced to return to Maulmain. He continued his labors unremittingly until November, 1849, when he was attacked by a violent fever. He partially recovered, but it was the beginning of the end. Every resource was exhausted, the disease was reaching the springs of life. The only hope lay in a sea-voyage. He was carried on shipboard on the 3d of April, and in a little more than a week after he embarked, on the 12th of April, 1849, he closed his earthly labors, and entered on the rewards of the just made perfect.

We cannot forbear giving some extracts from Mrs. Judson's account of his last days. "As his health declined his mental exercises at first seemed deepened, and he gave still larger portions ^{His closing days.} of his time to prayer, conversing with the utmost freedom on his daily progress and the extent of his self-conquest. One day he said earnestly, 'I have gained the victory at last. I love every one of Christ's redeemed, as I believe He would have me love them, and gladly would I prefer the meanest of his creatures, who bears the name, before myself.' . . . From this time no other word would so well express his state of feeling as that one of his own choosing—peace. He remained calm and serene, speaking of himself daily as a great sinner who had been overwhelmed with benefits, and declaring that he had never in all his life before had such delightful views of the unfathomable love and infinite condescension of the Saviour as were now daily opening before his eyes! 'Oh, the love of Christ! the love of Christ!' he would suddenly exclaim, while his eye kindled, and the tears chased each other down his cheeks. We cannot understand it now, but what a beautiful study for eternity!"

At another time, on being told that it was feared by most of the mission that he could not recover, "I know it," he replied, "and I suppose they think me an old man, and imagine it is nothing for one like me to resign a life so full of trials; but I am not old, at least in that sense. Oh, no man ever left this world with more inviting prospects, with brighter hopes, with warmer feeling." His face was perfectly calm, even while the tears broke away from the closed lids and rolled one after another down to the pillow. To some suggestion which his wife ventured to make, he replied, "It is not that, I know all that, and feel it in my inmost heart. Lying here on my bed when I could not talk, I have had such views of the loving condescension of Christ, and the glories of heaven, as I believe are seldom granted to mortal man. It is not that I shrink from death that I wish to live, neither is it that the ties that bind

me here, though some of them are very sweet, bear any comparisons with the drawings I at times feel toward heaven; but a few years would not be missed from an eternity of bliss, and I can well afford to spare them, both for your sake and for the sake of the poor Burmans. I am not tired of my work, neither am I tired of the world, yet when Christ calls me home I shall go with the gladness of a boy bounding away from school. Perhaps I feel something like a young bride resigning the associations of her childhood for a yet dearer home; though only a very little like her, for there is no doubt resting on my future." "Then death would not take you by surprise if it should come even before you got on shipboard?" "Oh, no," he said, "death will never take me by surprise, do not be afraid of that, I feel so strong in Christ. He has not led me so tenderly thus far to forsake me at the very gate of heaven. No, no, I am willing to live a few years longer if it should be so ordered, and if otherwise, I am willing and glad to die now. I leave myself entirely in the hands of God, to be disposed of according to his holy will." And with such peace he passed into the holy presence.

"If," as Kingsley says, "in the shallowest natures there are unfathomable depths," what may we expect from natures endowed to affluence, and enriched by culture and Christianity? Judson's intellectual endowments were of a rarely high order, and his Christian character was ripe and remarkable. The key-note of this character was struck at the outset of his religious life. The question, "Is it pleasing to God?" decided all his religious actions. In his conversion he gave himself without conscious reserve to God; and it was his constant endeavor to become conformed to his will and likeness. And God led him by a royal highway, through sacrifices of ambitions, through imprisonments, through sickness, through sufferings, through the rending of the tenderest ties, over the graves of loved ones, through appalling views of his own sinfulness; and voluntarily abasing himself before God, the Most High exalted him. He walked on the mountain tops of holiness.

Judson was a man of strong convictions. To believe that a principle was right, and not to embrace it; to see that a course was duty, and not to pursue it; to hesitate in accepting the consequences which his convictions involved, was impossible to his mental and moral constitution. He believed in God and in sin, in eternal life and in eternal death; he believed it his duty to save souls from that death, and it was his purpose to live for that life. With these convictions he cheerfully yielded his ambitions, he voluntarily turned his back on paths in which he might have won success. Gifted in many ways he might have excelled in many things. He made high attainments as a scholar, he was brilliant as a writer, he was eloquent as a speaker, the English government acknowledged his capacity for statesmanship. But none of these things turned him from the direct work of giving the gospel to men. He mastered

the Burman language, and the results are among the most remarkable in the field of philology, and mastered it to give to the Burman people our sacred writings in such a form as might convey the precise mind of the Spirit. To do this, no effort was too great. He added the Pali, a difficult language, because it contributed its aid, but we hear no word of it from him. He could repeat Burmese and Pali poetry by the hour, but he would not deviate from his one purpose to transcribe it. He enjoyed its literature, but he would not give one hour to selfish gratification in the acquisition of it.

It was the requirement of his nature to do everything in the best manner. As our natural character gives direction and color to our religious character, so, in him, this law within gave direction and completeness to his religious life.

To do perfectly was the necessity of his mind; to be pure within was the demand of his inner soul. To do perfectly, with a pure heart, the will of God made his life a grand unity; his death, a triumph over death; the life beyond, unspeakable glory. — H. H. K.

LIFE XXXVIII. JOHN WILLIAMS.

A. D. 1796—A. D. 1839. CONGREGATIONAL, — OCEANICA.

JOHN WILLIAMS, the apostle of the islands of the South Seas, was born June 29, 1796, at Tottenham High Cross, near London. His father, a business man, troubled himself but little about the education and the inner life of his children. Williams must be numbered with that great company of God's workmen whose hearts their mothers nurtured in the faith through prayer and precept and a quiet walk with God. Yet Williams's mother was not unaided. A loving grandmother was allied with her in her devoted labors. A Timothy-like picture rises then before us, with a Eunice and a Lois, who led to God a gifted, lively boy in his earliest years, and sowed the seeds of holiness in his heart. Their sowing took root. The times of devotion in the boy's home became his glad hours. Falsehood grew to be to him like poison. In his school years, without his mother knowing it, he composed a morning and an evening prayer, — the one in prose, the other in poetry. They were a beautiful reflection of his fervor of spirit. When he was fourteen, he left home, his parents apprenticing him to a well-to-do iron manufacturer of London, named Tonkin. He was expected to learn only the business of selling the goods, and not the theory or practice of making them. Yet he acquired both the latter. His talent and liking for the practical part of the work was so great that he spent all his leisure hours in the smithy. He learned to fashion some articles so aptly and neatly that they went

from his hand direct to the shop or to the show-window. How this dexterity was to serve him later on in life was hid from him, but was known to God. The way in which He trained Williams so wisely and well moves our wonder. Nothing was wanting in the preparation of the future missionary. Even the errors of the youth were made by God to serve his purpose. There are brooks which, from their source to their end in sea or river, remain pure, clear, and transparent. They are detained in no slough, toiling through it with difficulty. Of few men can the like be affirmed as to their spiritual career. Few go in undisturbed course from childhood on through youth to true manhood in Christ Jesus. Even Williams's life found its way, which was prepared by a mother's and a grandmother's prayers, lost amid the unclean waters of the world and the flesh. God's Word was forgotten, prayer neglected, the church abandoned. Drinking-places were frequented. Loose company was sought, to the reproach of the name of Christ. Yet his life outwardly was honest.

God's workman was not to be ruined by Satan. His career in sin was quietly yet effectively checked. Sunday, January 30, 1814, Mistress Tonkin went in the evening to a religious meeting. By the light of a street lamp she recognized her apprentice walking to and fro in front of a drinking-place, and asked him what he was seeking. Young Williams answered frankly that he was waiting there for his friends, with whom he was expecting to pass a jolly night. He was out of humor that they were not prompt at the hour, but were making him wait for so long a time. The good woman, knowing that she ought to act a mother's part to the youth, very decidedly asked him to attend her and go to church instead of to a drinking-shop. After some resistance, the youth gave himself up to be her prisoner. He little thought that this very evening he should become a prisoner and a bondman of Jesus Christ. The preacher, who was named East, expounded the saying, "What shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" He spoke from the heart to the heart. The eyes of Williams were opened. He saw his need, but he saw at the same moment God's royal way of safety prepared and opened through Christ Jesus. To-night the brook burst forth from the stagnant slough, and began flowing on in its fixed channel to the sea of Eternal Love. Williams turned to God's Word with diligence and zeal. The church and the sacrament became dear to him. The whole gospel, the God-Man, his deeds and his words, became to him living realities. The Holy Spirit illumined his heart with gladness. He grew in the grace and in the knowledge of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. His mother's love had sown the seed, his mistress's

His quiet church
training.

faithfulness had saved it, the preacher had nourished it. Other help now came to give the youth his full growth and to prepare him for his labors as a missionary. In the parish of which

Williams was a member, there was a young people's association, whose chief workers were thirty young men. The leader was the pastor, Browne by name. It met every Monday evening at eight o'clock, and opened with prayer and singing, after which followed a discussion upon a subject announced eight days before, introduced by an address from one of the members. Several of the evenings during the year were reserved wholly for prayer. Williams was one of the most gifted and efficient members of this society, which proved to him his university, preparing him in part for his future efforts. He learned here to take up a Scripture topic and to analyze and present it in free, unhackneyed language. As a teacher in the Sabbath-school he employed the talent intrusted to him, gaining by fidelity and aptness the affection of his pupils and the respect of his associates.

From one society he passed into another. Already mission societies were in active existence in London and vicinity. Besides the anniversaries, quarterly meetings were held in small districts, in which, by addresses founded on the Bible, by prayer, and by reports from missionaries, the members strengthened themselves to persevere in their work. Williams belonged to such a circle. And here it was that the thought arose to him whether he could not be used of God among the heathen. It grew into a most profound desire. Then followed a childlike prayer, "Lord, if it is not thy plan and will that I become a missionary, then tear the wish with all its roots out of my soul." But precisely the opposite came to pass. The longing of Williams for missionary service became ever more active. He searched his heart with all diligence, asking whether his old nature had not ensnared him; whether he was not self-seeking, or if indeed the saving of poor lost souls was the aim of his labors. The longer he inquired, the more boldly he could say, "I will present myself a sacrifice to Him who gave Himself for me."

So, in the year 1816, he proffered his services to the London Missionary Society, addressing a letter to the directors, narrating with exact care his inner and outer life. He made the request, "Should you conscientiously find no opening to accept me, I pray God, and ask of you, that for my soul's good you will not in the least wise encourage me to seek the missionary office." It is the language of an upright man, and one to whom God will send good-speed.

Williams passed the required examination, and was accepted (July, 1816). That he might at once be unhindered in his new calling he was given, by his master, the seven months remaining of his apprenticeship. Men being in demand, this young man, so gifted and so apt for every work, was to be sent out speedily. South Africa and Polynesia were the lands to which the eyes of the mission society were directed. Williams was chosen for the latter. The laborers in the Society Islands especially needed helpers. The new converts there without guidance would fall

back into paganism. The youth of twenty years should, within a few months, go thither in the service of his Master, accompanying other missionaries.

The interval before departure was employed by Williams in conscientious preparation. The best hours of each day, and his chief strength, he gave to training in theology under his pastor. All his remaining time he spent in the shops of joiners, carpenters, weavers, and ship-builders, in printing offices, and in all of them he was actively at work. He purposed being an intelligent guide of the pagans in external civilization.

On the 30th of September, 1816, he was ordained in Surrey Chapel, at the same time with eight comrades, to the service of God among the heathen. A Bible was put into his hand with the words. "Go hence, loved brother, and be faithful to the trust that is given thee; faithful in season and out of season, faithful in proclaiming the precious truths which this book contains." Following these words, another said, "Go hence, loved youth and brother, and though thy tongue cleave to the roof of thy mouth, let it still witness to poor sinners the love of Jesus; though thine arm fail thee and threaten to fall from its socket, let it yet knock at the hearts of thy fellow-sinners till they open to the Saviour of the world." Upon this day the heart of Williams, already offered, was sealed to the service of God.

Before leaving England Williams was joined in marriage with a Christian young lady who faithfully, to his death, fulfilled her promise to be his helper in his external and in his soul life. The 17th of November, 1816, he left England, sailing by Rio Janeiro to Sydney.

*Sails for the
South Seas.*

Here he came to know the missionary Marsden, who served Christ with great self-sacrifice in New Zealand. A protracted delay in Sydney was employed by Williams in service as a preacher and a teacher, and in gaining knowledge regarding the people of Polynesia. At last, November 17, 1817, a year after leaving England, he landed in Eimeo, one of the Society Islands. His field of work, assigned him in common with missionary Threskeld, was Rajatea, an island which longed for the day, but had not yet seen the sunrise. Two years before, missionary Wilson, of Tahiti, with nineteen native Christians, King Pomare among them, were cast upon this island. The king, Pomatoa, with his whole people received them cordially. In return they opened their treasures, preaching to them a Saviour. After the departure of Wilson and his party to Tahiti, a longing for instruction remained in Rajatea. Williams labored here by himself from 1817 to 1823. This island was his training school, and the land of his first love; a love which never cooled during his life. First of all he threw himself energetically into the work of learning the speech of the country. After ten months he could preach in it. Pomatoa and the rest of the chiefs met him with assistance and friendship. In Williams's view the gospel and culture were to advance to-

gether. He builded a chapel. He erected a neat little house for himself, and to serve as a model of better dwellings to the natives. Around it a well-planned garden soon bloomed with flowers and food-plants, European and Polynesian. Near it was a school-house in which young and old were given to drink the water of life. Its blossoms were soon more lovely than those in his garden. The Word fell on receptive soil. Chiefs and common people, old men and lisping children, mothers carrying nursing babes in their arms, priests of Oro who wanted cleansing from shed blood, came into the school. The king and the queen seated themselves in the row with the rest as learners and inquirers.

Rajatea was the chief seat of the idol Oro, to whom for centuries, before and after battles, countless human offerings had been devoted. Williams, zealous as he was, was very careful of making wild assaults on this or other idols. The wooden images would be thrust down from their seats when they had fallen from their places in the hearts of their worshippers. Here in Rajatea, a plan was developed in Williams's mind for a systematized mission to be extended over His broad plan. the maze of surrounding groups of South Sea Islands. Three helpers were wanted in the service of the Master, a printing-press, a mission-ship, and native agency. Primary books and eleven hundred copies of Luke's Gospel, which had been brought out in the language of the region through a missionary (Ellis), were soon sold upon the island. By and by the entire New Testament was printed. Williams bought the first mission-ship in the South Seas, and established a connection between New South Wales and the islands. Himself, the London society, and Governor Brisbane, of New South Wales, bore the cost. Later, he builded a ship of his own, in order to have it entirely at his own disposal. Before long he drew his converts into mission-work. Not only was a mission aid society founded, but pious and gifted youths were trained by him for service in the schools, and for evangelizing labors on the neighboring islands. The islanders proved themselves intelligent, admirable servants of God, joyful even unto death. By his advice the king of Rajatea gave this and other islands ruled by him a law-book grounded upon God's Word. To secure a more certain sustenance for the people, who hitherto had depended upon fishing and upon the fruits of the islands, sugar plantations were begun. A great church was builded under Williams's leadership, to serve as the cathedral of this group of islands. And for all these activities the toiler drew strength and wisdom from the unfailing fountain of the Divine Word. All who beheld Williams, either here or later in his work upon the Harvey and the Samoa Islands, were amazed at his freshness, his elasticity, and his firm hold upon his work.

Amid this comprehensive activity, which, during his stay upon Rajatea, reached to Baraboa (of the Society Islands), Rurutu, Raratonga, Aitu-

taki (of the Harvey or Tubuai Islands), Williams heartily and tenderly cherished his connection with his home. A real treasure lies before us in his precious letters to his kindred. This correspondence reached its acme when he heard of the death of his mother, so far away from him. With thanksgivings for this, that such a mother had been given him of God, with sorrow and tears for her loss, are mingled fresh praises for her entrance into glory. He knocks, too, how softly, at the hearts of his loved ones with admonitions and with prayers that they abide true to God, so that their deaths may be like hers, the death of the righteous. He ventures — a hard task for a son — to preach repentance and salvation to his father, beseeching him to yield his heart to the Master who so long has wooed him, especially through his beloved life-companion. The letters show a wondrous delicacy. What joy to Williams when missionary Nott, who visited his father on his dying bed, sent his last greeting ^{His father's message to him.} to his son with the following message, "Tell him, oh tell him, that the son has been the means of the saving of the father."

In the years from 1823 to 1830 Williams had journeyed several times to the Harvey Islands. The native teachers did excellent service there. He himself, by his meekness, love, truth, and unfailing faith, exercised an almost incredible influence over the people. After a few years the idols fell, and the entire people were either baptized or under instruction for baptism. Upon Raratonga a church was builded, which was thronged on Sundays by some two thousand Christians. Yet this servant of God pressed restlessly forward. His progress was from east to west. While other missionaries with native helpers labored on Rajatea and the Harvey Islands, he, the pathfinder, turned to the Samoa group (Sawaii, Upolu, Tutuila, etc.). and sailed thither May 24, 1830. First he visited the Friendly Islands (Tongatabu, Wawau, Eua, etc.). He found there the missionaries of other societies, who gave him the hand of friendship. It was resolved that no one should interfere with another's field of labor, and that the Samoa Islands should be left to Williams. God's blessing went with him. On Sawaii, he met a welcome from Chief Melietoa, and after a few years, out of sixty or seventy thousands of natives, fifty thousand were either baptized or under preparation for baptism. He was aided here by the fact that the people had no idols except the god of war. Yet there was no lack of pagan cruelties and unholy superstitions. Everywhere around Williams found the fields white, while the laborers were few. Sore wars, too, were prevailing. If a king became Christian, some chief made use of the spite of the pagan element, collected it about him, and sought with its aid to displace the king and to enthrone himself along with his idols. Several petty wars were carried on, which through the clemency of the Christian kings redounded to the glory of Christianity. False teachers sprang up among the young Christians; who were often disposed to receive their strange messages.

European liquor-sellers and deserting sailors proved pests to the volatile islanders. Williams, with his faithful comrades (Pitman, Barf, and Büzacotte), kept watch and removed obstacles. It was easier, then, to awaken souls to religion than to preserve them in a religious course of life.

Williams, to promote his work, returned home. He wished to kindle the zeal for the Polynesian mission into a clearer flame, and he succeeded. Arriving in England June 12, 1834, after ^{His four years at home.} eighteen years' absence, he remained at home for four years. They were years when the love of missions in England and in all evangelical Europe was greatly increased. Williams magnified the works of God by enthusiastic speeches, ever bearing the stamp of genuineness, which he delivered in great assemblies before the high and the low. He also wrote a book, "Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands." He received from all sides favorable reports from it. Thirty-eight thousand copies were sold within nine years. His chief desire, to have a suitable mission-ship, fit for any sea, was granted. With free-will offerings he was able to purchase the Camden for ten thousand pounds sterling. By especial providence a pious and skilled captain was given him, — Captain Morgan. Nine new missionaries were to accompany him on his return. On the day of his departure, April 11, 1838, London was in a commotion, as if a conquering king was going out to war. The very pilot, who was entitled to twenty or twenty-five pounds, wished to add his services, in taking the ship out, to the contributions of the multitude. Williams, having for the last time taken the Lord's Supper in a home church, went his way joyously with his wife and his new comrades. In his soul was engraved the motto, "Neither count I my life dear unto me." He went round the Cape to New South Wales. In Sydney he formed a mission aid society for Australia, who gave five hundred pounds as their first contribution for his work. He left Sydney October 25th, and arrived prosperously at Tutuila, one of the Samoa Islands.

The following year was for Williams a most glad time. He visited again all the groups, the Society, Harvey, and Samoa Islands. As corn and flowers grow in warm spring nights, so the work of God had grown in his absence. Everywhere ^{His joyous return to the South Seas.} beautiful white churches gleamed from the island upon his sight, builded during the four years. Everywhere the young societies extended to him a welcome as to a father coming home, and such he was. It was a jubilee which almost overwhelmed him. Many a one, who at his departure was a stubborn pagan, met him as a happy child of God. His path was through a lovely harvest field. He saw that the work was in good hands and was growing abundantly. He wanted to go beyond. Before him lay the New Hebrides and New Caledonia. Upon November 3, 1839, he kept, on Upola, along with his Samoans and his own family, his last Sunday. He preached from Acts xx. 36, "And when He had thus

spoken, He kneeled down and prayed with them all." He had asked the teachers of the Samoa congregation who of them would go in the Master's service among the people of the New Hebrides. Thirty chosen men proffered themselves. Williams selected twelve of them, and ordained them as evangelists. With them went missionary Cunningham and a young Englishman named Harris, who was staying at the islands for his health, but was so taken with Williams that he wished to go with him to the west before returning to England, to fit himself for mission duty. They sailed westward November 4th; on the islands Roturna and Tanna they left two teachers, having first satisfied themselves of the friendliness of the people. November 20th they cast anchor off the coast of Erromanga. The dwellers on this island were the last to whom Will-

iams offered the pearl of great price. They came down to
His martyrdom.

the shore of Dillon Bay. Williams, with Cunningham and Harris, went in a boat near the land. The chief brought at their request — which they made known by signs, for the speech of the islands was strange to all three — a vessel of water. Confiding in the favor thus shown, the three stepped ashore. When they thought they had won the hearts of the islanders, by making some little presents, they went some distance inland. Suddenly the natives attacked them with their war clubs. Harris was struck down upon the land; Williams in the shallow water, through which he was escaping to the boat. Cunningham alone escaped. This was November 20, 1839. The real murderers of Williams were perhaps the sandal-wood merchants, who had shed much innocent blood on that coast, and had stirred the natives to revenge themselves upon all white men. The body of Williams was eaten by the savages. His fate was mourned by the young Christians in Samoa and other islands, as by children. The blessing which he had brought to them remained. He still lives a model missionary in his faith and love and hearty devotion, in his plans of raising up native helpers, in his union of external culture, such as may suit the circumstances of a people, with the culture of the heart through Christ Jesus. With right has he been named the Apostle of the South Seas. No other man exerted so deep and so blessed an influence upon the lives of that far-away people.
— F. A.

APPENDIX.

I.

ROLL OF WRITERS OF THE LIVES OF THE LEADERS OF OUR CHURCH UNIVERSAL.

EUROPEAN WRITERS.

F. A.	The Rev. Dr. F. ANLFELD, Pastor in Leipzig	<i>John Williams.</i>
F. A.	The Rev. Dr. FRIEDRICH ARNDT, Pastor in Berlin	<i>Anne Askew.</i>
C. B.	The Rev. Dr. C. BECKER, Pastor in Königsberg	<i>Wishart.</i>
C. B.	The Rev. Dr. C. BINDEMANN, Church Superintendent in Grimmen	<i>Monica, Augustine.</i>
B.	The Rev. Dr. BOUTERWEEK, Director of Gymnasium, Elberfeld	<i>Columba, Aidan.</i>
C. F. B.	The Rev. J. C. F. BURK, Pastor in Echterdingen	<i>Bengel.</i>
D. E.	The Rev. Dr. DAVID ERDMANN, Church General Superintendent, Breslau	<i>Baxter.</i>
A. E. F.	The Rev. Dr. A. E. FRÖHLICH, Professor, Aarau, Switzerland	<i>Zwingle, Laborie.</i>
K. F.	The Rev. Dr. K. FROMMANN, Church General Superintendent in Petersburg	<i>Zeisberger.</i>
K. R. H.	The Rev. Dr. K. R. HAGENBACH, Professor of Theology, Basel, Switzerland	<i>Clement, Athanasius, Œcolampadius, Renata, Beza.</i>
J. H.	The Rev. J. HARTMANN, Dean in Tuttlingen	<i>Brentz.</i>
K. H.	The Rev. Dr. K. HASE, Professor of Theology in Jena	<i>Savonarola.</i>
F. R. H.	The Rev. Dr. F. R. HASSE, Professor of Theology in Bonn	<i>Anselm.</i>
F. H.	The Rev. Dr. FRED. HAUPT, Pastor in Gronau	<i>Hildegard</i>
P. H.	The Rev. Dr. P. HENRY, Pastor in Berlin	<i>Calvin.</i>
H. H.	The Rev. Dr. H. HEPPE, Professor of Theology in Marburg,	<i>Cranmer, Hooper, William of Orange.</i>
L. H.	The Rev. Dr. L. HEUBNER, Director of Seminary, Wittenberg	<i>Luther.</i>
W. H.	The Rev. Dr. WILHELM HOFFMANN, Church General Superintendent, Berlin	<i>John of Monte Corvino.</i>
H.	The Rev. Dr. HUNDESHAGEN, Professor of Theology in Bonn	<i>Ursinus.</i>
C. H. K.	The Rev. Dr. CHRISTIAN H. KALKAR, Pastor in Copenhagen	<i>Egede.</i>
C. F. K.	The Rev. Dr. CHR. FR. KLING, Dean in Marbach	<i>Origen.</i>
F. W. K.	The Rev. Dr. FRED. W. KRUMMACHER, Court Preacher in Potsdam	<i>Lawrence, Chrysostom, Huss, Gerhardt, Oberlin</i>
G. L.	The Rev. Dr. GOTTHARD LECHLER, Professor of Theology in Leipzig	<i>Bede, Wiclif, Oldcastle, Ridley.</i>
H. L.	The Rev. Dr. H. LEO, Professor of Philosophy in Halle	<i>Patrick.</i>
P. L.	The Rev. Dr. PETER LORIMER, Professor in Presbyterian College, London	<i>Hamilton.</i>
F. L.	The Rev. Dr. FRED. LÜBKER, Director of Gymnasium in Fleusburg	<i>Columban, Boniface, Alfred.</i>

T. M.	The Rev. Dr. THOMAS MACCREE, Professor in Presbyterian College, London	<i>John Knox.</i>
H. F. M.	Dr. H. F. MASSMANN, Professor of Philosophy in Berlin . . .	<i>Ulphilas.</i>
H. V'M.	The Rev. H. VON MERZ, Church Prelate in Stuttgart, <i>Roussel, Schwartz, Martyn, Wilberforce, Fry.</i>	
C. B. M.	C. B. MOLL, Church General Superintendent, Königsberg . . .	<i>Wessel.</i>
A. M.	The Rev. ADOLF MONOD, Pastor in Paris, France	<i>Blandina.</i>
A. N.	The Rev. Dr. AUGUST NEANDER, Professor of Theology in Berlin	<i>Bernard, Aquinas, Melancthon.</i>
E. N.	E. NOELDECHEN, Head Teacher, Magdeburg	<i>Claudius.</i>
J. J. V'O.	The Rev. Dr. J. J. VAN OOSTERZEE, Professor of Theology in Utrecht	<i>Thomas à Kempis.</i>
J. C. T. O	The Rev. Dr. J. C. T. OTTO, Professor of Theology in Vienna . .	<i>Cyril.</i>
R. P.	Dr. REINHOLD PAULI, Professor of Philosophy in Göttingen, <i>Alfred the Great</i>	
F. P.	The Rev. Dr. FERDINAND PIPER, Professor of Theology, Berlin .	<i>Polycarp</i>
T. P.	The Rev. Dr. T. PRESSEL, Dean in Schorndorf	<i>Rabaut</i>
F. R.	The Rev. Dr. F. RANKE, Director of Gymnasium, Berlin, <i>Perpetua, Hans Sachs, Peterson</i>	
A. R.	The Rev. A. RISCHE, Pastor in Schwinkendorf	<i>King Louis.</i>
L. R.	The Rev. LOUIS ROGNON, Pastor in Paris	<i>Coligny.</i>
J. D. R.	The Rev. J. D. ROTHMUND, Pastor in St. Gall	<i>Gall.</i>
K. G. R.	The Rev. K. G. VON RUDLOFF, Cathedral Preacher in Nisky, <i>Guthrie, MacKail.</i>	
K. H. S.	The Rev. Dr. K. H. SACK, Chief Consistory Councilor, Bonn, <i>John Wesley</i>	
C. S.	The Rev. Dr. C. SCHMIDT, Professor of Theology in Strassburg, <i>Remy, Tauler.</i>	
H. E. S.	The Rev. Dr. H. E. SCHMIEDER, Director of Seminary, Wittenberg . <i>Paphnutius, Spiridion, Ambrose, Jerome, Austin, Waldo, Magdalena Luther, Paleario, Zinzendorf.</i>	
K. S.	The Rev. Dr. K. SEMISCH, Professor of Theology in Berlin, <i>Ignatius, Justin, Irenæus.</i>	
C. W. S.	The Rev. Dr. C. W. STARSTEDT, Professor of Theology in Lund, Sweden	<i>Ansgar.</i>
A. T.	The Rev. Dr. AUGUST THOLUCK, Professor of Theology in Halle	<i>Spener, Francke.</i>
F. T.	The Rev. F. TRECHSEL, Pastor in Berne, Switzerland	<i>Farel.</i>
J. O. V.	The Rev. J. O. VAHLINGER, Cathedral Preacher in Cannstadt, <i>Gustavus Adolphus.</i>	
L. W.	The Rev. L. WIESE, Church Counselor in Berlin	<i>Cyprian.</i>

AMERICAN WRITERS.

H. C. A.	The Rev. Dr. H. C. ALEXANDER, Professor in Union Theological Seminary, Hampden-Sidney, Va.	<i>Alexander.</i>
R. B.	The Rev. Dr. RICHARD BEARD, Professor in Theological Seminary, Lebanon, Tenn.	<i>Donnell.</i>
C. W. B.	The Rev. Dr. C. W. BENNETT, Professor in Theological Department of Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.	<i>Fisk.</i>
W. M. B.	The Rev. Dr. W. M. BLACKBURN, Professor in Theological Seminary of Northwest, Chicago, Ill. . . <i>Makemie, Dickinson, Witherspoon.</i>	
S. L. C.	The Rev. Dr. S. L. CALDWELL, President of Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	<i>Manning.</i>
R. W. C.	The Rev. Dr. RUFUS W. CLARK, Pastor in Albany, N. Y. . . .	<i>Livingston.</i>
H. F. C.	Mrs. HELEN FINNEY COX, Cincinnati, O.	<i>Finney.</i>
T. D.	The Rev. Dr. TIMOTHY DWIGHT, Professor in Theological School, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.	<i>Dwight.</i>
J. H. G.	The Rev. Dr. J. H. GOOD, Professor in Theological Department, Heidelberg College, Tiffin, O.	<i>Schlatter.</i>

L. G.	The Rev. Dr. LEWIS GROUT, late Missionary to South Africa, W. Brattleboro, Vt.	<i>Vanderkemp.</i>
A. A. H.	The Rev. Dr. ARCH. A. HODGE, Professor in Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J.	<i>Hodge.</i>
S. H.	The Rev. Dr. SAMUEL HOPKINS, Professor in Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y.	<i>Brewster, Hopkins.</i>
Z. H.	The Rev. Dr. ZEPHANIAH HUMPHREYS, Professor in Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, O.	<i>Edwards.</i>
J. B. J.	The Rev. Dr. J. B. JETER, Editor of the <i>Religious Herald</i> , Richmond, Va.	<i>Fuller.</i>
H. J.	The Rev. Dr. HERRICK JOHNSON, Professor in Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y.	<i>Barnes.</i>
H. K.	Mrs. HELEN KENDRICK, Rochester, N. Y.	<i>Judson.</i>
H. L.	The Rev. Dr. HEMAN LINCOLN, Professor in Theological Seminary, Newton Centre, Mass.	<i>Wayland.</i>
H. M. M.	The Rev. Dr. HENRY M. MACCRACKEN, Pastor in Toledo, O.,	<i>Isabella Graham.</i>
J. M. P.	The Rev. Dr. J. M. PENDLETON, Pastor in Upland, Pa.	<i>Peck.</i>
W. K. P.	The Rev. Dr. W. K. PENDLETON, President of Bethany College, Bethany, W. Va.	<i>Campbell.</i>
B. F. P.	The Rev. B. F. PRINCE, Professor in Wittenberg College, Springfield, O.	<i>Muhlenberg.</i>
W. B. S.	The Rev. Dr. W. BACON STEVENS, Bishop of the Pennsylvania Diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia	<i>White.</i>
H. B. S.	Mrs. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, Hartford, Conn.	<i>Lyman Beecher.</i>
T. O. S.	The Rev. Dr. THOMAS O. SUMMERS, Professor of Theology in Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.	<i>MacKendree</i>
J. W.	The Rev. Dr. J. WEAVER, Bishop of the United Brethren, Dayton, O.	<i>Otterbein.</i>
T. W.	The Rev. Dr. THOMAS WEBSTER, Pastor in Newbury, Canada	<i>Asbury.</i>
S. W. W.	The Hon. S. WELLS WILLIAMS, LL. D., Professor of Chinese Literature, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.	<i>Morrison.</i>
R. Y.	The Rev. R. YEAKEL, Bishop of the Evangelical Association, Naperville, Ill.	<i>Albright.</i>
D. R. K.	The Rev. Dr. DAVID R. KERR, Professor in Theological Seminary, Alleghany, Pa.	<i>Pressly</i>
A. W.	The Rev. Dr. A. WEBSTER, Pastor in Baltimore, Md.	<i>Stockton</i>

II.

COMPLETE ROLL OF LIVES.¹

JANUARY.		FEBRUARY.		MARCH.	
	A. D.		A. D.		A. D.
1. New Year		1. IGNATIUS . . .	107	1. Suidbert	713
2. Martyrs of the Books	303	2. Mary [Purification] Bible		2. JOHN WES-	
3. Gordius, Martyr . .	303	3. ANSGAR . . .	865	LEY	1791
4. Titus	Bible	4. Rabanus Maurus . .	856	3. Balthilde	680
5. Simeon	Bible	5. SPENER . . .	1705	4. WISHART . . .	1546
6. Christ and Wise		6. Amandus	679	5. AQUINAS . . .	1274
Men	Bible	7. Geo. Wagner . . .	1527	6. Fridolin	514
7. Widukind	785	8. Mary Andreä . . .	1632	7. PERPETUA . . .	202
8. Severinus	482	9. HOOPER . . .	1555	8. URSINUS . . .	1583
9. Catharine Zell . .	1562	10. Oetinger	1782	9. CYRIL	869
10. Paul the Hermit . .	340	11. Hugo St. Victor . .	1142	10. Martyrs in Armenia	320
11. Fructuosus	259	12. Jane Grey	1554	11. Hosens	1566
12. John Chastellain .	1525	13. SCHWARTZ . .	1798	12. Gregory	604
13. Hilary of France . .	368	14. Bruno	1008	13. Roderick	857
14. Felix	256	15. Von Lob	1561	14. Matilda	968
15. John Laski	1560	16. Desubas	1746	15. CRANMER . . .	1556
16. Geo. Spalatin . . .	1545	17. HAMILTON . .	1528	16. Heribert	968
17. Antony the Hermit	356	18. SYMEON . . .	107	17. PATRICK . . .	460
18. Jno. Blackader . .	1686	19. Mesrob	441	18. Alexander	251
19. { Babylas	250	20. Sadoth	346	19. Mary and Martha Bible	
{ Isabella	1526	21. Meinrad	863	20. Ambrose of Siena .	1287
20. { Fabian	250	22. Didymus	395	21. Benedict	543
{ Sebastian	304	23. Ziegenbalg	1719	22. Nicolas the Hermit	1488
21. Agnes	304	24. Matthew	Bible	23. Wolfgang	1566
22. Vincentius	304	25. Olevian	1587	24. Florentius	1400
23. Isaiah	Bible	26. Haller	1536	25. Mary [Annuncia-	
24. Timothy	Bible	27. Bucer	1551	tion]	Bible
25. Paul [Conversion] Bible		28. JOHN OF		26. Liudger	809
26. POLYCARP	167	MONTE COR-		27. Rupert	718
27. CHRYSOSTOM . . .	407	VINO	1306	28. Von Goch	1475
28. Charlemagne	814	29. Ethelbert [assigned		29. Eustace	625
29. Juventus, etc. . . .	363	also to 24th Feb-		30. Heermann	1647
30. Henry Müller	1675	ruary].		31. Ernst of Saxony .	1675
31. HANS SACHS . . .	1576				

¹ As edited in Germany by Dr. Ferdinand Piper, corresponding with the names for all the days of the year in the *Improved Evangelical Calendar*. The lives translated into English and edited in the present work are printed in capitals. The figures after names indicate the year of some principal event in the life referred to, usually of its beginning or close.

COMPLETE ROLL OF LIVES — *Continued.*

APRIL.		MAY.		JUNE.	
	A. D.		A. D.		A. D.
1. Fritigil	400	1. Philip and James .	Bible	1. OBERLIN	1826
2. Theodocia	307	2. ATHANASIUS . . .	373	2. BLANDINA	177
3. Tersteegen	1769	3. MONICA	388	3. Clotilda	540
4. AMBROSE	397	4. Florian	300	4. Quirinus	300
5. Scriver	1693	5. Frederick the Wise	1525	5. BONIFACE	755
6. Albert Dürer . . .	1528	6. John of Damascus .	754	6. Norbert	1134
7. PETERSON	1552	7. { Domatilla	300	7. GERHARDT	1676
8. Chemnitz	1586	7. { Otto	973	8. FRANCKE	1727
9. Von Westen	1727	8. Stanislaus	1079	9. COLUMBA	597
10. Fulbert	1028	9. Gregory Nazianz . .	390	10. Barbarossa	1190
11. Leo the Great . . .	461	10. Heuglin	1527	11. Barnabas	Bible
12. Sabas	372	11. John Arndt	1621	12. RENATA	1575
13. JUSTIN	161	12. Meletius	381	13. Le Febvre	1702
14. Eccard	1611	13. Servatius	383	14. Basil	379
15. Dach	1659	14. Pachomius	348	15. WILBER-	
16. WALDO	1197	15. Moses	Bible	FORCE	1833
17. Mappalicus	250	16. Five Lausanne Stu-		16. BAXTER	1691
18. Luther [at Worms]	1521	dents	1553	17. TAULER	1361
19. MELANC-		17. Joachim	1202	18. Pampbilus	309
THON	1560	18. Martyrs under Valens	370	{ PAPHNU-	
20. Bugenhagen	1558	19. ALCUIN	804	TIUS	325
21. ANSELM	1109	20. Herberger	1627	{ Council of Nice . .	325
22. ORIGEN	254	21. Constantine and Hel-		20. Martyrs of Prague .	1621
{ George, killer of		ena	337	21. CLAUDIUS	1815
23. { Dragons	200	22. Castus and Emilius	300	22. Gottschalk	1066
{ Adelbert	997	23. SAVONAROLA . . .	1498	23. Gottfried Arnold .	1714
24. Wilfrid	709	24. Cazalla	1559	24. John the Baptist .	Bible
25. Mark	Bible	25. AUSTIN OF		25. Augsburg Confes-	
26. Trudpert	643	ENGLAND	608	sion	1530
27. Catelin	1554	26. BEDE	735	26. John Andreä . . .	1654
28. Myconius	1546	27. CALVIN	1564	27. Seven Sleepers . .	250
29. Berquin	1529	28. Lanfranc	1089	28. IRENÆUS	202
30. Calixt	1656	29. ZEISBERGER . . .	1808	29. Peter and Paul . .	Bible
		30. Jerome of Prague .	1416	30. Lull	1315
		31. Joachim Neander .	1780		

COMPLETE ROLL OF LIVES—*Continued*

JULY.		AUGUST.		SEPTEMBER	
	A. D.		A. D.		A. D.
1. Martyrs at Brussels	1523	1. Maccabees	Apocrypha	1. Anna	Bible
2. Mary [Visitation]	Bible	2. Martyrs under Nero	64	2. Mamas	274
3. { Otto of Bamberg	1139	3. Thorp	1407	3. HILDEGARD	1197
3. { PALEARIO	1570	4. Käser	1527	4. Ida von Herzfeld	820
4. Ulrich of Augsburg	973	5. Salzburgers	1731	5. Mallio	1553
5. OLDCASTLE	1418	6. Christ [Transfigura- tion]	Bible	6. Waibel	1525
6. HUSS	1415	7. Nonna	374	7. Spengler	1534
7. Willibald	786	8. Hormisdas	421	8. Corbinian	730
8. Kilian	639	9. Numidiens	258	9. Paschal	1560
9. Ephraim of Syria	378	10. { LAWRENCE	70	10. Speratus	1551
10. { Canute	1036	10. { Jerusalem Destroyed		11. BRENTZ	1570
10. { WILLIAM OF		11. Gregory of Utrecht	775	12. Peloquin	1553
10. { ORANGE	1584	12. Anselm of Havelberg	1158	13. FAREL	1565
11. Placidus	630	13. ZINZENDORF	1760	14. { CYPRIAN	258
12. Henry of Germany	1024	14. GUTHRIE	1661	14. { Dante	1321
13. Eugenius	505	15. Mary	Bible	15. Grumbach	1554
14. Bonaventura	1274	16. John the Wise	1532	16. Euphemia	311
15. Ansvr	1066	17. Gerhard	1637	17. Lambert	709
16. ANNE ASKEW	1546	18. Grotius	1645	18. Spangenberg	1792
17. Martyrs of Scillita	200	19. Sebald	800	19. Thomas St. Paul	1551
18. Arnulf	640	20. BERNARD	1157	20. MAGDALENA	
19. Louisa Henrietta	1667	21. Moravian Missions	1732	20. LUTHER	1542
20. Marteilhe	1723	22. Symphorianus	180	21. Matthew	Bible
21. Eberhard	1496	23. COLIGNY	1572	22. Mauritius	302
22. Mary Magdalene	Bible	24. Bartholomew	Bible	23. LABORIE [Five	
23. Gottfried of Hamelle	1552	25. LOUIS	1270	23. Martyrs]	1555
24. THOMAS À		26. ULFILAS	388	24. Moser	1785
24. KEMPIS	1471	27. Jovinian	400	25. { RABAUT	1795
25. James	Bible	28. AUGUSTINE	430	25. { Peace of Augsburg	1555
26. Christopher		29. John Baptist Be- headed	Bible	26. Lioba	779
27. Palmarius	1200	30. CLAUDIUS	839	27. Graveron	1557
28. Bach	1750	31. AIDAN	651	28. Cologne Martyrs	1529
29. Olaf	1030			29. Michael	Bible
30. WESSEL	1489			30. JEROME	420
31. Schade	1698				

COMPLETE ROLL OF LIVES — *Continued.*

OCTOBER.		NOVEMBER.		DECEMBER.	
	A. D.		A. D.		A. D.
1. REMY	545	1. All Saints		1. Eligius	659
2. Schmid	1564	2. Victorinus	304	2. Ruysbroeck	1381
3. Ewalds	695	3. Pirmin	753	3. Groot	1384
4. Francis	1226	4. BENGEL	1752	4. Gerhard of Zütphen	1398
5. Carneseochi	1567	5. EGEDE	1751	5. Crispina	304
6. Henry Albert	1651	6. GUSTAVUS		6. Nicolas of Myra	400
7. BEZA	1605	ADOLPHUS	1632	7. { Odontius	1605
8. Grosthead	1253	7. Willibrord	739	7. { Hiller	1769
9. Dionysius	Bible	8. Willehad	789	8. Rinkard	1649
10. Jonas	1555	9. Staupitz	1524	9. Schmolck	1737
11. ZWINGLE	1531	10. LUTHER	1546	10. Eher	1569
12. Bullinger	1575	11. Martin of Tours	400	11. Henry of Zütphen	1524
13. ELIZ. FRY	1845	12. Von Mornay	1623	12. { SPIRIDION	325
14. RIDLEY	1555	13. Arcadius	437	12. { Vicelin	1154
15. Aurelia	500	14. Vermigli	1562	13. { Odilia	720
16. GALL	635	15. Keppler	1630	13. { Berthold	1272
17. Edict of Nantes		16. Creuziger	1548	14. Dioscurus	250
[revoked]	1685	17. Bernward	1022	15. Christiana	330
18. Luke	Bible	18. Gregory of Armenia	331	16. Adelheid	999
19. Bruno of Cologne	965	19. Elizabeth of Hesse	1231	17. Sturm	779
20. Lambert	1530	20. JOHN WILL-		18. Seckendorf	1692
21. Hilary the Hermit	372	IAMS	1839	19. Clement of Egypt	220
22. Hedwig	1243	21. COLUMBAN	615	20. Abraham	Bible
23. HENRY MAR-		22. CECOLAMPA-		21. Thomas	Bible
TYN	1812	DIUS	1531	22. MACKAIL	1666
24. { Arethas	522	23. CLEMENT	100	23. Du Bourg	1559
24. { Peace of Westpha-		24. JOHN KNOX	1572	24. Adam, Eve	Bible
24. { lia	1648	25. Catharine of Egypt	306	25. Christmas	Bible
25. John Hess	1547	26. Conrad of Constanx	976	26. Stephen	Bible
26. Frederick the Elector	1576	27. Margaret Blaarer	1541	27. John	Bible
27. Frumentius	356	28. ROUSSEL	1728	28. Innocents	Bible
28. Simon and Jude	Bible	29. Saturninus	250	29. David	Bible
29. ALFRED THE		30. Andrew	Bible	30. Christopher [Duke]	1568
GREAT	900			31. JOHN WICLIF	1384
30. Sturm	1553				
31. Luther's Theses	1517				

III.

STATISTICS OF OUR CHURCH UNIVERSAL

BY DENOMINATIONS AND COUNTRIES, SHOWING, FOR THE WHOLE EARTH, THE
NUMBER OF CONGREGATIONS PROFESSING THE CHRISTIAN NAME.

AMERICA, OCEANICA, AND AFRICA.

	United States.	Canada.	Other lands of N. A.	South America.	Oceanica.	Africa.
1. Lutheran	3,883	140	-	-	-	112
2. Reformed (German) . .	1,847	-	-	-	-	
3. Reformed (Dutch) . .	506	-	-	-	-	-
4. Presbyterian	7,157	†783	†25	†19	398	207
5. Presbyterian, United . .	783	-	-	-	-	20
6. Presbyterian, Cumb . .	1,872	-	-	-	-	-
7. Episcopal	2,980	†546	†10	-	200	50
8. Baptist	†14,954	710	166	-	135	54
9. Methodist Episcopal . .	†18,304	†267	-	8	-	-
10. Methodist	†2,010	1,385	-	-	†301	100
11. Congregational	3,333	190	-	-	100	1000
12. Evangelical Association .	1,354	†50	-	-	-	-
13. United Brethren	1,442	†80	-	-	-	-
14. Disciples	2,000	†100	-	-	-	-
All others	1,000	100	-	-	-	-

UNREFORMED ORGANIZATIONS.

1. Roman Catholic	6,920	†1,012	*5,000	*8,000	-	-
2. Greek Catholic	2	-	-	-	-	-
3. Old Catholic	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Armenian	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. Nestorian	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Jacobite	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. Copt	-	-	-	-	-	*3,000
8. Abyssinian	-	-	-	-	-	

EUROPE.

	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Holland and Belgium.	Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.	Russia.
1. Lutheran	-	-	-	*320	*7,764	*2,000
2. Reformed (German) . .	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Reformed (Dutch) . .	-	-	-	*1,700	-	-
4. Presbyterian	1,356	2,555	601	-	8	40
5. Presbyterian, United . .	-	526	-	-	-	-
6. Presbyterian, Cumb. . .	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. Episcopal	4,000	134	1,400	-	-	-
8. Baptist	2,501	90	29	*115	239	9
9. Methodist Episcopal . .	-	-	-	11	-	-
10. Methodist	5,238	82	†208	-	-	-
11. Congregational	3,069	192	30	10	-	-
12. Evangelical Association .	-	-	-	-	-	-
13. United Brethren	-	-	-	-	-	-
14. Disciples	437	-	-	-	-	-
All others	-	-	-	-	-	-

UNREFORMED ORGANIZATIONS.

1. Roman Catholic	*1,261	117	3,500	*6,878	*3	*6,700
2. Greek Catholic	-	-	-	-	-	*55,000
3. Old Catholic	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Armenian	-	-	-	-	-	170
5. Nestorian	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Jacobite	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. Copt	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Abyssinian	-	-	-	-	-	-

The † denotes number of pastors, instead of number of congregations.

The * denotes number of congregations estimated one for every thousand of population

EUROPE (*Continued*)

	Austria.	Italy.	Switzerland	Germany.	France.	Other Lands
1. Lutheran	*1,250	-	-	¹ { 19,700 }	450	-
2. Reformed (German) . .	-	-	*1,000	{ 230 }	-	-
3. Reformed (French) . .	-	-	*500	-	*586	12
4. Presbyterian	2,075	56	-	-	-	-
5. Presbyterian, United . .	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Presbyterian, Cumb. . .	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. Episcopal	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Baptist	-	20	8	86	12	12
9. Methodist Episcopal . .	-	-	-	-	-	-
10. Methodist	-	-	-	5	-	-
11. Congregational	-	-	-	10	-	-
12. Evangelical Association .	-	-	-	29	-	-
13. United Brethren	-	-	-	-	-	-
14. Disciples	-	-	-	-	-	-
All others	-	-	-	-	-	-

UNREFORMED ORGANIZATIONS.

1. Roman Catholic	*27,904	*26,725	*1,085	12,000	*38,500	21,809
2. Greek Catholic	*3,053	*5	-	5	-	12,022
3. Old Catholic	-	-	-	121	-	2,000
4. Armenian	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. Nestorian	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Jacobite	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. Copt	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Abyssinian	-	-	-	-	-	-

ASIA.

	West Asia and Persia.	India, Burmah, and Siam.	China.	Japan.	Rest of Asia.	Total.
1. Lutheran	-	68	-	-	-	35,425
2. Reformed (German) . .	-	15	18	-	-	2,722
3. Reformed (Dutch & Fr'ch)	-	10	7	13	-	3,384
4. Presbyterian	27	80	45	5	-	15,362
5. Presbyterian, United . .	-	10	8	8	-	1,359
6. Presbyterian, Cumb. . .	-	-	-	-	-	1,872
7. Episcopal	-	-	-	-	-	7,360
8. Baptist	1	526	20	2	27	17,968
9. Methodist Episcopal . .	-	43	{ 51 }	5	-	18,665
10. Methodist	-	40	{ 30 }	-	-	9,239
11. Congregational	-	76	50	-	-	7,984
12. Evangelical Association .	-	-	-	-	-	1,383
13. United Brethren	-	-	-	-	-	1,472
14. Disciples	-	-	-	-	-	2,537
All others	-	-	-	-	-	*2,000
Grand Total						128,452

UNREFORMED ORGANIZATIONS.

1. Roman Catholic	-	-	-	-	-	*201,000
2. Greek Catholic	-	-	-	-	-	*71,000
3. Old Catholic	-	-	-	-	-	121
4. Armenian	*30	-	-	-	-	*12,022
5. Nestorian	*165	-	-	-	-	*165
6. Jacobite	200	-	-	-	-	*200
7. Copt	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Abyssinian	-	-	-	-	-	{ *3,000

: Of these, all but 1,500 are "Evangelical," and include both Lutheran and Reformed.

The * denotes number of congregations estimated one for every thousand of population

The above Table of Statistics of the church throughout the earth by denominations and congregations has been constructed (no similar table being known) on the latest denominational reports at hand, or upon the statements of cyclopedias. It of necessity is very imperfect, yet may serve to show in what lands each denomination prevails, and also to indicate the slight degree in which some portions of the globe have been possessed by the church. Possibly it may serve beside to suggest to some student of statistics the preparation of a like table of greater fullness and accuracy. — T M M

IV.

INDEX OF ONE THOUSAND BIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATIONS, FOR
THE USE OF THE PREACHER AND OF THE TEACHER IN THE
SABBATH-SCHOOL.

NOTE FOR THE ASSISTANCE OF THOSE HAVING THIS WORK IN THREE PARTS.

All references to pages 1-264 are to Part First. — Earlier Leaders

All references to pages 265-540 are to Part Second. — Later Leaders — Europe.

All references to pages 541-856 are to Part Third. — Later Leaders — America, Asia, Africa, and
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